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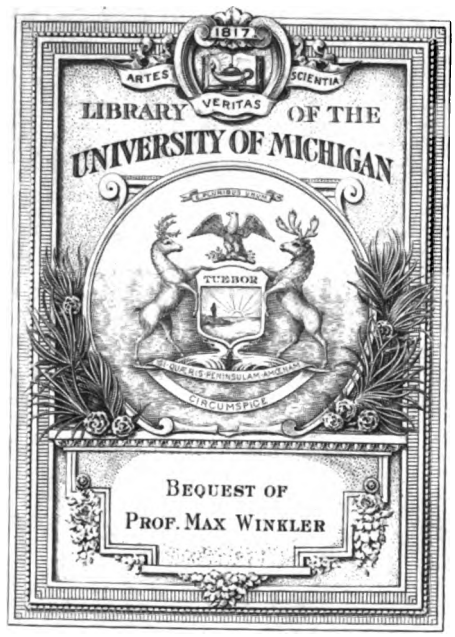

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(CONTINUED ON PAGE 8.)

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MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES.

Baltimore, January, 1898.

DANTE'S INFLUENCE ON MILTON.

MR. MASSON in his life of Milton expresses himself in no sparing terms concerning the efforts which have been made to prove that Milton borrowed largely from his predecessors. It certainly is not my purpose here to cast the slightest doubt on Milton's originality in the conception and carrying out of the *Paradise Lost*, but that the poem shows many traces of the influence of other great poets, at least in language, metaphors and certain ideas, cannot be disputed. Mr. Masson himself admits this and says:

"Original as the poem is, original in its entire conception, and in every portion and passage, it is full of *flakes*,—we can express it no otherwise,—full of flakes from all that is greatest in preceding literature, ancient or modern."[1]

The subject of Milton's indebtedness to Dante has not as yet been treated, as far as I am aware, and this fact may be my excuse for discussing the subject somewhat in detail.

There is no question as to Milton's acquaintance with Dante. He began the study of Italian in 1632 and is said by his biographers to have been saturated with Dante, Petrarch, Tasso and Ariosto. In 1638 he went to Italy, and spent the months of August and September in Florence, the birth-place of the Divine Poet.

There is a certain interest,—if no particular value,—in noting the general points of resemblance between the two great religious poets of Italy and England, in life, character and literary activity. Both were scholars, versed deeply in all the learning of their day; both were profoundly religious, stern and severe in their condemnation of sin, and indignant at the corruption of the Church. Both were intensely patriotic and gave themselves up without reserve to serve what they considered the best interests of their country. Both passed the latter half of life in hardship and suffering, the one an exile and a beggar, the other blind. The declining years of Milton, however, were cheered by a knowledge of his glory as a poet; Dante died in obscurity and his greatest work was known only after his death. Even in the order of their compositions we may find some resemblance between Dante and Milton. The earliest work of each was lyrical, and the *Canzoniere* may be compared to *Il Penseroso* and *L'Allegro*, and the *Vita Nuova* to *Comus;* while the *De Monarchia* (in which are discussed the relations between Church and State) may be compared to *The Reason of Church Government* and other political and religious tractates of Milton. The resemblance between the *Divina Commedia* and *Paradise Lost* will be discussed at length later.

We may assume on *a priori* grounds that Milton would be attracted to the study of Dante. That he did know his works thoroughly is proved by a variety of evidence, such as definite mention, translations of certain passages, and more or less direct references. In the *Reformation in England* he translates the lines in the *Inferno*[2] on the gift of Constantine to Sylvester:—

> Ah Constantine, of how much ill was cause
> Not thy conversion, but those rich domains
> That the first wealthy pope received of thee,

and in the sonnet to Mr. H. Lawes, "on the publishing his airs," the last three lines contain a reference to that beautiful scene in Purgatory,[3] where the poet's friend Casella sings one of Dante's own songs;—

> "Dante shall give Fame leave to set thee higher
> Than his Casella, whom he woo'd to sing,
> Met in the milder shades of Purgatory."

So too in *Lycidas* the indignation of St. Peter,—

> "The pilot of the Galilean lake,"—

in general tone seems to have been suggested by *Paradiso* xxvii, 22–27, and 40 ff. In both the English and the Italian we find reference to the keys of St. Peter and to the "grim wolf with privy paw" who

[1] *Milton's Poetical Works*, edited by David Masson, vol. ii, p. 55.

[2] Ahi Constantin, di quanto mal fu matre,
Non la tua conversion, ma quella dote
Che dalle prese il primo ricco patre,
xix, 115–117.

[3] *Purg.* ii, 106 ff.

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"Daily devours apace and nothing sed;—[4]

while both end with a prophecy of coming punishment,—

But that two-handed engine at the door
Stands ready to smite once and smite no more;

and

Ma l'alta provvidenza, che con Scipio
Difese a Roma la gloria del mondo,
Soccorrà tosto, sì com'io concipio.[5]

The lines,

The hungry sheep look up and are not fed,
But, swoln with wind and the rank mist they draw,
Rot inwardly.

are a free translation of the lines in *Paradiso* xxix, 106–107,—

Sì che le pecorelle, che non sanno,
Tornan dal pasco pasciute di vento.

The chief evidence of Dante's influence on Milton naturally shows itself in the *Paradise Lost*. That Milton deliberately sought a model upon which to build the poem he had in mind is proved by the passage in *The Reason of Church Government* in which he describes his doubts as to whether he should imitate the epic form exemplified by Homer, Virgil, Tasso and Job, or the drama of Sophocles and Euripides, or the pastoral drama as in the Song of Solomon, or the Apocalypse of Saint John. As Mr. Masson says, this passage is the record of Milton's meditations and hesitations with himself over his great project.[6] In view of this frank confession concerning a model to imitate, we may take it for granted that the *Divina Commedia* had not occurred to Milton as imitable. Otherwise there would have been some mention of it in the above list.

Indeed Dante's poem is not such a one as could be well imitated in general plan, utterly unlike, as it is, the regular conventional epic of Homer, Vergil, and Tasso. Hence the omission of it in the above list does not prove that Milton was unacquainted with it at the time. On the contrary there seems to be reason to believe that his determination to do something more worthy of his genius than he had hitherto done may have been still further strengthened by his knowledge of a similar determination on the part of Dante after the death of Beatrice. In the Introduction to Book iii of the *Reason of Church Government*, he promises to undertake a poem far in advance of anything he had yet written, and proclaims his purpose, with the help of the Eternal Spirit "who can enrich with all utterance and knowledge;" to prepare himself for his great task by

"industrious and select reading, steady observation, insight into all seemly and generous arts and affairs; till which in some measure be compassed, at mine own peril and cost, I refuse not to sustain this expectation from such as are not loth to hazard so much credulity upon the best pledges that I can give them."

In general temper there seems to be a remarkable similarity here with the closing lines of Dante's *Vita Nuova:*

appresso a questo sonetto apparve a me una mirabil visione, nella quale vidi cose, che mi fecero proporre di non dir più di questa benedetta, infino a tanto che io non potessi più degnamente trattare di lei. E di venire a ciò io studio quanto posso, si com' ella sa veracemente, sicchè, se piacere sarà di Colui, per cui tutte le cose vivono, che la mia vita per alquanti anni perseveri, spero di dire di lei quello che mai non fu detto d'alcuna. E poi piaccia a Colui, ch' è sire della cortesia, che la mia anima se ne possa gire a vedere la gloria della sua donna, cioè di quella benedetta Beatrice che gloriosamente mira nella faccia di Colui, *qui est per omnia sæcula benedictus.*

It must ever be remembered in discussions of this sort that mere resemblances cannot always be taken as indications of imitation or reference. Much must be attributed to the general stock of ideas and to what I have ventured to call elsewhere the *materia poetica* of the time.[7] To such I attribute the general similarity between the universe of Dante and Milton, both based on the Ptolemaic system.[8]

4 Cf. In vesta di pastor lupi rapaci
Si veggion di quassù per tutti i paschi
Par. xxvii, 55–56.

5 *Par.* xxvii, 61–63.

6 Later he jotted down a list of one hundred and eight subjects as suitable for dramatic treatment, of which sixty are from the Scriptures and thirty-three from British history. Here also no mention is made of Dante.

7 The malicious accusations of Lauder and the exaggerated importance attributed to slight coincidences between Milton and other poets by Todd and Edmundson and others, should warn us to be cautious in such matters. See Masson, "Introduction to Paradise Lost," section iv.

8 To be more precise, Dante follows the older Ptolemaic System,—Milton adopts the Alphonsine.

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To such also may perhaps be attributed the resemblance between the Earthly Paradise of Dante and the Garden of Eden of Milton. Here, however, I am inclined to believe that the memory of Dante's divinely lovely landscape had no little influence on Milton's longer and more modern description. Both are on the top of a high plateau, steep and inaccessible. While, of course, the use of groves and meadows, clear streams, enamelled flowers and singing birds, form the natural material for such descriptions, yet a closer examination of the details of both passages, reveals a number of interesting resemblances. "Th' eternal spring" of Milton in the "primavera sempre" of Dante. "The Graces and the Hours in dance" find a parallel in the

"Ninfe che si givan sole;"

so Milton's lines

"Not that fair field
Of Enna, where Proserpin, gathering flow'rs
Herself a fairer flower, by gloomy Dis
Was gather'd, which cost Ceres all that pain
To seek her through the world"
P. L. iv, 268 ff.

make use of the same fable to illustrate a similar description as Dante's

"Tu mi fai rimembrar, dove e qual era
Proserpina nel tempo che perdette
La madre lei ed ella primavera."
Purg. xxviii, 49.

Compare further,—

"The birds their quire apply"

with

Tanto che gli augelletti per le cime
Lasciasser d'operare *ogni lor arte*,

and, to come down to single words or expressions,—compare the "gentle gales," and the "attune the trembling leaves," of Milton with Dante's "soave dolce," "aura dolce," "le fronde tremolando;"
and

"le foglie
Che tenevan bordone alle sue rime."

The important point to remember here is that all these parallels occur in the space of a few lines and in the description of the same place. No one, moreover, who has felt the beauty of Dante's landscape will think it unreasonable to suppose that Milton had his mind charged with the details thereof, or that reminiscences thereof should be in his mind while writing his own poem.

One of the most striking points of resemblance between the *Divina Commedia* and the *Paradise Lost* is the discussion of questions of theology, philosophy and science, which is to a certain extent a characteristic of both. Thus in Book viii of *Paradise Lost*, Adam inquires concerning the celestial motions and is answered in detail by Raphael. Even the phenomenon of the "spots on the moon," which occupies so large a space in the ii. Canto of *Paradiso*, is also explained by the Angel. The concluding words of the latter to the effect that man should be "lowly wise" and should not be too eager to know of heavenly things which are "too high" for him "to know what passes there," since it is not essential for the performance of man's duty to know the exact truth of all these theories of celestial motions,—

Solicit not thy thoughts with matters hid,
Leave them to God above, him serve and fear,—

remind us of the similar warning by Beatrice against subtilizing theorists, especially preachers, who neglect the plain and simple lessons of the Gospel, in order to gain applause by discussing topics far above their power to comprehend.

Voi non andate giù per un sentiero
Filosofando; tanto vi trasporta
L'amor dell' apparenza e il suo pensiero
. . . . . .
Per apparer ciascun s'ingegna, e face
Sue invenzioni, e quelle son trascorse
Dal predicanti, e il vangelio si tace, etc.
Par. xxix, 85 ff.

The general form of these discussions in the *Paradise Lost* is like that of the *Divina Commedia*. The questions asked by Adam, the satisfaction felt at the information given, the new doubts that arise, and the thirst for knowledge never satisfied, ever desiring more and more, remind us involuntarily of Dante in his conversations with Vergil and Beatrice. It is not necessary to give more than a few examples here. Thus compare the following passages.

Led on, yet sinless, with desire to know,—
. . . . . .
as one whose drought
Yet scarce allay'd still eyes the current stream,
Whose liquid murmur heard new thirst excites;
P. L. vii, 61 ff.

What thanks sufficient, or what recompense

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Equal have I to render thee, divine
Historian? Who thus largely hast allay'd
The thirst I had of knowledge,
P. L. viii, 5 ff.

. . . . . .

Something yet of doubt remains,
Which only thy solution can resolve
Ib. 13–14.

Ed io cui nova sete ancor frugava
Purg. xviii, 4.

Maestro, il mio veder s'avviva
Sì nel tuo lume, ch'io discerno chiaro
Quanto la tua ragion porti o descriva,
Ib. 10–12

"Io son d'esser contento più digiuno
Diss'io, che se mi fossi pria taciuto,
E più di dubbio nella mente aduno,"
Purg. xv, 58–60.

Milton's idea,—(referring to the freedom of the will)

"if I foreknew
Foreknowledge had no influence on their fault,"—
P. L. iii, 117.

. .pressed more picturesquely by Dante as follows :—

Tutta è dipinta del cospetto eterno.
Necessità però quindi non prende,
Se non come dal viso, in che si specchia,
Nave che per corrente giù discende,
Par. xvii, 39–42.

The discussion of the beneficent influence of the obliquity of the ecliptic in producing the periodicity of the seasons is found in both Dante and Milton :—

Some say he bid the angels turn askance
The poles of earth . . . . .
Else had the spring
Perpetual smil'd on earth with verdant flow'rs
Equal in days and nights, except to those
Beyond the polar circles.
P. L. x, 668 ff.

Vedi come da indi si dirama
L'obbliquo cerchio . . .
. . . . . .
E se la strada lor non fosse torta,
Molta virtù nel ciel sarebbe in vano,
E quasi ogni potenza quaggiù morta.
Par. x, 13 ff.

The differences between Milton's Hell and Dante's Inferno are great,—the former being on a larger scale, vaguely described and impressive in the use of vast distances; the latter being definitely outlined, minutely described and almost geometrical in its details. Still it seems to me as if there must have been something more than mere coincidence in the use by Milton of

"perpetual storms
Of whirlwind and dire hail,"—

and the wretched souls who

"starve in ice
Their soft ethereal warmth and there to pine
Immovable, infixt and frozen round."

So, too, Dante may have colored, if not suggested, the references to the "harpy-footed furies,"

"Medusa with Gorgonian terror guards
The ford"

and the line

"Rocks, caves, lakes, fens, bogs, dens, and shades of death"

sums up many of the fearful aspects of the Inferno. Of course, many of these details were due to Vergil and the Classical authors, but I believe that the *Divina Commedia* was to some extent in Milton's mind as he wrote his description of Hell.

Other points of resemblance are the unconquerable defiance of Satan and Capaneus. Cf.

That glory never shall his wrath or might
Extort from me (*Par. Lost*, I, 110);

and

Se Giove stanchi il suo fabbro,— . .
. . . . . .
E me saetti di tutta sua forza,
Non ne potrebbe aver vendetta allegra—
Inf. xiv, 52–60.

Looking down from sky upon the earth far below :—

From hence no cloud, or, to obstruct his sight,
Star interpos'd, however small he sees,
Not unconform to other shining globes,
Earth, and the garden of God, etc.
Par. Lost, v, 257.

Sì ch'io vedea di là da Gade il varco
Folle d'Ulisse, e di qua presso il lito
Nel qual si fece Europa dolce carco.
E più mi fôra discoverto il sito
Di questa aiuola; ma il sol procedea
Sotto i miei piedi.
Par. xxvii, 82.

Also,—

L'aiuola . . . . .
. . . . .
Tutta m'apparve da'colli alle foci
Par. xxii, 151.

The foul monster Sin in *Paradise Lost* ii, 761,—especially her beauty to those to whom "familiar grown" she

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"pleased and with attractive graces won
The most averse."—

reminds us of the siren (symbol of avarice, gluttony and licentiousness) in *Purg.* xix,

"Io la mirava, ...
. . . E lo smarrito volto
Come amor vuol, così le colorava,—
lines 10 ff.

E qual meco si ausa
Rado sen parte, si tutto l'appago—
lines 23–24.[9]

In the change of the fallen angels to snakes in Book x, of course, Milton found the first suggestion in Ovid, but the language used seems to point to some influence on the part of Dante also.
Cf.

He would have spoke
But hiss for hiss return'd with forked tongue
To forked tongue.
P. L. x, 517;

E la lingua, che avea unita e presta
Prima a parlar, si fende . .
. . . . . .
Si fuggì sufolando per la valle.
Inf. xxv, 133.

Scorpion and Asp, and Amphisbaena dire,
Cerastes horned, Hydros and Ellops drear,
And Dipsas.

Chelidri, jaculi e faree
Produce, e cencri con amfesibena
Inf. xxiv, 86.

Compare further the golden stairs to Heaven (*P. L.* iii, 501 ff), with the "scala celeste" in *Paradiso* xxi, 23 ff. and the grove

"laden with fruit like that
Which grew in Paradise,"—

Whereon the lost souls gazing are

"parcht with scalding thirst and hunger fierce,"

with the mystic trees in Purgatory, at the sight of which the spirit who here expiates the sin of gluttony,—

In fame e in sete si rifà santa.
Purg. xxiii, 66.

In regard to resemblances in diction, metaphor and ideas, the list is large. Some are doubtless due to mere coincidence; others, however, to my mind are more or less conscious imitations on the part of Milton. The following may serve as examples.

on a sudden op'n fly
With impetuous recoil and jarring sound
Th' infernal doors, and on their hinges grate
Harsh thunder.
P. L. ii, 879.

E quando fûr ne' cardini disserti
. . . . . .
Non ruggiò sì, ne si mostrò sì acra
Tarpeia
Purg. ix, 133.

Hell trembl'd at the hideous name, and sigh'd
From all her caves.
P. L. ii, 788.

La terra lagrimosa diede vento.
Inf. iii, 133.

Things unattempted yet in prose or rime.
P. L. i, 16,

L'acqua che io prendo giammai non si corse.
Par. ii, 4.

Also *Vita Nuova*,—

Spero di dire di lei quello che
Mai non fu detto d'alcuna.
§xliii.

With radiant light, as glowing iron with fire,
If metal, part seem'd gold, part silver clear.

Non altrimenti ferro disfavilla
Che bolle.
Par. xxviii, 89.

Qual ferro che bogliente esce del fuoco.
Ibid, i, 60.

accesi
Che ferro più non chiede verun' arte.
Inf. ix, 120.

Pareva argente il d'oro distinto—
Par. xviii, 96.

Satan's spear,—

to equal which the tallest pine
Hewn on Norwegian hills, etc.
P. L. i, 292.

La faccia sua mi parea lunga e grossa
Come la pina di San Pietro a Roma,
Inf. xxix, 58.

Thick as autumnal leaves that strow the brooks
In Vallombrosa.
P. L. i, 302.

Come d'autunno si levan le foglie.[10]
Inf. iii, 112.

Blossoms and fruits . . . .
. . . with gay enamell'd colours mixt.
P. L. iv, 148.

Oro ed argento fino e cocco e biacca
. . . . . .
Fresco smeraldo, etc.
Purg. vii, 73.

Levell'd his evening rays
P. L. iv, 543.

Contra i raggi serotini.
Purg. xv, 141.

9 Cf. further lines, 31 ff.

10 Cf. Vergil, *Æneid* vi, 309–312.

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and twilight gray
Had in her sober livery all things clad.
P. L. iv, 598.

Fosse orizzonte fatto d'un aspetto.[11]
Purg. xxvii, 71.

Now glowed the firmament
With living sapphire.
P. L. iv, 604.

battlements adom'd
Of living sapphire.
ii, 1049

Dolce color d'orïental zaffiro.
Purg. i, 13.

While thus he spake, th'angelic squadron bright
Turn'd fiery red.
P. L. iv, 977.

Di quel color, che per lo sole avverso
Nube dipinge da sera e da mane,
Vid'io allera (that is, at words of St. Peter) tutto il ciel cosperso.
Par. xxvii, 28.

A wilderness of sweets.
P. L. v, 294.

Ma di soavità di mille odori,
Vi faceva un incognito indistinto,
Purg. vii, 80.

And what surmounts the reach
Of human sense, I shall delineate so,
By lik'ning spiritual to corporal forms.
P. L. v, 571.

Così parlar conviensi al vostro ingegno
. . . . . .
e piedi e mano
Attribuisce a Dio, ed altro intende.
Par. iv, 40.

Therefore eternal silence be their doom.
P. L. vi, 384.

Non ragioniam di lor ma guarda e passa.
Inf. iii, 51.

So steers the prudent crane
Her annual voyage, borne on winds.
P. L. vii, 430.

E come i gru van cantando lor lai
Facendo in aer di sè lunga riga.
Inf. v, 46.

What seem'd fair in all the world seem'd now
Mean, or in her summ'd up.
P. L. viii, 472.

Ella è quanto di ben può far natura;
Per esempio di lei beltà si prova.
La Vita Nuova, § xix.

The personification of the sun, turning suddenly his course, at the "tasted fruit" of Adam and Eve, "as from Thyestean banquet (*P. L.* 688)" is like that of the river Arno, which, arrived at Arezzo, and disgusted at their currish character,—

"a lor, disdegnosa, torce il muso."
Purg. xiv, 48.

In *P. L.* x, 891, Eve is called "this fair defect of Nature;" so too an ugly body in the *Convito* iii, 4,—is said to be due to a *peccato della natura*. Venus in *P. L.* xi, 589 is "Love's harbinger,"—while in *Purg.* i, 19,—we find it spoken of as

Lo bel pianeta che ad amar conforta.

The description of storm and flood in *P. L.* xi, 737, 6. seems to show reminiscential or coincidental resemblances to Dante's famous description in *Purg.* v, 109 ff.

In conclusion, I may say that in writing this article my purpose has not been to prove in every case cited that Milton directly or indirectly borrowed from Dante, but simply to bring together what seemed to me more or less striking resemblances between the two poets. That Milton was influenced by Dante can, I think, admit of no doubt. The extent of this influence will be a matter of opinion on the part of those who examine the evidence in the case. My function has been to supply, as well as I knew how, the materials which may serve as a basis for such opinions.[12]

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11. Cf. also,—
Night's hemisphere had veil'd the horizon round.
P. L. ix, 52.

12 Lowell in a letter written at Whitby, points out what he considers a strong influence of Dante on Milton's versification, which he says he is convinced, was mainly modeled on the Italian and especially on the *Divina Commedia*. "Many, if not most of his odd constructions are to be sought there, rather than in the Ancients." *Letters of James Russell Lowell*, vol. ii, p. 386. This seems to me to be an exaggerated statement of the facts.

ARISTOTLE AND MODERN TRAGEDY.

The fact that Aristotle was a scientist who took the whole field of knowledge for his province has become trite with repetition, so that it falls upon our ears as a meaningless phrase. Yet it is a truth which we must constantly bear in mind if we wish really to understand the meaning and the permanent value of his *Poetics*. For, in this little book, which preserves to us nearly all that we know of his æsthetic theory, Aristotle has the same pre-

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cise, logical point of view which pervades his scientific works. In the *Poetics*, which was never an exhaustive treatise, and in its present fragmentary form is almost entirely a discussion of tragedy, Aristotle is neither a pure theorist, forming from his own general ideas a set of rules meant to guide future dramatists; nor, on the other hand, a mere compiler of the practice of the Greek tragedians. He is primarily an inductive reasoner, basing his conclusions upon the forms of drama known to him. Without assuming even the greatest work to be perfect, he attempts, from the varied excellence of different tragedies, to discover the causes and necessary conditions of such excellence.

Since he is addressing an audience perfectly familiar with Greek literature, and ignorant of any other, Aristotle passes over without specific treatment the element in Greek tragedy which is its most important point of difference from the modern drama. Greek tragedy had its beginnings in religious rites; it continued, through all its history, to be represented at solemn public festivals; and it almost invariably chose its subjects from the national semi-religious myths. Thus it received a religious character, which permeates its very essence. Even in the plays of the sceptic Euripides, though the old Greek piety and seriousness are gone, the type of drama which they had created remains.

Of this religious drama, Aristotle gives the following familiar definition:

"Tragedy is an imitation of an action that is serious, complete and of a certain magnitude; . . . in the form of action, not of narrative; through pity and fear effecting the proper purgation of those passions."[1]

Thus at the beginning of the *Poetics*, Aristotle assumes that pity and fear are the emotions proper to tragedy. Though he does not argue directly in support of this proposition, his illustrations, which are drawn from the greatest works of the Greek poets, show how it was obtained. Pity and fear, he continues, are best aroused by the spectacle of a great man, and one in general good, brought into misery through some defect of his nature. To this highest type of tragedy belong the *Agamemnon* of Æschylus, and the *Œdipus Tyrannus* of Sophocles. When we read, or see performed, such tragedies, pity arises in us for the hero, who suffers a punishment which, judged by human standards, is out of all proportion to his guilt. A tragic fear, or sense of awe, comes from the vision of a moral order under which such retribution is possible, or perhaps inevitable. By the excitation of such lofty passions our own purely human emotions are purged of disturbing elements, are deepened and purified. This tragedy, although it has an indirect moral effect, by the deepening of human feelings, is by its very nature, being addressed to the feelings and not the will, æsthetic rather than moral. By not assigning a direct moral purpose to tragedy, or to poetry in general, Aristotle departed from the traditional Greek point of view, and was not followed by the modern schools which looked upon him as their guide.[2]

It is, however, no exaggeration to say that the *Poetics* was for centuries the gospel of dramatic criticism. Aristotle retained his rule in æsthetics even longer than in science. He shared with other great teachers the fate of being misunderstood and misinterpreted, but was regarded with as superstitious a respect as any Father of the church. Dacier, in 1692, dismisses with scorn the suggestion of an Italian commentator that there might be a contradiction between the *Poetics* and the Bible. "As if Theology and Holy Scripture could ever be contrary to the sentiments of Nature upon which this judgment of Aristotle is founded."[3] Seventy-five years later Lessing, a critic fundamentally opposed to the French classicism of which Dacier was an exponent, repeats essentially the same opinion. He charges the French school with misinterpretation of the work by which they attempted to justify their methods, but thinks the *Poetics* itself "as infallible as the *Elements of Euclid*."[4]

The interpreters of Aristotle, instead of seeking to understand the spirit of their

1 *Poetics* vi, 2 (Butcher's translation). Though *fear* is apparently the only word that can be used here, Aristotle means rather *a sense of awe* than *fear* as we commonly employ the term.

2 Butcher: *Aristotle's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art*, chap. v.

3 *La Poëtique d'Aristote*, note 1 to chap. xiii.

4 Butcher, *ibid.* p. 354.

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author, often busied themselves with petty details, and unwarranted expansion of hints given by him. Thus they devoted reams to discussing the unities of time and place, of which the last is not found in Aristotle at all, and the first is referred to only in a passing phrase. These unities, though important to a student of Artistotle's influence on the modern drama, are of small account in his own theory. And the unity of action, upon which Aristotle really does strongly insist, is with him no dry, formal principle. Aristotle makes the plot the first principle, or, as it were, the soul of tragedy.[5] He even says, with an exaggeration perhaps conscious, that there may be tragedy without character, meaning probably without strongly individualized figures. The plot, he continues, must be complete in itself, and have an orderly development from beginning to end, so that no part could be omitted or displaced without injuring the effect of the whole. So a tragedy must not only have a single hero, but the acts of the hero must be united by some principle of unity.

Aristotle had before him no such tragedies as *King Lear*, in which a subordinate action aids rather than retards the development of the main plot. It would, therefore, be almost useless to speculate what opinion he would have held about them. In their form they do not offend against the spirit of his teaching.

Yet, in spite of the emphasis laid upon the plot, Aristotle is not indifferent to the importance of character in tragedy. "Character," as he expresses it, "holds the second place."[6] So he pronounces, with manifest disapprobation, that the poets of his own time fail in rendering of character, evidently meaning that they confine themselves to reproducing conventional types. When taken in connection with his insistence upon the organic development of plot, these words show us that his ideal tragedy is one in which character and plot are inextricably blended. In such a play the characters of the actors, joined with their initial situation, give rise to the incidents of the plot, and the incidents, in their turn, bring out new manifestations of character, so that a single harmonious impression is created.

This ideal of Aristotle does not result from any special peculiarity of the Greek drama: on the contrary, it is an expression of the universal Greek striving for unity and definiteness of effect. Although it is not attained by even the majority of the Greek plays, it nevertheless points to a difference between the Greek and the modern drama as wide as that between a Greek temple and a Gothic cathedral. It makes clear to us how far from Greek methods are whole divisions of modern literature. It at once condemns all works,—and their name is legion,—of which the primary aim is to exhibit character, or to set forth social problems. To speak more definitely, it offers a standard to which none of the Elizabethan plays, except the greater number of Shakspere's and a few of Marlowe's and Jonson's, can be said to conform. When we try to call to memory a work by one of the minor Elizabethan dramatists, we cannot form a clear, definite idea at once of the plot and the characters. The actors rarely have the truth and elevation that makes them at once ideal figures and real men and women. Even when this condition is fulfilled, the plot depends rather upon external caprice than upon the character and original situation of the actors. Either the plot is constructed for its own sake, and then more or less conventional characters grafted upon it, as in the romances of Beaumont and Fletcher; or else it has a movement independent of the characters, merely designed to show them in new lights, as in the melodramas of Marston and Webster. The union and interdependence of plot and character needed for true tragic effect are always lacking. Shakspere himself has given us one such play in *Troilus and Cressida*. There the whole interest is in the speeches and the character exhibited by them, while the plot is a wretched thing without beginning or end, or logical connection with the actors. Some whimsical critic may yet tell us that, in a passing mood of cynicism, Shakspere mockingly adopted the faulty methods of his contemporaries, and wrote *Troilus and Cressida*, to illustrate the following words of Aristotle: "If you string together a set of speeches expressive of character, and well-finished in point of diction and thought, you will not produce the essential tragic effect nearly so well

5 *Poetics*, vi, 14. 6 *Poetics*, vi, 14.

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as with a play which, however deficient in these respects, yet has a plot and artistically constructed incidents."[7]

Other rules of Aristotle result from his limitation of the proper dramatic emotions to pity and fear. Probably this generalization, which lies at the very basis of his theory, is not universally applicable even to Greek tragedy. Certainly it is too narrow to express the whole truth about the modern drama.

Turning to English literature, as that most familiar to us, we see at the first glance that the character of the Elizabethan drama is radically different from that of Greek tragedy. To be sure, the English drama, like the Greek, had a religious origin; but in its later development it shows few traces of religious influence. In fact, from the time of the miracle plays until our own day, it has been unceasingly attacked on the ground of its immorality. The English dramatists, instead of being confined to a few time-honored myths, had absolutely free range in their choice of subject. While in Greece comedy and tragedy were kept apart both by their different origins and by the analytic instinct of the Greek race, which insisted upon sharply distinguishing its several literary types, in England they meet in the most intimate union. Thus the English drama has no such unity of form and conception as is found in the Greek. The result is that the emotions aroused by the English plays, though usually less intense than those which find expression in the Greek drama, are much more varied.

For a statement of the English idea of a play, we can not do better than to turn to Dryden. In the *Essay of Dramatic Poesy* we find a definition, which, though modestly termed a rude notion or description, may be fairly enough contrasted with Aristotle's formula for the Greek tragedy. A play, says Dryden, is "a just and lively image of human nature, representing its passions and humors, and the changes of fortune to which it is subject, for the delight and instruction of mankind." In order to prevent this from applying equally well to a novel or an epic poem, we must clearly add Aristotle's words: "in the form of action, not of narrative." Then, except that we might question, as Dryden himself does elsewhere,[8] whether the element of instruction is necessary, this definition could hardly be improved. In it, as we see at once, there is no limitation of the dramatic emotions. In another passage, Dryden makes this fact more explicit. "All the passions, in their turns, are to be set in a ferment [by tragedy]; as joy, anger, love, fear, are to be used as the poet's commonplaces, and a general concernment for the principal actors is to be raised, by making them appear such in their characters, their words, and their actions, as will interest the audience in their fortunes."[9]

Only the most important instance of the general widening of emotion in the modern drama need be discussed. Not one of the surviving Greek tragedies is founded upon the love between a man and a woman, considered apart from any other relation between them. The nearest approaches to it occur, significantly enough, in the *Alcestis* and the *Hippolytus* of Euripides. But in the former case we have primarily the idea of wifely devotion, considered as a religious duty; in the latter, the adulterous and incestuous love of Phædra is regarded as a retribution sent by the gods upon the crimes of her house. When woman was regarded as an inferior creature, sympathetic handling of love was hardly possible. In later Greek literature, love increases in importance. It is, for example, one of the chief motives in the *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius. But it is only after Classic times that love, treated for its own sake, really becomes a leading subject of literature. Its development was due to Christianity and the German races. By the chivalric ideal through which it dominated mediæval literature, it gained an importance which it has never since lost. To speak only of Shakspere, in England, it is the central interest in *Romeo and Juliet*, and *Antony and Cleopatra;* in France, it became the chief subject of a school which professed to follow the Classic tradition. The *Cid* of Corneille, which is distinguished among his greater tra-

7 *Poetics*, vi, 12 (Butcher's translation).

8 "Defence of an Essay of Dramatic Poesy" (Vol. II, p. 295, of the Scott-Saintsbury edition).

9 "Heads of an Answer to Rymer," (xv, 383.) Dryden might also be cited in support of very different views. The passages quoted are taken on account of their happy manner of expression, not appealed to as authorities.

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gedies by having love as its predominating passion, achieved a most brilliant success on its first production, and has always been the most widely read of its author's works. We are at once amused and instructed when we see Corneille, in criticising his most famous tragedy, admit that fear is not aroused by it, and just hesitate a doubt that the dictum of Aristotle, upon which he bases much of his critical writing, may after all be only imaginary.[10] In Germany, Goethe made love a leading motive in the greatest poem of our own century. It is impressive to see how the story of Faust, which, in its original form, has a natural affinity with the old Prometheus myth, is given a wholly modern tone by the addition of the episode of Margaret. Yet more striking, though we here pass the bounds of the acting drama, is Shelley's transformation of the Prometheus myth itself. In *Prometheus Unbound*, by joining the element of love to a characteristic Greek legend, the poet produces an effect which appeals intensely to the modern imagination but which would be unintelligible to that of the Greek.

It is, then, almost absurd to claim that pity and fear are the only emotions that should be aroused by modern tragedy. More than this, they are not always found, even in the Greek plays, upon which Aristotle based his generalization. The great critic frankly recognizes this fact. Regarding pity and fear as characteristic only of the highest form of tragedy, he sets apart, as failing to produce them, four distinct types of tragic plot. Though his analysis may amuse those accustomed to the less direct and simple ways of modern criticism, it is neither trivial nor useless. According to Aristotle, the most fitting subject for tragedy is, as we have seen, the fall into adversity of a man good in general, but with some defect of character. Hence, those tragedies are defective which treat, 1. of the rise of a good man into prosperity; 2. of the fall of a bad man into adversity; 3. of the rise of a bad man into prosperity; 4. of the fall of a perfectly good man into adversity. It will repay us to scrutinize this classification carefully, and to inquire whether in each of the types called defective by Aristotle, there are not found some works ancient or modern of which the force and beauty are universally conceded.

The first class comprises nearly all tragedies of a happy ending. These Aristotle condemns, because in their general outcome, while they satisfy the moral sense, they excite neither pity nor fear; so that the pleasure derived from them is proper rather to comedy than to tragedy. Here the critic expresses in an extreme form the Greek aversion to the mingling of literary types. Yet he significantly admits that, through the weakness of the spectators, such tragedies often meet with greater popular favor than those of the type which he himself approves. And some of the most famous Greek tragedies, as the *Prometheus Unbound* of Æschylus and the *Iphigenia in Tauris* of Euripides, which even Aristotle heartily admired, belonged to this so-called inferior class. Examples in modern literature are still more numerous. In English, we have among Shakspere's works, *Cymbeline*, and—for the play is a tragedy in the ancient sense of the word—*Measure for Measure*. In French, we at once think of the *Cid* and *Cinna* of Corneille, and in German of Schiller's *Wilhelm Tell*, and Goethe's *Tasso*. But the greatest example of all is *Faust*, with its final solution by reconciliation and atonement.

The numerous Greek tragedies belonging to this class are alone sufficient to show the fallacy involved in Aristotle's definition. Aristotle has allowed to intrude into his dogmatic, systematizing method, a personal element, which at once gives it unity and confuses it. Seizing finally the characteristics of the Greek tragedies that appeal most to himself, he has formed from them a definition which he applies universally. He does not see that his definition will not include works like the *Iphigenia in Tauris*, which he himself praises. This is one of several indications that the *Poetics* was only a tentative work; that Aristotle had not formed, or at least has not handed down to us, a consistent theory of poetry.

Tragedies of the second class, depicting the fall of a bad man into adversity, are pronounced faulty by Aristotle for reasons readily understood. Though our sense of justice is satisfied, yet we do not pity a bad man, nor, since

10 "Discours sur la Tragédie."

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we cannot fancy ourselves in his position, is fear inspired by his ruin. Yet, the hero may be of so grand capacities that we are elevated by the contemplation of his energy, and in his fall moved by the failure of splendid powers. Thus, the *Richard III* of Shakspere, though we feel the justice of his defeat, makes us tremble by his fierce vigor. His mighty efforts in a wrong cause give us a new picture of the irony of life. The *Sejanus* of Ben Jonson is a poorer play of the same sort. In this division also, though usually treated with a mocking spirit very alien to tragic solemnity, is the story of Don Juan, called the most popular dramatic hero ever created. The greatest of all such heroes, though for obvious reasons he cannot be included in this discussion, would be the Satan of Milton. On the whole, though it is hard to find effective examples of this type of tragedy, the true explanation is, as usual, more general than that given by Aristotle. The reason lies simply in the difficulty of conceiving a hero, who, though wicked, will nevertheless command the sympathy of the audience.

The rise of a bad man to prosperity, according to Aristotle, a plot totally unfit for tragic effect, seems at first sight entirely indefensible. Yet, perhaps it is successfully employed in Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*. Certainly the hero of that play, though endowed with human qualities, is, by all ordinary standards, a bad man. But, after overcoming all his enemies, he dies at the summit of his power, with no shadow of remorse for his past life. The tragic conflict lies in the struggle of Tamburlaine against death. To the eye of other men, his life has been a complete success; to his own, it is a partial failure. The question is, whether we are compelled to accept the hero's point of view, instead of our own natural one. In any case, the play shows the power of a great poet to ennoble what seems to commonsense the most unpromising situation.

One plot condemned by Aristotle still remains; the fall of a sinless protagonist into misery. Here the critic need not have searched far to find a magnificent example against his theory. The *Antigone* of Sophocles, when confronted with a choice between obedience to human and divine law, chooses the latter. She cannot be said to have sinned; rather she is destroyed by the very perfection of her nature.[11] The Greek may have seen in her doom a divine vengeance upon ancestral guilt; we see an instance of the baffling injustice that at times seems the dominant force in the world. Several modern plays, as the *Polyeucte* of Corneille, the *Britlanicus* of Racine, and the *Julius Cæsar* of Shakspere are of similar construction. One transcendent subject of this nature, repeatedly treated in modern art, has in the drama never fallen into the hands of a genius, but remained as the popular Passion Play.

Now, let us, last of all, ask ourselves what modern tragedies correspond to the type which Aristotle approves, the fall into misery of a good man through some defect of character. Immediately a number of examples force themselves upon our attention. In German literature, we at once remember the *Götz von Berlichingen* and *Egmont* of Goethe, and the *Wallenstein* of Schiller. When we turn to Shakspere, we find that the greater part of his tragedies fall in this group. Such are *Romeo and Juliet*, *Coriolanus*, *Antony and Cleopatra*, and, most striking of all, the four masterpieces, *Macbeth*, *Othello*, *Hamlet*, and *King Lear*. This wonderful agreement in form of the greatest works of the greatest of dramatists cannot be an accident. Its identity with the typical Greek structure, as set forth by Aristotle, is surely a proof of the permanent value of the Greek drama, and of the keenness of Aristotle's insight into it.

Some general conclusions may without danger be formed from the failure and success of Aristotle's little book. Certainly no critic ever had a position more favorable for work. As a basis for criticism there existed a dramatic literature that has perhaps never, certainly not more than once, been equalled. And this Greek drama was characterized by a unity of spirit that made it peculiarly suited to serve as a foundation for a theory of poetics. On the other hand, Aristotle had a comprehensive knowledge and power of generalization not possessed by any critic since his time.

11 I owe my example to Butcher. In fairness, it must be said that another view may be taken of Antigone's conduct, which would bring the play into the class approved by Aristotle.

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The result is in some respects such as we might hope. The great systematizer gives us an interpretation of Greek tragedy which must serve as a foundation for all succeeding thought. His tests, when applied to dramas of which he could foresee nothing, are seen to be still rich in suggestion. No stupid pedant and rhetorician could have exerted such an influence upon men of genius in all succeeding times.

Yet many, perhaps the majority of modern readers, will feel an irresistible discontent with the whole spirit of the *Poetics*. We can be sure of this when we see the ceaseless misinterpretation to which its principles have been subjected. The book has never been accepted as a guide in its literal sense. Each dramatist who professed to follow it had made a compromise between his own ideas and the precepts of Aristotle. Without fear of false pride, it may be said that the present century has been the first to understand the true character of the *Poetics*. And it has done so only by overturning the traditional fame of the book as the gospel of dramatic criticism, and viewing it as the intelligent effort of a scientist to explain the Greek drama. When we take this attitude we see in Aristotle a lack of imagination and sympathy which keeps him from perfectly attaining even his conscious aim. A reader of the Greek tragedies, though he has his mind cleared and enlightened by the *Poetics*, feels that after all the formulas of the critic are powerless to explain the depth of undefinable emotion aroused by the plays themselves. And if the book fails fully to explain the nature of the simple, clear-cut Greek drama, it is much more inadequate to the interpretation of modern literature. Really it only suggests points of view, gives a definite, helpful method to our criticism.

Aristotle has undertaken a task almost as difficult as to make a science of human nature. His failure is but one more proof of the hopelessness of the effort to judge works of the imagination by standards of common-sense. No later attempt to found a science of criticism has come so near success as Aristotle's splendid failure.

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NOTES ON MEDIÆVAL FRENCH LITERATURE.

I.

The Date of the Roman de Thèbes.

IN his edition of the *Roman de Thèbes*, published in 1890 by the *Société des anciens textes français*, Léopold Constans concludes that the poem must have been composed about 1150, "plutôt avant qu'après." (*Thèbes*, vol. ii, p. cxviii). In his chapter on 'L'Épopée antique,' in Petit de Julleville's *Histoire de la Langue et de la Littérature françaises* he has modified his ideas somewhat, and would fix the date between 1150 and 1155 (*Hist.*, vol. i, p. 182). In this view he was doubtless influenced by Gaston Paris' remarks in a review of the *Enéas* (*Romania*, xxi, p. 285)and not by the discovery of any new facts which would bear on the subject. Yet there is a passage in the *Roman de Thèbes* itself to which Constans attached enough importance to annotate (*Thèbes*, ii, p, 340), but which he omitted, and perhaps for very good reasons, from the list of his arguments, which may throw some light on the subject. It is the following:

> Apoignant vint Garsi de Marre
> Et sist sor ferrant de Navarre:
> Por proece ne por granz cous
> N'ot tel el regne al rei Anfous
> (4437-4440).

This Alphonso, Constans says in his note, was undoubtedly Alphonso VIII, King of Castille and Leon. There is no good ground for disputing this statement, since he was the only Alphonso who was prominent between 1130 and 1175, within which dates *Thèbes* surely must have been written. And Constans seems to be just as convinced of the truth of the inference drawn in the second sentence of his note, that Alphonso owed this mention to the marriage of his daughter, Constance, to Louis VII—a supposition which is at least probable, especially since no other contemporaneous ruler is mentioned in the poem. But this marriage took place, according to all authorities, in the year 1154, certainly not earlier than the spring of 1152, the date of Louis' divorce from Eleanor of Poitou. Now Con-

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stance died in the fall of 1160, and Louis lost hardly a month in contracting a third alliance, after which event allusions to Alphonso, who had passed away three years before (in 1157), would hardly be timely. Therefore, if Constans' surmises are correct, these lines could not have been written before the beginning of 1154 (or at the earliest before the middle of 1152, the historians giving no exact date for the Spanish marriage), nor after November of 1160. And the supposed date of the poem must be changed accordingly.

II.

The Pastourelle and Carole.

Whether *Thèbes* was written by 1150 or not before 1154, it is still one of the earliest French texts in which are found allusions to the social customs of the Middle Ages and literature in the vernacular. Consequently, everything which can be gleaned from it in these particulars possesses peculiar value. In one of the amatory episodes of the poem Parthonopeus is represented as falling in love with Antigone at first sight. He loses no time in approaching her, salutes her "corteisement," asks who she is and whither she is going. Her escort answers him, and Parthonopeus leads her train to the Greek army. There he urges her to be his *amie;*

> "Par Deu" ço respont la pucèle,
> "Ceste amor serreit trop isnèle.
> Pucèle su', fille de rei:
> Legi rement amer ne dei,
> Ne dei amer par legerie,
> Dont l'on pu'sse dire folie.
> Ensi deit on preier bergiéres
> Et ces autres femnes legi res.
> Ne vos çonois n'onc ne vos vi
> Ne mais ore que vos vei ci:
> Se or vos doign d'amer parole,
> Bien me poez tenir por fole
> (3921–3932)."

While this passage and the context shows a state of courtship antecedent to the "courteous" love-making of the Chrétien school, its chief interest lies, perhaps, in the evident allusion to that form of lyric poetry known as the *pastourelle.* A king's daughter here tells a knight (a king's son) that his rapid wooing is suited to "bergiéres" (l. 3927) and other easily won ("legiéres") women. The usual theme of the *pastourelle* is the demand on a shepherdess for her love made by one above her station, without ceremony or circumlocution. Bnt this must have been the later, the literary form, of what was originally popular poetry, and in which the sexes were of the same social standing. The words of Antigone indicate, therefore, that by the year 1154 or 1160, at the latest, the *pastourelle* was already a well established production of literary or court poets.

The writer of *Thèbes* knew also the *carole* as a species of diversion, for on Adrastus' tent were painted, among other things

> Et les caroles et li bal;
> Les puceles et lor ami,
> Et les dames et lor mari
> (2930–2932).

And Adrastus, seeing the Argive women in the distance, asks Capaneüs whether the "whiteness" he perceives is of sheep,

> "O sont meschines por baler,
> Que en cel plain viénent joer?"
> (9853–9854).

That these caroles and dances in the meadow were already looked upon as amusements for the higher social classes would seem plausible from the fact that in both cases they are referred to in connection with a King, Adrastus. Besides, the author of *Thèbes* has all the disdain for the "vilains" which was felt by the later poets of the social circles. Many times he disclaims a peasant origin for his characters; the eagle surmounting Adrastus' tent, "Vilains ne l'ose reguarder" (2930); of the three thousand followers of Capaneüs "N'en i ot un fil de vilain, Ne qui fust nez de basse main" (4569–4570); and great is his pity for knights unhorsed among the men-at-arms:

> Entre vilains fait mal chaeir;
> De rien qu'il puissent sorpoeir
> N'avront ja merci li vilain
> (5565–5567).

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CYNEWULF'S CHRIST 495 *AND* 528.

CYNEWULF in *Christ* ll. 495 and 528 has introduced details into his account of the Ascension which have not, I believe, been accounted for by the students of the sources of the poem; *þurh þæs temples hrōf* (l. 495), and *ofer hrōfas upp* (l. 528) are not expressions which one would expect to have been suggested by the physical features of that scene on the Mount of Olives. However, those physical features were afterwards changed, and the poet, as it would appear, was familiar with the first traveller's account of the Holy Land brought to England, in which the place of the Ascension is thus described:

"The Mount of Olives is five miles distant from Jerusalem, and is equal in height to Mount Sion, but exceeds it in breadth and length; it bears few trees besides vines and olive-trees, and is fruitful in wheat and barley, for the nature of that soil is not calculated for bearing things of large or heavy growth, but grass and flowers. On the very top of it, where our Lord ascended into heaven, is a large round church, having about it three vaulted porches. For the inner house could not be vaulted and covered, because of the passage of our Lord's body; but it has an alter on the east side, covered with a narrow roof. In the midst of it are to be seen the last prints of our Lord's feet, and the sky appearing open above where he ascended; and though the earth is daily carried away by believers, yet still it remains as before, and retains the same impression of the feet."

This is extracted (in Giles's translation) from an abridged treatise entitled *De Locis Sanctis* attributed to Bede (Giles, vol. iv, p. 416). The passage is also reproduced in Bede's *Eccl. Hist.*, lib. v, cap. 17, where it is preceded by an account of the composition of the original work by Adamnan, at the dictation of Arculf (cap. 15). These chapters (15–17) are omitted by the West-Saxon translator of the *History*, whether for the reason assigned by Wheloc, or for that assigned by Schmidt (*Untersuchungen über K. Ælfred's Bedaübersetzung*), or for neither; at all events we may, if so disposed, see in the contrasted methods of the historian and of the poet a *foretācn* of that celebrated contrast of opinion respecting ecclesiastical history which was, many centuries later, represented by the Cardinal Baronius and the zealous scholar Casaubon.

JAMES W. BRIGHT.

AMERICAN-FRENCH DIALECT COMPARISON.

Two Acadian-French Dialects compared with "Some Specimens of a Canadian-French Dialect Spoken in Maine."

PAPER NO. II.* B.

II. WATERVILLE tš̈=Fr. *t* or *k*[37] FOLLOWED BY A FRONT VOWEL.

W.: tšèl åž kə ta?[38] (or perhaps ðž)=how old are you?=quel âge que tu as?

23. C.: kyöl åž kə tâ?[38] also kyözåž kə tâ?=quel âge que tu as:

CC.: tšèl åž kə tâ?—quel âge que tu as?

W.: tš̈ez=quinze.

24. C.: kyæ̈z= "

CC.: tš̈æ̈z= "

W.: ɔ̃ or æ̃ butšé=flowers, bouquet=un bouquet.

25. C.: ɔ̃[40] or æ̃[40] bukyè=un bouquet.

CC.: æ̃ butšè= " "

W.: i[15] ō dè[42] butš̈é=they have flowers. Ils (*and* elles?) ont des bouquets.

26. C.: i[15] ō dé[42] bukyè=ils ont des bouquets *and* elles ont des bouquets.

CC.: i[15] àvō[41] dé[42] butšè=ils ont des bouquets *and* elles ont des bouquets.

* Paper No. I appeared in MOD. LANG. NOTES for December, 1893, January and February, 1894; and part of Paper No. II in December, 1897.

37 As Professor Sheldon says (p. 7 of *Specimens*), the Norman dialects offer many examples of *tl*—Fr. *k* followed by a front vowel. Cf. also the many forms corresponding to Fr. *k* plus front vowel which Jonain gives for the Saintonge dialect, writing them with ç; for example *çhitter*—Fr. *quitter*; *çhuré*—Fr. *curé*, etc.

38 Popular rural French also (Agnel, p. 48).

39 The *s* is due to analogy with cases like Fr. *quels arts* where a *s* sound is heard.

40 My notes lead me to believe æ̃ to be the popular form most commonly in use for the masculine indefinite article; also popular spoken French; ɔ̃ appears to me "learned."

41 This form is on the analogy of the first person plural of present indicative in the dialect which is *ànvō*. It would not be easy to find more marked instances of the activity of analogy in language than in some of these Acadian dialects, where as in Cheticamp C. B., throughout the entire verb system, not excepting the auxiliaries, the verb form of the third person plural is the same as that of the first person plural, and *accented* on the last syllable. Examples of this accentuation are found in Old-French texts; for instance, in his edition to *La naissance du chevalier au cygne* (Vol. iv, for 1888-9, of the *Publications of the M. L. A.*, p. 105 of the "Notes," line

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W.: sè[42] fâm lâ ô dè[42] butšè=ces femmes-là ont des bouquets.

27. C.: sé[42] fâm lâ ô dé[42] bukyè=ces femmes-là ont des bouquets.

CC.: sé[42] fâm lâ àvõ[41] dé[42] butšé=ces femmes-là ont des bouquets.

W.: el[43] butšè (or butšèt) è flöri=the bouquet is in blossom=le bouquet est fleuri. The *e* in *el* (the definite article) my notes do not mark. I think it was *è*.

28. C.: lə bukyè é flöri=le bouquet est fleuri.

CC.: lə butšè è flöri=le bouquet est fleuri.

374), Professor Todd notes *movént*, citing other lines of this practice in the same poem, and giving references where the striking feature has been mentioned elsewhere. Also in the xix. volume of the *Romania*, p. 332 of the *compte-rendu* by G. Paris of Professor Todd's edition of *La naissance du chevalier au cygne*, this feature of the text is commented on by M. Paris, who calls it "fort remarquable et même singulière." Förster in the last (1896) small edition of Kristian von Troyes' *Erec und Enide*, in the note to line 1449 of p. xlii of the Introduction, also notes this remarkable trait, referring the student to Söderhjelm. Meyer-Lübke in vol. ii of theFrench translation of his *Grammaire des langues romanes*, p. 199 (bottom), says: "Les premiers exemples de ce déplacement d'accent peuvent s'observer en ancien français déjà," and there follows a statement of the territory in France where the feature is actually current. Professor Sheldon first drew my attention to the importance of the phenomenon which has been studied but recently in its entirety: *Ueber Accentverschiebung in der dritten Person Pluralis im Altfrans zischen*, von Werner Söderhjelm, Helsingfors, 1895, and of which a concise summary and favorable review is given by G. Paris in volume xxiv of the *Romania*, p. 492.

42 For forms corresponding to Fr. *ces* and *des*, M. Legendre says: "*Les* et *des* se prononcent presque invariablement *lé* et *dé*" (p. 49). "*Ces* se prononce toujours *cés*" (p. 50). *Langue française au Canada*. This recalls the interesting observations by E. Koschwitz of how such words are actually pronounced by educated Parisians. (*Les parlers parisiens*, second edition, Paris, 1896; see the comments on the Parisians themselves preceding the extracts.)

43 Professor Sheldon thinks the *e* of *el* (the definite article) to be *è*.

44 I have remarked around Quebec this pronunciation, or very nearly such,—and I think the feature nearly identical with what M. Legendre describes when writing for Fr. *créature* and *rétir*, *créat(s)ure*, *rét(s)ir* (p. 47, *Langue fran,aise*). The feature is parallel with the Waterville form *dzü* recorded in phrase no. 20, to which see also the note below no. 33.

W.: ètšü[44] tut aprè[46]dèné a ta mèr?=are you giving everything to your mother=es-tu tout après donner à ta mère?

29. C.: étü tut àprè dõné à tà mèr?=es-tu tout après donner à ta mère?

CC.: A like expression not in use=es-tu tout après donner à ta mère?

W.: dla mòtšè=half=de la moïtié.

30. C.: dlà mò[45]kyé=de la moitié.

CC.: dlà mö[45]tšé= " " "

W.: æn bèl kriètžür[47]=une belle femme (créature).[47]

31. C.: ön bèl kréätür and kriätür[48]=une belle femme (créature).[47]

CC.: ön bèl kréätür=une belle femme (créature).[47]

W.: ptsi[49]=little=petit. The *p* was scarcely audible, but the lip motion was plain.

32. C.: pti[49]=petit.

CC.: pti[49]= "

W.: tšök[50]zòm=a few men=quelques hommes. The first vowel was ö when pronounced plainly. Cf. no. 17.

33. C.: kyök[50](kèk)òm=quelques hommes.

CC.: tsök[50]um[11] (tš è kum[11])=quelques hommes.

45 The first element of the Fr. diphthong in the first syllable of Fr. *moitié* is unrepresented in the three dialects, and the second element undergoes change; such variations are apt to be difficult to explain phonetically and especially in unaccented syllables as here.

46 In such words ending in an open *è* sound in Fr., the Canadian equivalent being *ae*, Fr. *après*—dialect *aprœ* [see Paper no. i, list (10)] one is tempted to look for such a pronunciation in Waterville, but here the dialect follows the two Acadian dialects.

47 Professor Sheldon adds: "This was given as politer than no. 67." This is the sense I have noted in the Acadian dialects and evidently very generally the sense in Canada, as the dictionaries of Dunn and Clapin show.

48 This pronunciation I was told is heard "from the old and quite ignorant." The substitution of dialect *i* for Fr. *é* or *è* is not infrequent in the unaccented syllable. S. Clapin gives ten or more examples of such changes on p. xix of his *Dictionnaire Canadien-Français*.

49 Of course merely ordinary spoken French, Passy writing regularly *pti* (p. 9, l. 1, ame édition, *Le français parlé*.)

50 As in popular French, (Passy writes *kèk*—Fr. *quelque*) so in the dialect the *l* is completely lost. The Waterville and Cheticamp dialects agree regularly, as a rule, in regard to dia-

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III. WATERVILLE *dž*=FRENCH *y* (consonant), *g* FOLLOWED BY A FRONT VOWEL,[51] *d* FOLLOWED BY *i*.

W.: dž̀öl (or rather perhaps dž̀öli) in dž̀öl sàl=gueule[52] sal.

34. C.: yöl sàl=gueule sal.
CC.: dž̀öl sàl= " "

W.: i vå[18] mudžé=it is going to rain=il va mouiller (in the sense of 'pleuvoir,' as in at least one dialect in France).

35. C.: i[57] vå[18] muyé[53]=il va mouiller.
CC.: i[57] vå[18] muyé[53]=" " "

W.: ænédžüidž=une aiguille.

36. C.: ònégüiy[54]= " "
CC.: ònédžüiy= " "

W.: òn ödž=un oeil. But cf. no. 73.

37. C.: æn[40] öy=" "
CC.: æn öy= " " .

W.: mè dözòrèdž=mes deux oreilles.

38. C.: mé[55] dözòréy= " " "

CC.: mé[55] dözöréy=mes deux oreilles.

W.: ön òrèdž (perhaps rather òn)=une oreille.

39. C.: òn òréy=une oreille.
CC.: òn öréy= " "

W.: midži='midi.'

40. C.: midi[56]=midi.
CC.: midi[56]= "

W.: idzivå[18] (probably rather dž)=he is going=il y va (?).

41. C.: i[57] y vå[18] and i yi vå[18]=il y va.
CC.: i[57] y vå[18]=il y va.

W.: à dživå[18]=she is going=elle y va.

42. C.: à[58] yi[59] vå[18] and à[58] y[59] vå[18]=elle y va.
CC.: à[58] yi[59] vå[18] and à y[59] vå=elle y va.

W.: öli tüt àprèdèné skèdžå[18]=we are giving all, everything;=on (lui ?) tout après donner ce qu'il y a (?). [59](for exception to *tš* Fr. *k*.)

43. C.: ön é tut àprè yi[59] dönè skyå[18]=nous lui donnons tout ce qu'il y a.
CC.: A like expression not in use.

W.: ma[60] vå[18] baldžél plášé=I am going to sweep the floor=moi vais balayer la plancher.

lect *tš*—Fr. *k* followed by a front vowel (*not* Fr. *t* followed by a single front vowel);—Professor Sheldon notes, however, for Waterville: "In no. 85 occurs the relative pronoun *ki*, not *tši*, and in no. 43 *sk dža* seems to be also an exception to the rule that French *k* before a front vowel corresponds to tš in this dialect. The latter exception may be due to the preceding *s*, or both the former and the latter may belong properly to another dialect; cf. the varying forms with *h* and š under I."

51 *dž*—Fr. *g* followed by a front vowel is applicable also to the Cheticamp dialect, just as we have found the Waterville and Cheticamp *tš* before front vowel coinciding as a rule to Fr. *k* in that position (not however to *t* before a single vowel).

52 The passage from the back position in Fr. *gueule* to the front position in *dž̀öl*, though the mid palatal *y* position is among the most interesting of the sound developments in these dialects. Remarkably unique, too, is the treatment of Fr. *t* and *d* before front vowels, as shown above, and three cases of Fr. *d* in each of the dialects as pointed out in note no. 44 of Paper No. I.

53 *muyé*—Fr. *mouiller* is the popular form for Fr. *pleuvoir* in each of these dialects and I have observed it in general throughout Canada.

54 One might expect *tyiy*, just as *gueule* gives *yöl*, but I have been unable to find such a form. In phrase 73, Professor Sheldon writes for Fr. *ses yeux s zyö*, which likewise makes an exception to Waterville *dž*—Fr. *y*. My notes lead me to believe that educational influence may in a measure explain such forms. In this connection the forms "*Diyom*"—Fr. *Guillaume*, "*dilae*"—Fr. *guichet*, *edziy*—Fr. *aiguille* and *Burdiñõ*—Fr. *Bourguignon* (heard about Quebec) are interesting by way of comparison.

55 Cf. note 42.

56 If *d* precedes *i* followed by a vowel, the dialect sound for Carleton is *y*; Fr. *Dieu—y*; for Cheticamp, it is *dž*: Fr. *Dieu—dž*. But if the Fr. *di* is followed by a consonant or final, the sound in the dialects is the same as the French sound.

57 *i* is the regular dialect form for Fr. *il* and *ils* before consonants; cf. with colloquial French, Beyer und Passy. *Das gesprochene Frans sisch*, p. 123.

58 The usage in the Carleton and the Cheticamp dialects is *a* before consonants and *al* before vowels—Fr. *elle* used conjunctively.

59 *y*, *gui* and *yi* are the dialect forms for Fr. conjunctive *lui*.

60 I have tried to find an example in these French Acadian and Canadian dialects of *ma*—Fr. *moi* used as in the Waterville dialect in phrases 44, 45, 49 and 98, but have been unable to,—that is, in popular speech; my notes, however, contain an expression in which *mwa* is thus used in Carleton by a child: mwa ẽ vü dõ glö l$^{ö}_{a}$—(literally) Fr. *moi a vu deux gros rats*. This leads me to believe that the form thus used in the Waterville dialect may be due to individual peculiarity of expression on the part of the one speaking.

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44. C.: ž[64] må[18] bàlié[61] l plǎšé (or) là plàs[62]= je vais balayer le plancher (or) la place.
CC.: ž vå[18] bàlié[61] (or) bruśé[63] l plǎšé=je vais balayer (or) brosser le plancher.
W.; ma[60] vå[18] baldžél tàpi=I am going to sweep the carpet=moi vais balayer le tapis.

45. C.: ž må[64] bàlié[61] l tàpi=je vais balayer le tapis.
CC.: ž vå[18] bruśé[63] l tàpi=je vais brosser le tapis.
W.: ō vå[18] baldžé=we are going to sweep=on va balayer.

46. C.: ō vå[18] bàlié[61]=we are going to sweep=on va balayer.
CC.: ō vå[18] bàlié[61] (or) bruśé[63]=we are going to sweep=on va brosser.
W.: ifzèfrèt[34]dzèr=it was cold yesterday=il faisait froid hier. Cf. 21.

47. C.: [57]ifzè frèt[34](i)yèr=it was cold yesterday=il faisait froid hier. Cf. 21.
CC.: [57]ifzè frèt[34](i)yèr=it was cold yesterday=il faisait froid hier. Cf. 21.
W.: ōdživå[18] tūt[13] (or perhaps *va*)=we are all going=on y va tou(te?)s.

48. C.: ō yi vå[18] tūt[13]=we are all going there=on y va tous (and) toutes.
CC.: ž y àlō[65] tut[13]=we are all going there=j'y allons tous (and) toutes.
W.; ma[60] vå[18]l dzirir[66] (or perhaps vòl)= I am going to cure him=moi vais le guérir.

49. C.: ž mā vå[18] lə yièrir=I am going to cure him=je m'en vais le guérir.
CC.: ž vå[18] lə dzèrir=I am going to cure him=je vais le guérir.

61 *bàlié* is found in several French dialects as can be seen by consulting the dictionaries; cf. Jonain, Dunn, Clapin; the explanation of course is simply phonetical,—the vowel preceding the *y* being attracted into the palatal position.

62 plàs is the popular word here; cf. Dunn and Clapin.

63 bruśé is the local popular word in this phrase.

64 *må* is a simple phonetical change,—the lips anticipating the stop *b* before getting there actually form one instead of a spirant.

65 The present indicative of *àlé*—Fr. *aller* runs thus in the Cheticamp dialect;—Sing: ž *vå*, *tü vå*, *i vå*; plural; ž.*àlō*, *vus àlé*, *i àlō*. Cf. phrase no. 26, note 41.

W.: i è dziri[66]=he is cured=il est guéri.

50. C.: i [69] yièri and il[67]éyièri=" " "
CC.: i[9] è yièri and il è[67] yieri=" " "
W.: æ̃ pidzi (or rather pidži)[68]=a place, city? See no. 20.

51. C.: ō̃[40] pèy and æ̃[40] péy=un pays. See the Waterville form for Fr. *pied*, no. 101.
CC.: æ̃ péy=un pays.
W.: džü[69] bwå=wood=du bois.

52. C.: dü bwå[70] and bwà[70]=du bois.
CC.: dü bwà= " "
W.: rdžyæ̃ (èrdžyæ̃)[71]=rien.

53. C.: ryæ̃, (yæ̃)= "
CC.: ryå̃[72]= "
W.: sàkré mudzi (or possibly módži)= sacré maudit. This I insert from memory of my schoolboy days, when I occasionally heard it from other boys in somewhat mocking reference to the French Canadians to whom it was credited. The

66 The first *i* in *džirir* is probably due to the influence of the *i* in the accented syllable.

67 *i* represents Fr. *il* and also Fr. *ils* and *elles* before consonants and vowels. *il*—Fr. *il* can be heard before a vowel, but so it seemed to me only in studied speech. Cf. for Old French: *Thurot*, t. ii, p. 141, and for Modern French: *Das gesprochene Französisch* of Beyer and Passy, p. 123. Canadian *iz*—Fr. *ils*, *elles* is not popnlar here.

68 Both in phrase 20 and here Prof. Sheldon gives *z* or *ž* for the consonant preceding the *i*. I suspect the sound to be the same I noted in Quebec, corresponding to Fr. *d* before *i* and *ü*;—although before *i*', as in the next phrase, no. 52, Prof. Sheldon writes ž, and I was in doubt whether to write *z* or *ž*;—that is in such phrases as nos. 31 and 32 where Prof. Sheldon writes kriètžür=Fr. *créature* and *ptži* for Fr. *petit*, I hesitated continually between ž and *z*. Such dialectic characteristic affects the language as a whole quite sensibly and was rather pleasing than otherwise to my ear. Cf. note 33 referring to Paper No. I, note no. 118 referring to M. Legendre's spellings given to show this feature, namely; *d(z)ur*—Fr. *jour*, *d(z)ire*.—Fr. *dire*; *créat(z)ure*—Fr. *créature* and *rɛt(z)ir*—Fr. *rétir*.

69 For the sound in *džü*, read the comments in the preceding note, no. 68.

70 Pronounced *bwå* by the young and *bwà* by the old.

71 In noting this form Professor Sheldon adds: "I also wrote *rdžyæ̃* marking the *e* as "reduced," but my notes say that the *r* was a vowel though plainly rolled. Perhaps the *y* should be omitted. Cf. also *vyæ̃*, no. 85."

72 The dialect words corresponding to Fr. *chien*, *bien* and *rien* sounded to my ear more like *šiã*, *biã* and *riã* than they did like *šiæ̃*, *biæ̃* and *riæ̃*.

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word *mudz̆i*, as Professor Chaplin, who indeed first reminded me of its existence, has suggested to me, is probably the French '*maudit*.'—For other examples of *dž*, see nos. 6, 7, 8, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 21 and the numerals no. 120.

54. C.: sàkré módi[73]=sacré maudit.
CC.: sákré [75]mudi[74]=" "
W.: tè[72]t=tête.
55. C.: tèt= "
CC.: tèt= "
W.: sǒz=chose.
56. C.: s̆ǒz= "
CC.: sŭz[75]= "
W.: mabuš̆=ma bouche.
57. C.: màbŭš̆[76]=ma bouche.
CC.: mà bŭš̆[76]=ma bouche gŭl=Fr. *goule* is, however, more popular.
W.: æ̀ livr[77]=un livre.
58. C.: æ̀ liv[78]= " "
CC.: æ̀ liv[78]= " "
W.: lòm=l'homme.
59. C.: lòm= "
CC.: lum[11]= "
W.: lèzòm=les hommes.
60. C.: lé[42]zòm=les hommes.
CC.: lé[42]zum[11]=les hommes.
W.: là fam=la femme.
61. C.: là fam= " "
CC.: là fam= " "
W.: lè[42] fæm (fam?)=les femmes.
62. C.: lé[42] fam= " "
CC.: lé[42] fam= " "
W.: æn[79] grā[80] fam=une grande femme.
63. C.: ǒn grā[80] fam= " " "
CC.: ǒn grā fām= " " "
W.: æn[79] grǒs fam=une grosse femme. Or *ǒn*,[79] but there was not much *ǒ* quality.
64. C.: ǒn grǒs fam=une grosse femme.
CC.: ǒn grǒs fam= " " "
W.: æ̀ grātòm=un grand homme.
65. C.: æ̀[40] grātòm and æ̀ grāz[81]òm=un grand homme.
CC.: æ̀[40] grātum=un grand homme.
W.: æ̀ gró[82]òm=un gros homme.
66. C.: æ̀ gró[82]tòm= " " "
CC.: æ̀ gró[82]tum= " " "

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73 Heard much in the following and used in like expressions: *vǎ tŭ zŭ vu, sakrɛ módi fu*—Fr. *va-t-en chez vous, sacré maudit fou*.

74 For *di* final in the dialect—Fr. *di* final, see note 56.

75 Besides dialect *u* before *m* and *n*—Fr. *om* and *on* (not nasal) as stated in note no. 11, there are a number of other words where both in the accented syllable and in the unaccented, the same change occurs before other consonants just as in this case *mudi* and also in no. 56 in CC. *Fus.* Jõnain mentions this feature on p. 17 of *Prononciation saintongeaise* (preceding the *Dictionnaire*). The lip action which Prof Sheldon points out as particularly strong for *ž* and *ǯ*, I think accounts in general for such pronunciations or "roundings."

76 Here the difference between the dialect form and the French form seems to me to be that referred to in note 10, or "*wide*" for "*narrow*" and is exactly parallel to the common dialect feature *i*—Fr. *i* (as in *ici*—Fr. *ici*), where the pronunciation of the *i* is that in E. *bit*. The late Miss Soames in her *Introduction to the Study of Phonetics*, p. 49, discusses most interestingly what these differences really are.

77 Professor Sheldon adds: "The *r* was hardly audible, but was not lost to the consciousness of the speaker."

78 In these two dialects the *i* is as in French long and "narrow;" the dialect vowels *i̯*, *ŏ* and *ŭ*, which are not French, may be due partly to the influence of speaking English.

79 Cf. phrase no. 22 for another form of the indefinite feminine article and see the note no. 36.

80 See phrase no. 10 for another feminine form.

81 Analogy of the forms so common where a *z* is heard; cf. note 23 to phrase no. 13.

82 These forms are due to false analogy just as the "*cuirs et velours*" in ordinary French are.

CERTAIN SCOTTICISMS.

As Dr. F. Holthausen, in a courteous notice (*Anglia, Beiblatt*, viii, 202) of my *Selections from the Early Scottish Poets*, cites several phrases of the text which he says he does not understand, I take great pleasure in explaining them.

P. 51, l. 171.

"Than said the Wolf," Now God nor that I hang,
Bot to be thair I wald gif all my clais.'"

The same phrase occurs in Lyndsay's *Papyngo*: "God nor I rax in ane raipe," and in many other places. It is an idiomatic asseveration, or conditional invocation of a calamity, equivalent to "God grant (something may befall me) if," etc. A. Hume, in his *Orthographie and Congrnitie of the Britan*

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Tongue cites it as a regular optative formula: "We wish be 'wald god,' 'god grant,' and 'god nor.'" The Wolf's meaning is, "may I be hanged if I would not give," etc.

P. 107, l. 329. "but ȝone man that ȝe knew," means "unless you knew that man."

P. 112, l. 473. "Gif I fand thee." That is, "if I try thee," or "put thee to the test." Rolland has orders to bring the Collier to the court, and the Collier has promised to come when he is ready. The knight hesitates whether to bring him along by main force, or trust to his promise; but concludes to try the latter. Hence he says, "If I try thee," be sure to keep thy promise.

P, 112, l. 475. The Collier says he will certainly come, "Bot gif sum suddand let put it of delay:"—"unless some sudden [unlooked-for] hindrance delay me." Perhaps "in delay" would be clearer; but I do not feel justified in making arbitrary alterations in the text to suit my own notions.

P. 113, l. 481. "I neid nane airar myne erand nor none of the day." The King had told Rolland to bring the Collier to the court by noon. It was yet early morning, and Rolland considers that he can let the Collier take his time, as he was not obliged to produce him before noon.

P. 113, l. 497. "Bring na beirnis us by, but as we war borne"—"but [just] as we were born;" a humorous way of designating the lack of squires or seconds.

P. 154, l. 4. "altering haill of new," "Of new" is the same as "anew:" "altering all anew."

P. 162, l. 104. "verdour . . . . . smyling to thar flowris." This is, of course, a breach of strict grammatical concord; but "verdour," in the poet's mind, is equivalent to "verdant plants." The adjustment of the syntax to the thought rather than the expressed word, was common on both sides of the Tweed.

P. 166, l. 5. "Cheis ȝow." The pronoun is in the dative case: "choose for yourself."

P. 167, l. 32. "scho bene so impotent." Dr. Holthausen asks, "Was ist *scho bene?*" I answer: "she is." It is a construction frequent with Lyndsay, who uses it seven times in the seventy-two lines of his Prologue to the *Papyngo:* for example, "Of rubies the charbunckle bene chose;" "myne mater bene so rude."

P. 168, l. 10. "Prayand Pluto . . . . that in his feit he fang ȝou." "That he seize you in his feet," that is, claws, talons.

P. 170, l. 90. "God nor," This has been explained above, in the note to p. 51.

P. 175, l. 134. "Me think yow deif and dum." "The case of the pronoun is due to the common confusion between "me thinks," and "I think."

Dr. Holthausen asks my authority for defining "cude," "christening cloth." The word is common in pre-Reformation Scottish; but instead of crowding this page with citations, I will refer him to the *Oxford Dictionary* and to Jamieson.

He rebukes me, with the added severity of an exclamation-mark, for defining "stovis," "stoves," instead of "vapours." If he had looked more carefully at the glossary, he would have seen "stovis, mists, vapours," in its due place. "Stovis," stoves, occurs on p. 157, l. 89.

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A SHAKESPEAREAN QUIBBLE.

Shakespeare who was master of all knowledges was, of course, also master of the science of Physics, as may be observed in the following remarkable line:

> "Light, seeking light, doth light of light beguile."
> *Love's Labour's Lost*, i, 1, 77.

From this, it would seem, it may be inferred that even before Newton's *Principia* the much later discovery of the "interference of light" had been 'prevented' in a youthful composition of the bard. But if this supposition transgresses the limits of probability, it may be assumed that it is merely the corpuscular theory of light that is here darkly foreshadowed; in this case the interpretation of the line might be stated, following tradition, in something like the following manner: Any object in nature that is to be 'studied' must be illuminated; if the object be already luminous, the illumination required for the investigation will so much surpass the object's light as to make it relative darkness ("where light in darkness lies"). Sun-spots, to the ob-

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server looking at the full sun, appear black; but when the body of the sun is 'screened,' the spots, relieved of contrast, are found to be luminous. Now Shakespeare may be supposed to have had in mind the investigation of light itself, with an intimation of the notion that light consists of material substance, the notion which culminated in Newton's corpuscular theory, and the substitution of "light" for 'luminous object' would therefore render the preceding explanation of the line exact.

The discovery of this profound interpretation must warrant some indulgence in self-approbation, but the real purpose of this note is to level malice at the two commas in the line, which are found in almost all editions of the play, the Globe edition being a notable exception. These commas led Tieck to translate thus:

"Licht, das nach Licht sucht, stiehlt dem Licht das Licht."

This must represent the sense which Shakespearean scholars have read into the line, but what that sense is has not been divulged. For my part, I cannot think of a meaning that would hold to the commas. Johnson said of the passage embracing the line in question: "The whole sense of this gingling declamation is only this, that a man by too close study may read himself blind," and this is correct; but if he has foreseen the destiny of a particular line of the text he would, no doubt, have singled it out for some such comment as this:

"Light seeking light doth light of light beguile."

That is, the act of reading (light—'sight of the eyes'—seeking light—'seeking knowledge') deprives the eyes of sight.

JAMES W. BRIGHT.

SPANISH PUBLICATIONS.

III.[1] (*Conclusion.*)

7. *First Spanish Readings.* Selected and edited, with Notes and Vocabulary, by JOHN E. MATZKE, Ph. D., Professor of Romanic Languages, Leland Stanford Jr. University. Boston: U.S.A. D. C. Heath & Co., 1897. 8vo, pp. iv+219.

EXCEPT for these omissions, the Notes are quite full, but at the same time they contain mistakes which it might have been possible to avoid. To be sure, it is difficult to gather exact information about all the nice points of Spanish customs, etc., that come up in the texts, especially about bull-fighting, but with due care and patience it is possible in most cases. A curious example is furnished by note 4 to p. 28, where we read that "the extract (that is, Alarcón's *Lo que se oye*) was written in the spring of 1874," while the author himself heads the piece: "*verano* de 1874." Again, in transcribing (on p. 127) the title-page of the volume from which *Tapón* is taken, the author's title "Conde de las Navas" is given, although the book does not display that title. Note 2 to p. 22 gives 1788–1808 as the dates for the reign of Charles III, while they are those of Charles IV, and should be changed to 1759–1788. These inaccuracies are not grave in themselves, but they betray an oversight that leads up to such notes as note 1, p. 28:

"ochavo, an old copper coin of the value of three centimos. The coin is no longer current, but the word has remained, meaning the smallest copper coin in use, which is worth five centimos, commonly called perra or perra chica, because the popular humor sees in the lion rampant on the coin the figure of a female dog. The coin worth ten centimos is in the same way called perro."

In reality, the *ochavo* was half a *cuarto*, thirty-four of which made one *peseta* of one hundred *céntimos*, so the *ochavo* was one and a-half *céntimos*. The coin is still used among the poorest classes, especially in Cataluña, where even *ochavos morunos*, more than four hundred years old, are common enough. The smallest coins now made are the pieces of one and of two *céntimos*. The five *céntimos* piece is called *perra*, *perra chica*, or *perro chico*; the *lion* is not a *lion rampant*, and the piece of ten *céntimos* is called *perro grande*, *perro gordo*, *perra grande*, or *perra gorda*. Again: note 2, p. 1: the story speaks of a Moorish king of Toledo and of the king of Castile, Fernando el Grande. To this we find the note: "Fernando el Grande is Ferdinand V (1452–1516), the husband of Isabella of Castile, to whom he was married in 1469." Toledo was conquered by the Christians in 1085, and though in subsequent years the Moors besieged

[1] Cf. MOD. LANG. NOTES for December, 1897 (vol. xii, cols. 355-364).

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the city, they never succeeded in recapturing it. The date is of sufficient importance to be remembered, for it may be said that from that time the ultimate reconquest of the Peninsula was assured. The fact is that Fernando *el Grande* or *el Magno* is Fernando I, first king of Castile (1035, king of Leon 1037, died 1065); in confounding him with Fernando *el Católico*, a discrepancy is apparent of no less than four hundred years.

Errors of this sort are the more regrettable since in general, if we except those on bull-fighting, the notes on "Realia" are fairly good and need but few corrections in addition to those already offered. As for the notes that deal with matters of language, my corrections will speak for themselves. The title-note to *Casilda* might have stated that the 1879-edition of the *Cuentos de vivos y muertos* was the third, in the same way as was done for the *Cuentos populares*, thus indicating the popularity of the volume, for such hints are of value to those who use the Reader. P. 7, note 8, should have mentioned the exception to the rule. P. 8, note 4, is not an example of a feminine pronoun used to express a neuter idea. The Spanish language has a neuter pronoun that is used freely and with advantage, and the *la* in expressions like *se la habían de pagar* represents one of the numerous feminine nouns that might be used; comp. p. 57, note 4, where *las* stands for *las facultades*. P. 10, note 7, *quiere que le regalemos el oído* is not "he wants us to listen to him, that is, to believe him." This would be correct if in this expression *regalar* meant "to make a present of;" the other meaning given in the Vocabulary, namely, "to entertain, to delight," applies here; comp. p. 77, l. 1, and translate: 'he wants to be coaxed.' P. 12, note 4, the primary figurative meaning of "humos" is 'humor, disposition, temperament;' the meaning "pride" is secondary, and the expression *buenos humos tenía para* . . . is one of the ironical phrases so common in Spanish, meaning: 'oh yes! it was just like him to. . .' P. 12, note 6, the *morrión* at the time of the first civil war was no longer a helmet but the tall shako of the infantry, which in 1859 was supplanted by the lighter and smaller *ros*, now worn by all the Spanish troops except by the *Guardia civil* and the cavalry. P. 23, note 2: in the preparation of the *azucarillos* no flour is used, and in Spain flour is not soluble in water; they are made of the whites of eggs, beaten with some sugar and flavoring into a very spongy mass, so light in weight that, though they are eight inches long and two in diameter, a hundred easily go into one pound. *Aguardiente* is not brandy but an inferior sort of anise-cordial, and nobody but a foreigner will use both *aguardiente* and *azucarillos* in a glass of water. P. 23, note 3, in explaining *barquillero* as "waffle-seller" (the Vocabulary even speaks of hot waffles), the editor, as in many other cases, has been misled by Tolhausen. In reality the *barquillero* does not sell his wares; he carries them about in a tall box, on the lid of which there is a wheel of fortune, and on summer days and evenings people entertain themselves gambling for the cakes, the exact name of which is in German *Zimtröhrchen*, and in English (at least in Baltimore) *rolled wafers*. In Spain they are used in place of a spoon with ices, or to accompany *horchatas* and other cooling drinks. P. 24, note 1, the *Correspondencia* is an evening paper; p. 24, note 3, *en paz* means: 'that will do.' P. 25, note 2: might not the name *Frascuelo* have been accompanied by some remark as to its formation? P. 25, note 3, the *real*, though no longer coined, is still current as a separate coin; p. 26, note 7, *seguir* never means "to begin," and *mañana sigue la novena* means: 'to-morrow the novena is still in progress;' p. 39, note 1, *¡anda!* never has the force of "oh, no!" It means 'go ahead!' 'that's right,' 'well, I declare!' and the like. When used with *vé*, as in our passage, it means: 'make haste!' P. 47, note 2, *Jauja* is a fictitious name for the town, and therefore it is not surprising that we do not find it on maps or in gazetteers. It occurs, however, in a few of the books used by the editor. Tolhausen renders it by "Goldland, Eldorado," which meaning it is found to have in: *África . . . es la Jauja de los malhechores, el seguro de la impunidad . . .* (see *Moros y Cristianos*, Ch. viii, in Alarcón, *Narraciones inverosímiles*). But the usual meaning of "*Jauja*," or "la tierra de *Jauja*," is 'fool's paradise,' 'pays de Cocagne,' 'Schlaraffenland,' as in Trueba

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(*Cuentos populares*, 5th ed., p. 411) . . . *Jauja, donde se come y se bebe y no se trabaja.* P. 60, title-note: though the volume from which the *Día de toros* is taken bears the date of 1877, the article is considerably older. I do not know when Flores died, and although there are grounds for assuming that he died in the early sixties, he may have been living in 1877, but the mention of the Queen on p. 67, l. 16, shows that the article was written before 1868, and the *calesa* of p. 64, l. 11, a vehicle that rapidly disappeared from Madrid after 1855, would seem to indicate that 1860 is a sufficiently recent date. Therefore, though the piece is well written, it has not the merit of actuality, and several remarks of the author no longer apply. The *Plaza* is about a mile from where it used to be; the *Puerta de Alcalá* is no longer a passage for coaches; the ticket-office has been transferred to the *Calle de Sevilla;* the *despejo* and the *paseo* have been reinstated in their glory; even the day for the *corridas* has been changed from Monday to Sunday, while on one or two other days of the week bull-fights are also given. I must refrain from speaking of the bull-fighter's actions in front of the bull, since in the Notes the remarks about them are misleading, and it would take us too far afield to pass in review each point. Besides, the matter is of no importance to those who use the book. Let it suffice to say that the editor always speaks of lances, *banderillas*, and swords, being thrust "into the bull," while in reality the one objective point of the fighters attack is the *morrillo*, that is, the hump over the top of the shoulderblades. P. 62, note 3: *estación* never means "locality," and even if it should sometimes have this signification, it could not be here, because Madrid is the only locality under consideration; the word here means 'season of the year.' Only the point of the lance is always measured. P. 64, note 3: no formal bull-fights, but only *novilladas*, are held in Madrid in summer. The season comes to an end early in June, and reopens about the middle of September. During the winter months few *corridas* are held. The prices vary according to the importance of the function, and the long list of August prices, as given in the note, is not representative. P. 65, note 1: the rules and regulations governing bull-fights are so strict, that if the *cuadrillas* should dare enter the ring in the order named in the note, everybody would be heavily fined, and the public would not fail to express intense indignation. The men take their places in the *paseo* strictly according to rank, determined by the date of their first appearance in their actual capacity, the *espadas* coming first, with the oldest one at the right, then the *banderilleros* and other fighters on foot, the *picadores* last. The hooting of the *alguacil* was a standing feature in Flores' days; at present it takes place very rarely, when he fails to catch the key. P. 67, note 1: The text reads: "La suerte de las banderillas es de las más difíciles, pero de mucha defensa." The note says this *suerte* is "the most artistic as well as the most dangerous," and in order to make this statement good, note 2 has to translate *de mucha defensa* by "of much skill;" this in the face of the *pero*, about the meaning of which there can be no doubt! The passage means: 'is very difficult, but not very dangerous,' *defensa* being 'defense, protection,' the reverse of exposure to danger. P. 67, note 7: the *espada* never throws his cap "over his shoulder." When he has finished his speech, he turns right-about on his heel, swinging his arm around behind his back (*por la espalda*, which, in spite of the Vocabulary's rendering, never means "shoulder") and dropping the cap. P. 67, note 11: The combination of things showered upon the *espada* is rather incongruous as given. When he has done well, cigars are plentiful and hats likewise; a fan is rarely thrown, because few women occupy the *tendidos* and the other seats are too far away. When the *espada* has oranges thrown at him, it is a sign that he has been very unsuccessful and has excited the indignation of the public in a marked degree. P. 67, note 12: nowadays the *cachetero* is always called *puntillero*. He dispatches the bull with the *puntilla*, which is not "a small blunt puñal," but an instrument ten inches long, with a sharp wedge at the point, which he drives into the animal's spinal chord close to the head, causing instantaneous death. The *puntilla* is also used in slaughter-houses. P. 71, note 1: *la*

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echaba de inteligentísimo is not "he was" but 'he claimed to be' a great authority; the Vocabulary should have sufficed. P. 71, note 2. *¡Aprieta, manco!* does not mean "grasp it, fool!" *Manco* means 'one-armed man,' and is as devoid of significance in this exclamation as the name of Mr. Gallagher in the request to 'let her go.' The expression, in almost all cases, and also in our passage, means: 'Du sprichst ein grosses Wort gelassen aus,' or as Bret Harte has it: "which is coming it strong." I might suggest to translate it here by: 'Lay on, Macduff!' P. 71, note 4: *no tenía el diablo por donde desecharla* is not "the devil could not have gotten rid of her" but: 'she was so bad that, even though the devil himself did not want to take her, he could find no good quality in her upon which to base a pretext for declining to take her.'

Translate: 'she had no redeeming quality.' P. 72, note 3: *un cigarro* is not "a cigar," but 'a cigarette;' *echar ú. c.* is 'to have a smoke.' Again the Vocabulary ought to suffice. P. 75, note 2: the epithet *gato*, or, in its complete form, *gato de Madrid*, does not denote a "sly" but an 'untrustworthy' person, and the ironical phrase: *de Madrid había de ser para que no fuera gato* is not, as the Vocabulary and the note would have it: "he was obliged to be from Madrid to be so sly, that is, or he would not have been so sly," but: 'Madrid was the place for him to come from in order not to be untrustworthy.' P. 77, note 1: Macario is sent to the Limbo because he had been as *tonto* or *inocente* as a new-born babe, and the Old-Testament saints with their many wives may well be left at rest in matters of Spanish puns. Moreover, if we want to bring them forward in this connection, we must assume that San Pedro would call them *tontos*. P. 79, note 3, is right in saying that *echar una cana* means "to have a good time," but the pun on the next page is lost by the explanation. *Echar* never means "to forget" but 'to shed' or 'to drop' one's gray hairs, that is, to get young again. P. 80, note 1: *darse con un canto en los hocicos* is correctly translated "consider oneself lucky," but this should have been done in the Vocabulary, while the note ought to have given an explanation of this curious expression, the more so as *canto* here means a 'rock' and not a "song," the only meaning given in the Vocabulary. P. 82, note 1: *echar la casa por la ventana* is not "turn everything upside down," but 'spare no expense;' the editor has again been misled by Tolhausen. P. 83, note 3: the complete form of the *refrán* is:

éstas son las verdades
del padre Nuño,
que á la mano cerrada
llamaba puño.

Such *verdades* are also called *verdades de Perogrullo* and in French *vérités de M. de la Palisse*. They have nothing to do with "calling a spade a spade." The *padre Nuño* comes in only to rhyme with *puño* and bears no relation to the Basque chieftain. The peasant means by the *refrán* to hint at closed fists. P. 84, note 1: if the Vocabulary had given, under *comer*, not only "to eat" but also 'to itch,' the note might have been omitted and the passage would have been quite clear. P. 85, l. 9, and p. 86, l. 4, the Basque names *Chomin* and *Peru* might have been explained as representing 'Domingo' and 'Pedro', in the same way as other Basque words are explained in the Notes. P. 88, note 5: *cuidado que sería gaita* is not "look out, for it would be no joke;" the punctuation does not warrant this translation. The passage means: 'you bet,' or, if slang is not admissible, 'surely it would be hard luck.' P. 89, note 2, violates the grammar in translating *donde se bailan de padre y muy señor mío* by "where they know how to dance." It should read: 'where they (that is, those dances) are danced A-number-one.' P. 93, note 2: Zorrilla's merit lies more in his poetry, above all in his *leyendas*, than in his dramas. P. 95, note 4: the spot is called 'el Suspiro del Moro,' without "último." P. 106, note 1: the correct rendering is the opposite of that given; read: 'when one bright light *languidly closes* its eyes and falls and is scattered on the ground, another opens *its dazzling* pupils which *give* unaccustomed brightness *to* the conflagration.' The simile (comp. p. 114, l. 11–12) is far-fetched, but the more difficult the passage, the more imperative it becomes to apply strictly the rules of the language and to adhere to the exact meaning of words. P. 108, note 1: *á bien que* . . . means, not "moreover" but

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'fortunately.' P. 109, note 1: *el dorado columpio de la cadena* means 'the golden swing formed by his chain.' P. 109, note 2: *adelanta el señorito con aire á lo flamenco* is not: "the young dandy struts along like a flamingo" but: 'the young dandy comes forward with the dawdling air of a gipsy.' *Flamenco* here is an adjective, the same that is found in expressions like *canto flamenco*, *baile flamenco* denoting the songs, dances, and mannerisms of the Andalusian gipsies. P. 109, note 5: the name is *Triana*, without the article. P. 113, note 1: *¡ Haga Ud. encaje con esos divinos pies . . . !* is not "make a display, that is, show how you can dance with those fine feet!" but; 'make figures as fine as lace-work.' P. 113, note 2: the *Dos de Mayo* is known, not for its beauty, but for its bloodshed. The passage means: 'what murderous grace,' or 'what killing wit.'

In the course of my remarks upon the Notes I had occasion to say that in many cases the editor had been misled by Tolhausen, whose *Wörterbuch* has been recommended by me in previous reviews to the attention of my readers. Tolhausen is an excellent dictionary, but it is not perfect. In the technical terms of bull-fighting it is conspicuously weak; and provincial and dialect words occurring in the literature of the last twenty years, or slang expressions that have come to the front within the same period, are often wanting. On the other hand, the book is invaluable for the fullness with which it gives idiomatic word-combinations and the various meanings of a word, and the cases are very rare where the translation is inexact. Such flaws will undoubtedly be eliminated when the dictionary undergoes a revision, which will probably be made erelong; in the meanwhile the book is by far the best bilingual Spanish dictionary available. But under all circumstances a text is more authoritative than a dictionary, and the only way to attain certainty as to the meaning of words and phrases is to read Spanish books and gather parallel passages in sufficient numbers to warrant a conclusion.

It has been Professor Matzke's ill-fortune to have to deal with a number of words for which Tolhausen gives an inexact translation. *Manzanilla* (p. 112, l. 14; p. 113, l. 10) is not "Apfelwein" or "cider," but a light country-wine of Andalusia; the words *pie de banco* (p. 73, l. 4) do not mean "Unsinn, dummes Zeug" or "nonsense," for they never occur except preceded by *de*, as in *salida de pie de banco*, meaning an 'absurd' or 'misplaced' remark. The word *¡ salero !* on p. 113, l. 13, is not "oh! how beautiful!" just as little as *¡ ohé salero !* is "o, wie schön ist diese Frau!" 'Sal' means 'salt,' and also 'wit, grace, charm;' 'salero' is a thing full of 'sal,' and the vocative *¡ salero !* is applied to women, just as the adjective *¡ salerosa !* with the meaning of 'you charmer'!

We can readily excuse the editor for having followed Tolhausen in these cases, for the text did not show clearly that the *Wörterbuch* was inexact. But the thing becomes different when the text imperatively demands another translation than that given by Tolhausen. The word *escote* is here translated "Spitzeneinfassung am Kragen," and the Vocabulary says "kerchief." The word also has, however, the meanings 'the cut-out part of a low-necked dress' and 'the part of the bosom exposed by a low-necked dress.' It occurs but once in the Reader, in the combination *el mórbido escote* (p. 51, l. 31), which certainly is 'her white bosom,' and not, as the Vocabulary would have it, "her sickly kerchief." Tolhausen gives "cócora, m. und f., Sittenprediger, vorwitzige Person;" the Vocabulary: "cócora, *m. and f.*, moral preacher," a rendering that is not clear unless we go back to the German. The only time the word is found in the text is on p. 76, l. 17, *el portero es el viejo más cócora que yo me he echado á la cara*, where *cócora* is an adjective, not recorded by Tolhausen, but well rendered by his "vorwitzig," that is 'inquisitive, impertinent,' or in this passage perhaps better 'hard to please, over-nice.' Tolhausen translates "pasmarota, pasmarotuda, f., verstellte Ohnmacht, verstellte Nervenzufälle der Bettler; Verwunderung ohne vernünftigen Grund." On the strength of this, the Vocabulary gives "beggar who pretends to have a fainting-fit" as the meaning of *pasmarote* on p. 80, l. 14, in *á mí . . . se me ha de tener como un pasmarote esperando en la portería*, while the passage means: 'they are bound to keep me waiting

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at the door like a wooden Injun.'

Further cause for misunderstanding is the fact that the Vocabulary gives impossible renderings as a result of a mistranslation of Tolhausen's German. *Dompedro* (p. 48, l. 9) is in German "Abendblume;" in English this is 'marvel of Peru,' but not "evening flower." *Ofuscador* (p. 106, l. 24) is not "darkening" but 'dazzling,' and Tolhausen's "verdunkelnd" is 'out-shining.' *Derroche* cannot mean "confusion," the only translation furnished by the Vocabulary, and though Tolhausen says: "derroche, Verschwendung, Unordnung," the latter word clearly means 'careless administration.' The word occurs once, on p. 102, l. 26: *aquel derroche de luzy vida*, where "Verschwendung," that is, 'reckless expenditure,' would be a good translation, although I should prefer 'wealth.'

In spite of such errors as those just noted, if the editor had closely followed Tolhausen, the Vocabulary would in most cases have answered its purpose. The Vocabulary says: "caminero, *m.*, traveller," a meaning which the word never has. The noun, not found in the Reader, is given by Tolhausen as "Wegaufseher," that is, 'road inspector;' as an adjective, correctly rendered by Tolhausen "den Weg betreffend," it occurs once in the text, on p. 73, l. 20, in *peón caminero*, where *peón* is not "pedestrian;" the two words together mean, as Tolhausen correctly says: "Wegewärter," that is, 'roadmaker.' For the expression, *ni por pienso*, the Vocabulary says: "pienso, *m.*, thought," while the word does mean 'an allowance of fodder,' and less commonly 'task' (*pensum*). *Espalda* is rendered, as if it were French *épaule*, by "shoulder" instead of 'back;' *entornar*, as if it were *entourer*, by "to surround" instead of 'to close almost entirely,' and *escoltar*, as if it were *écouter*, by "to listen, to hear" instead of 'to escort, to accompany.'

Such translations would tempt us to regard "maulón, chest," instead of 'big shammer,' and "estrellar, to shelter," instead of 'to break to pieces,' as additional specimens of like nature, but let us call them misprints for 'cheat' and 'to shatter,' in the same way as "jamelgo, worn-out wag" should be 'nag,' and "rudamente, ruddy" become 'rudely.'

The form of the Vocabulary is likewise not free from blemishes. We here find misprints like *tenir cuidado; engullar* for *engullir; hendir* for *hender; gente de los huertas; lejillo* for *lejillos; llovar; narizes; volcano; Zorilla*:—all in bold-faced type; the words beginning with *ch* are placed at the end of those beginning with *c*, but without a separate heading; the alphabetical arrangement is disregarded in the case of many words (I have counted forty-seven), several of which are a long way removed from their legitimate places.

In favor of the Vocabulary it may be said that it contains almost every word of the text the exceptions, as far as noted, being *abonar*, 'to fertilize' (p. 52, l. 18); *ah del . . .*, '[ship] *ahoy!*' (p. 42, l. 10); *cabezada*, 'blow with the head' (p. 67, l. 26); *colorado*, 'red' (p. 67, l. 12); *corneta, m.*, 'cornet player' (p. 19, l. 32); *esposo*, 'bridegroom' (p. 6, l. 26); *frente, m.*, 'front' (p. 56, l. 32); *¡ ja ja ja!* 'ha ha ha!' (p. 23, l. 4); *proveniente, de* 'inspired by' (109, 15); *tocante á*, 'concerning' (p. 70, l. 23); *verano*, 'summer' (p. 22, title). This advantage, however, is made illusory, in part, by the manner in which the Vocabulary deals with its material: lack of attention to the preposition that goes with the verb; to transitive verbs meanings are given that belong only to the reflexive form; the translations given do not cover all the cases where the word occurs in the text, and numbers of idiomatic phrases, that great stumbling-block of all students of Spanish, are not accounted for. In some cases, it is true, the Notes remove a difficulty, but a Vocabulary should be complete in itself and do full justice to the text. Especially should this be so in Spanish, for the Spanish-English dictionaries are so hopelessly bad as to be of no value to a conscientious student, and not everyone knows German enough to use Tolhausen. A good Vocabulary, and best of all one that recorded the places where a word or expression occurs, would be an invaluable supplement to the existing dictionaries and might become the nucleus of an excellent school-dictionary, the lack of which makes itself felt more urgently with every new reading-book that appears.

While in its present state the Vocabulary is

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imperfect, the merit of the texts may perhaps carry the book to a second, and perfect, edition. In order in a measure to contribute to its availability and thereby to its ultimate success, I beg to offer the following observations, which, however, are not intended to purge the Vocabulary of every flaw, as that task cannot be expected of a reviewer.

"á, to, at, in, from." Add: 'by' (á fuerza de, 79, 10); 'on' (estar *á* punto de, 71, 12; al siguiente día, 14, 1; á caballo, 74, 15); 'for' (al efecto, 63, 32; ¿ á qué . . . ? 48, 30); 'I bet . . .' (¡á que no! 66, 31); 'in case of' (á no ser, 70, 32); with words of measure: 'each' (monedas de á cinco duros, 107, 17; á dos reales, 23, 14), 'long' (de á vara, 41, 28); abbreviated from: [me remito] á, '[let us leave it] to' (30, 11). abajo: para abajo, 'upside down' (104, 14). abuelo, adj. (papá abuelo, 11, 4). acabar, refl. 'to come to an end (16,23): acertará, 'to succeed in' (4, 26): acomodo, 'offer, match' (54, 25). agarrarse, p.p. agarrado, 'holding on' (35, 13). ahora bien, 'this being so' (98, 29). alegre: más alegre que unas Pascuas, 'as merry as can be' (73, 23). alma: con el alma en un hilo, 'in suspense' (74, 15); volver el alma al cuerpo á 'to reassure' (78, 24). allá, of time: 'long ago' (6, 16; 70, 3); ¡allá vamos! 'here she goes'! pop. (109, 19; 112, 17). amo: mi amo, 'mister,' pop. (42, 15). andar: andar con, 'to bother about' . . . (81, 12); andar plus present partic., 'to keep (doing)' (78, 18); andando, 'at a good gait' (72, 5). anhelar, 'to long for' (5, 14). ¡animal! 'you idiot' (48, 15). anís: grano de anís, 'a trifle, a small matter' (used only negatively) (47, 22). apagarse, noun, 'snuffing out' (106, 32). apoyarse en, 'to lean against.' ¡arrea! 'so that's it!' (76, 29). arrojarse á borbotones, 'to bubble forth, to gush forth' (4, 21); arrojarse, 'boldly to come forward, to dare' (67, 12). astro, 'heavenly body' (102, 12: the moon). asustarse, 'to get frightened' (9, 11). atónito, 'enraptured' (6, 25). atraque: 'indigestion' (42, 13: of knowledge). aura: 'breeze, zephyr' (poet.) (3, 6). bando: 'party, faction' (12, 9). barbaridad: ¡ Qué barbaridad! 'I never heard of a thing like that!' (27, 3), 'That's frightful! (73, 8). bárbaro, 'foolish' (66, 30). befa, 'laughing-stock' (49, 12). bestia, 'heartless person' (48, 19). bestialidades, 'such frightful things' (72, 3). bien: (mujer) de bien, 'worthy' (7, 5). blanco: herir en el blanco (49, 14). bochorno: 'disgrace' (99, 28). brazo á brazo, 'hand to hand' (36, 19). brios: ¡juro á brios . . .! (for: Dios) 'you bet your boots . . .!' (75, 11). bueno: en buena lid, 'fair' (18, 8). caber: 'can be contained, to find room' (96, 33). cabo: 'corporal' (70, 21). calma: 'phlegm' (gastar mucha calma, 'to be very slow,' 74, 23). ¡calla! 'well upon my word!' (76, 5; 80, 31). camilla: 'stretcher' (17, 5). cara: poner buena cara á, 'to be very considerate towards' (75, 15). cargar con, 'to take (something that the owner would gladly get rid of)' (28, 14). categoría: 'rank' (81, 12). catequizar: 'to wheedle' (77, 18). celosía, fig. 'screen (screen-like growth)' (107, 7). cesante: very few cesantes have a pension. cima: por cima de, 'over' (104, 2). colmo: 'superabundance' (36, 13). comandante: 'major' (13, 17). compromiso: 'vow' (61, 5). como que, 'inasmuch as, for' (86, 11); como si dijéramos, 'as it were, if we may use the word' (51, 6; 113, 3). confianza: 'frankness, familiarity' (94, 23). conocer: 'recognize' (23, 5; 43, 21); se conoce, 'it is easy to see, everybody can see' (42, 14; 81, 22). correr: 'to spread' (79, 14); correrse: 'to extend' (97, 29), 'to be filled with shame' (51, 19). cosa: á cosa de, 'about' (of time) (14, 5). crótalos: poet., 'castanets'[2] (110, 1; 113, 23). cuajar: 'to fill, to crowd' (105, 20). cuando: ¿ para cuándo? 'when [can we expect]?' (98, 31). cuenta: cuenta que, 'it must not be overlooked that' (41, 26; 110, 19). cuerpo: cuerpo á cuerpo, 'hand to hand, face to face' (14, 10; 61, 30). curiosete: 'disagreeably inquisitive' (77, 21). cursi, adj.: 'commonplace' (52, 15). dar: dar vueltas, 'to turn around' (8, 24); dar la espalda á, 'to turn one's back to' (58, 12); la gana da á, 'the whim comes to, strikes (he gets it into his head to)' (75, 6). de: 'against' (defenderse de, 14, 15); 'for' (ay de, 95, 29; desquitarse de, 80, 10); 'to' (desdeñarse de, 94, 2; agarrado de, 35, 13); 'at' (de una vez, 64, 1); 'than' (más de, 54, 9); bruto de mí,

[2] *Crotalogía, ó sea Arte de tocar las castañuelas*, a famous book, the first sentence of which says: "No hay obligación de tocar las castañuelas, sino la de, al tocar, saber tocarlas," or, as more commonly quoted: "Para tocar castañuelas, saber tocarlas," the most noteworthy *refrán* in the language.

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'fool that I am' (75, 18); used with adjectives of dimension: . . . de ancho, '. . . wide' (83, 2). decir: se decía si había ó no, 'there was some talk about there being' (73, 3; comp. 74, 32). defenderse de (14, 15). dejar: 'to leave alone, not to bother' somebody (11, 7); 'to forsake' (72, 1); dejar de, 'refrain from, abstain from' (84, 23; 86, 19), 'to fail to' (87, 31). desbordarse (106, 15). desdeñarse de (94, 2). desentonar, 'to lack color' (61, 2). desfallecerse, 'to get weary, to become worn out' (34, 29). desgarrador, 'heart-rending' (19, 17). desgraciarse (85, 28). desnaturalizado, 'heartless' (47, 16). determinar: 'to define,' p.p. 'definite' (50, 5). días, 'life, years' (36, 11). discurrir sobre, 'to study, to consider, to deal with' (25, 16). disfrutar de (90, 6). disgusto: 'dissatisfaction' (68, 33). disputar una cosa á: 'to contend for a thing with, to strive to wrest a thing from' (12, 8; 34, 20). doble: 'tolling (of a bell)' (17, 13). domar: 'to train' (57, 17). ¡ea! 'come on!' (82, 8). educarse: 'to go to school' (12, 13). ¡eg! 'bah!' (79, 23). ejecutar á uno: 'to sell someone's property at sheriff's sale, to sell him out, to levy upon him' (28, 13). empezarse (62, 25). emplear: te está bien empleado, 'it is well bestowed upon you, you fully deserve it, it serves you right' (77, 8). emprender, 'to start out on' (73, 9; 83, 15). en: 'from, out of' (comer en la mano, 52, 13); 'among' (33, 31); 'with' (en aire de desafío, 52, 7). enamorado, 'longing' (3, 18). encima: por encima de (86, 2). encontrarse que: 'to find, to see that' (64, 26). ensanchar: 'to make wider, to broaden' (49, 30). entrañas, poet., 'heart' (112, 8). entretanto (87, 5). escamarse, 'to catch on' (27, 15). escuchar: 'to hear' (11, 24; 103, 25). escuela: alta escuela, 'high horsemanship' (57, 17); no saber escuela, 'not to know how to read and write' (82, 1). eso: á eso de, 'about' (of time) (13, 6). esperar: ¡si esperaran tanto las liebres! . . ., 'that is what I call patience!' (81, 1); the expression admits of two explanations, namely: 'it would be bad for the hares if they waited as long as you,' or: 'it would be a good thing for us if they waited as long!' espina: me da mala espina, 'it causes me misgivings, evil forebodings' (73, 19); used only in the combination: dar mala espina. estado: 'married or single state' (37, 30); 'scorecard' (66, 3). estanquero: 'keeper of an estanco, that is, government tobacco-shop, where postage stamps, matches, and stamped paper for official documents (papel sellado) are sold likewise. estar: estar para, 'to be good for, to be able to resist' (72, 14); 'to be good enough to' (57, 17); estar en poco que no . . ., impers., 'to hinge upon little that not, to come near occurring that' (56, 16; 48, 4). éste: éstas y las otras . . ., 'such and such' (73, 22). estela: 'stream, flood' (113, 20); por estela: 'behind, in the same way as the wake is behind a ship, following on his heels' (109, 6). estilo: por el estilo, 'of that sort, similar' (66, 18). estirar: estirar la pata, 'to kick the bucket' (72, 13). estribo: 'step of a coach' (83, 15: at the back); perder los estribos (51, 5). eterno: 'endless' (36, 3). extraño: 'rare' (32, 5). falta: hacer falta, 'to be lacking, to be missing' (87, 9); á falta de . . ., 'if . . . is not enough' (77, 3). faltar: no faltaba más, 'that would make the thing complete, that would cap the climax' (81, 11); faltar á: 'to break, to offend' (61, 6; 99, 17); le falta tiempo para, 'he does nothing but' (63, 3). falto de (51, 1). fandango: 'a Spanish dance' (88, 33; 109, 14; 109, 16). fastidiar: 'to bother' (75, 1). fijarse en (42, 22; 91, 28). filiación: 'description' (65, 31). fin: por fin, 'after all' (80, 21). ¡fuera! 'out!' (58, 27); fuera de: 'out of, from' (35, 13). fuero: 'arrogance' (79, 2). fumarse, 'to spend' (13, 18). gaita: categorías ni gaitas, 'titles and things, such things as titles' (81, 12). gana (75, 6). genio: 'temper' (78, 30). gente: ¡la gente que . . .! 'such a lot of people as' (73, 8). gloria: 'future happiness, expectations' (49, 7), 'bliss' (72, 1), 'paradise' (71, 22; 73, 10), 'heavenly beauty' (110, 28). golpe de mar: 'sea' (heavy wave) (33, 20). guapo: noun, 'braggart, smarty' (8, 9). guardarse de. haber de: 'shall, must, cannot help, to be bound to, to be going to, (passim; of the thirty cases noted in the volume, "to be obliged to" does not apply once); hay: hay que, 'it is necessary, one should' (77, 22; 77, 23), no hay tiempo que gastar, 'there is no time to be lost' (44, 31). hacer: 'to set' (hacer rumbo, 33, 28), 'to represent, to be' (hacer el número . . . , 16, 14), hacer falta; hacerse con, 'to get hold of, to get in spite of everything' (85, 22). hacer: impers. 'it is . . . ago, ever since . . . , for the last . . . ,' (2, 15). helarse

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(8, 25). hermanos: 'brethren' (12, 21). hincarse en (35, 29). huir: 'to avoid' (45, 23). ir: aux., 'to be;' ¡vaya! 'why!' (9, 8), 'come now, please' (10, 20); ¡vamos! 'really' (77, 6), 'look here' (77, 17); vaya de ejemplo, 'let this serve as' (89, 26); ¿qué va á que . . . ? 'how much is to be bet that . . . ?' (74, 26); ¡vaya V. á saber! 'how can one find out? how do I know?' (89, 14); eso va en gustos, 'that is a matter of taste' (30, 3). Isabel: Elisabeth. jerarquía: 'standing, rank' (100, 5). jornada: 'journey' (36, 15). largo: never means "large." lejillos: 'rather far' (77, 13). licenciado, 'retired' (from the army) (10, 24). lidiarse: '(bull-fighting term, used of a bull) to be played' (62, 29; 64, 3; 69, 1). ludibrio: 'laughing-stock' (49, 12). llamar: 'to destine' (48, 22). llegar á: 'to succeed in' (55, 15); 'in course of time, gradually, reach the point of' (49, 2; 49, 17; 53, 26; 54, 19). llevar: 'to have a record of' (97, 10); 'to have' (56, 23). madre: veinticinco y la madre, 'an endless lot' (88, 13). maldita la . . . , 'devil a (bit) . . . ' (87, 9). manojo: bunch' (74, 22; 76, 22; 108, 31). más: ni más ni menos que, 'just as' (15, 13). mata: (of hair) 'shock, thick mass' (110, 21). matarse: 'to get killed, to die' (48, 23). menos: cuando menos, 'to say the least' (49, 22). meter: 'to thrust out' (67, 25). mientras: 'meanwhile' (104, 25). mil: hasta las mil y quinientas, 'till kingdom come' (75, 1). mismo: por lo mismo que, 'because, precisely because' (28, 2; 56, 10). moda: pasar de moda, 'to go out of fashion' (49, 19). moler: 'to torture, to weary' (74, 23). molino: 'a person who talks and talks' (no sea V. molino, 'give us a rest,' 42, 29). momento: por momentos, 'every moment more so' (34, 22, 52; 28). monte: 'forest' (7, 20). morrocotudo: 'immense' (72, 11). moza: buena moza, 'good looking,' (48, 20) (65, 33). mudanza, 'figure' (of dance, 107, 27). muerto 'mortally wounded' (67, 28). murmurar: 'to whisper' (13, 3). naturalidad: 'ease, composure' (51, 15). ni: 'even' (after impedir, 49, 28); 'or' (81, 7). niño: ¡qué . . . ni qué niño muerto! 'what are you talking about? what has that to do with it?' (81, 7). novillos: 'bull-fight' (with young bulls) (72, 4); novillo: 'young ox' (86, 26). número: un sin número, 'an endless number' (46, 16). ó: ó sea, 'or in other words, or to be more exact' (91, 15; 91, 28). obtener: 'to obtain permission to' (52, 15). ofrecer: 'to promise' (5, 12; 5, 16; 53, 22). oído: hacerse todo oídos, 'to become very attentive' (95, 2). olvidarse: 'to be forgotten' (48, 28); olvidarse de, 'to become forgetful of' (48, 19; 64, 17). opinar por (45, 23). párrafo: "echar párrafos" does not occur in the book; echar un párrafo, 'to have a talk' (72, 19). pasar: 'to come in' (79, 12); pasarse, with expressions of duration: 'to spend' (80, 6; 88, 6). paso: de paso para, 'on the way through to' (50, 18: para la ciudad, 'to the city,' that is, Granada, the capital of the province; comp. 55, 24: pasar por Jauja). parienta: pop., 'wife' (78, 13). pelo: ver el pelo á, 'to catch a glimpse of, to set eye on' (82, 6); no tener pelo de tonto, 'to be not at all a fool' (81, 22). pena: 'grief' (4, 24). perdonar: 'not to take what one has a right to take, to grant,' (16, 6). perro: tan alto como un perro sentado, 'very small (of persons), only a few feet tall' (48, 32). pesadez: 'phlegm, slowness, sluggishness' (74, 26). pesar: 'to be a burden' (78, 19). pista: 'arena, ring (of circus)' (59, 17). pisto manchego: 'a mess that always has a burnt taste, probably due to breadcrumbs done very brown that enter into its composition' (80, 2). poco: poco más ó menos, 'approximately, about' (47, 9). poner: 'to make fine, to adorn' (108, 11); 'to show' (75, 15); ponerse, 'to transport one's self, to betake one's self, to go' (en, 'to,' 9, 4). por: 'on' (por otra parte, 'on the other hand,' 53, 17); used to make adverbial expressions like por completo, por lo pronto, por último, por sí mismo ('personally,' 14, 13); por lo bajo, 'in an undertone, to himself' (80, 1); por vida de, 'by' (in oaths, 80, 19); por si . . . , 'to see whether, for the event that' (37, 14); por si acaso, 'to guard against the contingency that' (89, 12; 89, 17; 90, 3); with infinitives: 'yet to be . . . ' (por nacer, 79, 8); with adjectives, followed by que and subjunctive: 'however . . . ' (61, 15), extranjero por extranjero, 'foreigner against foreigner, that is, compared with' (28, 15). precipitarse, 'to come on' (of storm, 33, 3). precisar, 'to force' (57, 24). preguntar: 'to ask about' (37, 30). pretender, 'to insist, to make it a point' (71, 6). pretensión: tener sus pre-

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tensiones de, with adjective, 'to lay claim to being' (48, 19). principio: dar principio á (32, 33). prójimo, 'fellow, individual' (65, 21). promesa, 'vow' (37, 25). proporcionado, 'appropriate, proper' (67, 6). á propósito, 'on purpose' (110, 30). pucherete, 'little pot' (87, 16). pues, 'so' (14, 19); ¿pues qué? exclamation of surprise, 'how is this? what?' (19, 21). pulla, 'mockery, sarcasm' (57, 9). que equal como (52, 14). ¿qué tal? (30, 14); ¿á qué? (48, 30). quedarse como los santos de Francia. 'to stand there like one dazed, in blank amazement' (81, 25). quejumbroso, 'plaintive' (32, 9). quemarse, 'to get angry' (80, 2). querer: como quiera que, with subjunctive, "however;" with indicative, 'inasmuch as' (61, 19). quitar: ¡quita! 'get out' (11, 9); quitarse de (83, 31). razón: tomar razón de, 'to take note of' (65, 32), 'to make notes about, to record' (66, 4). real hembra, 'a splendid, grand woman' (54, 13). recién: the de in de recién casado (85, 12) means: 'in the quality of, while, when.' reconocer: 'to acknowledge' (71, 14; 71, 29). remanso: p. 109, l. 17, not "standing," that is, 'stagnant' water, but 'dammed-up water, water of which the current is stemmed,' the heaving of which corresponds to the description in the text; see below, under zapateado. réprobo: 'sinner' (36, 25). res: 'a head of cattle.' resolver: 'to settle' (12, 26). reventar: to go off, to be fired, of a shot' (16, 27). rienda: dar rienda suelta á, 'to give vent to' (95, 5). romance: en romance, 'in plain language' (48, 26). sacar: 'to pick out' (68, 15). sacudir: 'to shake off' (57, 28). salvar: 'to pass beyond' (32, 11; 44, 15); salvarse, 'to escape' (16, 9). santo, adj.: santo varón, 'my good man' (81, 5); todo el santísimo día, 'all the livelong day' (72, 18). sayón: 'henchman' (37, 33). seña: 'feature, characteristic'; señas: 'description' (73, 22). señorito: vocative, 'kind sir' (23, 15; 25, 5). ser de plus infinitive: 'to be to be . . .' (14, 21); ser de, 'to become of, to happen to' (18, 21). si: 'while' 83, 16). sí: por sí solas, 'each by itself' (69, 3). siempre: 'undoubtedly' (74, 16). sobrevivir á: 'to live longer than' (13, 20). solicitar: 'to seek to obtain' (61, 11), 'to ask permission to' (51, 6; 52, 15). suelto: 'separate' (43, 27). suplir: 'to make up for' (82, 18; on p. 21, l. 21, suplir por with the same meaning). sutilizarse: 'to grow smaller' (64, 23). tabardillo: 'sunstroke' (mild attack), con un tabardillo, 'overcome by heat' (72, 6). tal: el tal (91, 1); ¿qué tal? (30, 14). tan: 'so much, so greatly' (88, 5); ¡qué noche tan hermosa! 'how very beautiful a night, (22, 17). tanto: tanto caminante, 'so many a, so great a number of' (73, 28). tender la vista, 'to look around' (19, 10). tener: 'to hold' (34, 19); no tener para, 'not to have the wherewithal to' (7, 15); tener por, 'to regard as' (60, 23); no tenerlas todas consigo (57, 31; 77, 13). tiempo: ¡al tiempo! (30, 11, see under á). tierra: dar en tierra con, 'to overthrow, to put an end to' (69, 3). tirar: 'to strike, to let fly' (67, 26). tiro: mudar tiro, 'to change horses' (90, 17). tocar: 'to play (a tune)' (75, 15); le tocó el turno, 'it was his turn' (56, 18); le tocó la quinta, 'he was drafted' (70. 18). todo: 'quite' (11, 20; 91, 2; 92, 13), 'whole' (101, 21). tomar: ¡toma! 'why, surely; of course' (76, 6); tomar venia, 'to get permission' (65, 12). tonto: como un tonto, 'passionately' (88, 30). tornar á: to go back to' (3, 26); tornarse á, 'to go to' (3, 26); tornera: 'doorkeeper of a nunnery' (9, 5). toro: ciertos son los toros, 'now it is sure' (74, 33). torpe: 'awkward, unfit,' (49, 8). toser á: 'to despise, to look down upon' (77, 19). trabajos: 'hardships' (70, 2; 80, 7). traza: 'aspect'; tener traza de, 'to look like' (75, 12). tres: las tres, 'three o'clock' (14, 3). trueque: á trueque de, 'in exchange for' (96, 9). uno: la una, 'one o'clock' (13, 24). valerse de. ¡valiente . . . ! 'what a . . . !' (42, 16). venir: ¡venga! 'let's have it' (84, 33); venirse abajo, 'to tumble down' (51, 8). ventanillo: 'little window in the door, peephole' (80, 26). ver: . . . á ver si . . . , '. . . to try and . . . , . . . to attend to . . . ' (86, 26). verdadero: 'actual' (49, 7). vergüenza: á la vergüenza, 'exposed to view, bare' (74, 22). vez: de una vez, 'at once' (64, 1). ¡viva la Pepa! 'hurrah!' (79, 32; popular exclamation meaning: 'now we are going to have a glorious time'). volver: transitive, 'to turn around the corner of' (4, 2). voto: 'member (of a committee, tribunal), judge' (61, 14). vuelta: dar vueltas, 'to turn around' (8, 24); á la vuelta de, 'after the lapse of, within.'

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(85, 22). ya que no, 'since not' (43, 24). yunta de bueyes, 'team of oxen' (108, 32). zapateado: p. 109, l. 16, 'a dance where the feet make a shuffling sound on the floor, somewhat like a slow jig.'

F. DE HAAN.

Bryn Mawr College.

GERMAN LITERATURE.

Goethe's Götz von Berlichingen mit der eisernen Hand. Ein Schauspiel. Edited with Introduction, Notes and Map, by FRANK GOODRICH, Ph. D. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1896.

THE study of Goethe in our colleges and universities properly begins with Götz and we are indebted to Prof. Goodrich for his concise and exact edition of Goethe's dramatic composition. In spite of its many shortcomings, in spite of the fact which its German critics never fail to accent, that it derives its great charm from the peculiarly German character of the *dramatis personæ*, it never fails to awaken the lasting interest of the American youth. It is not difficult to account for it. The power of the piece lies in its marvelous objectivity, the foremost quality of Goethe's mind, and in the presence of this elementary force the canons of æsthetic criticism are out of place.

Prof. Goodrich's Introduction contains, I. The Historical Foundation of the Play, II. The Composition of the Play, III. The Play, IV. Reception and Influence. Under I, the editor discusses in a very satisfactory manner the position of the Free Knights of Germany at the beginning of the sixteenth century. I regret, however, that he has completely ignored the influence of Humanism and the imminent Reformation upon the institution of feudalism, factors which the parts of Olearius and Brother Martin are intended to call to mind.

A more serious omission is the absence of any dramaturgic commentary, which never fails to give intense interest to the teaching of a dramatic composition. While I acknowledge that the dramaturgic history of Götz is particularly difficult, yet the fact remains that Götz von Berlichingen is one of the never-failing 'Zugstücke' of the German stage, of which the student should be made aware. The fourth scene of the first act (Speisesaal im bischöflichen Palaste) and the second scene in the fourth act (Rathaus) are parts of the drama which are the delight of the modern stage-manager and the student can be profitably impressed with the scenic details of an artistic performance.

Only a few remarks on the Notes seem to be necessary.

P. 138, 10, 6 "*Dass* (elliptical)—*mein Blick will sagen, dass* (W)." Wustmann's explanation is strained. *Dass* is frequently used for *weil;* see Grimm's *Worterbuch* under *dasz*, p. 817, 6 a, where he quotes, among other examples Goethe's 'aber *dasz* ich arm bin, war ich verachtet' (*Werke*, 57, 128).

P. 144, 28, 1, *Der Schöppenstuhl* requires a note on the Germanic institution of *Schöffen* and its place in modern German law.

P. 147, 37, 1–2 *da . . . . . vertagen* requires a note on the present meaning of the verb *vertagen*, 'adjourn.'

HENRY SENGER.

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CORRESPONDENCE.

THE ADDITIONS TO THE SPANISH TRAGEDY.

TO THE EDITORS OF MOD. LANG. NOTES,

SIRS:—Most American readers who have heard of the *Spanish Tragedy* and of the interesting problem of the authorship of the original piece, as well as of the additions appearing in the edition of 1602 and in later editions, have been compelled to depend upon the reprint in Hazlitt's Dodsley for their knowledge of the play. Now in Mr. Hazlitt's edition the places of the first three additions, usually attributed to Ben Jonson on the authority of a couple of passages in Henslow's *Diary*, are marked in the text by means of brackets or footnotes. The others unfortunately, however, including the most interesting of all, the scene with the painter, are either not marked at all, or are marked very imperfectly, so that students of Jonson and students of Kyd are

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equally left in the dark as to which passages to claim for either. For my own satisfaction and enlightenment accordingly, I have recently collated the edition of circa 1594 (the first known edition), the reprint in Hazlitt's Dodsley, and the edition of 1610 (those of 1599 and 1602 do not appear in the *British Museum Catalogue*). And a record of the additions to the play, with precise reference to the passages in the Hazlitt-Dodsley edition, may be of service to other American students who are debarred from access to the original editions.

Aside from very slight verbal differences, then, the changes and improvements in later editions over the edition of circa 1594 are as follows:

(a) As marked by brackets, pp. 56–59 of Hazlitt's Dodsley (vol. v), all from "Aye me, Hieronimo, sweet husband, speak!" to "How strangely had I lost my way to grief," is added.

(b) The passage as printed in footnote on pp. 70–71 of Hazlitt is an addition. After "Why then farewell" the text of 1594 continues as in Hazlitt.

(c) Hazlitt p. 103: "Tis neither as you think" to p. 105 "Good leave have you" is added.

(d) Hazlitt, p. 113, the portion is added beginning

"Enter Jaques and Pedro

I wonder, Pedro, why our master thus" to page 123 "He beats the Painter in."

That is, in the 1594 edition after

"*King*. Oh then, and heare you Lord Embassadour.

Exeunt,"

comes immediately

"Enter Hieronimo with a book in his hand.

Vindicta mihi.

I, heaven will be revenged of every ill, "etc. Hazlitt, or some previous editor, has freely rearranged the versification.

(e) Hazlitt p. 166: "*Hieronimo.*

But are you sure that they are dead?" to page 167: "I saw her stab him" is all added.

(f) Hazlitt p. 168: "Methinks, since I grew inward with revenge" to page 169: "Nunc mors: [nunc] caede, manus," is added.

Hazlitt, p. 168, after "With greater far than these afflictions" there follows in 1594 (omitted in Hazlitt, and in 1610):

"*Cas.* But who were the confederates in this?
Vice. That was thy daughter *Bel-imperia.*
For by her hand my *Balthaza* was slaine.
I, saw her stab him."

And in 1610 "Nunc mors; cadae manus" (p. 169 of Hazlitt) there follows a line not given in Hazlitt:

"*Hier.* Now to expresse the rupture of my part,
First take my tongue, and afterward my heart.
He bites out his tongue."

In spite of the exaggerated and almost burlesque effect of parts of these additions, it seems to me that Charles Lamb was quite justified in finding in them "the salt of the old play." Dramatically taken and in their general conception, they offer lines of higher quality than the rest of the play, which are difficult of association with the later Jonson and certainly suggest rather one of the more romantic contemporaries of Shakspere. But then there are those puzzling passages in Henslow!

FREDERIC IVES CARPENTER.
British Museum.

"*TAKE IN*"

TO THE EDITORS OF MOD. LANG. NOTES,

SIRS:—The quarrel between Mr. Lang and Professor Matthews anent "-isms" is such a "pretty" one, and both champions understand so well how to make their hands guard their heads, that an interested on-looker is loath to interfere. Besides, in such a case, the third party runs the risk Brer Rabbit had in mind when Sis Cow asked his help (so disingenuously) in getting her horns out of the persimmon tree. But it is too bad that Professor Matthews seems determined to end the discussion. Surely the last word has not been said on the subject. Even his 'Final Note' in your February number cannot be final: for even there statements are made which are open to correction. For instance, Professor Matthews classifies 'take in=take= subscribe for' as a 'neologism,' a 'recent Briticism,' an 'example of this freakishness in the British use of the English language.' But it does not appear to be any more 'recent' or 'freak-

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ish' than Addison; as is plain from the following quotation:—

"A large family of daughters have drawn me up a very handsome remonstrance, in which they set forth that their father having refused to *take in* the *Spectator*, since the additional price was set upon it, they offered him unanimously to bate him the article of bread and butter in the tea-table account, provided the *Spectator* might be served up to them every morning as usual." *Spectator*, No. 488.

A. MAC MECHAN.

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DULCINEA IN GERMAN.

TO THE EDITORS OF MOD. LANG. NOTES,

SIRS:—Herr Potter (MOD. LANG. NOTES xii, 448) konnte in den Wörterbüchern keine Auskunft darüber finden, ob *Dulcinea* im Deutschen gebräuchlich sei. Das Wort ist dem gebildeten Deutschen ganz geläufig; es wird im Deutschen im gewöhnlichen Leben viel häufiger gebraucht als im Englischen. Mein ältestes Zitat findet sich in [Bräker] *Der arme Mann im Toggenburg*, (ed. Ludwig Zürn, Halle, s. a.), woselbst es S. 132 heisst: "Und da meine Dulcinea ohnehin alles in allem sein wollte, ... so wurd' ich um so viel verdriesslicher." Bräkers Schrift erschien im Jahre 1789.

J. H. OTT.

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KING OR CONY.

TO THE EDITORS OF MOD. LANG. NOTES,

SIRS:—Brandl, in his review of M. E. Literature (Paul's *Grundriss*, II: 1. p. 616), says in speaking of the *Poema Morale:*

"Auffallend ist die Abneigung gegen höfisches Wesen. Nicht als der geringste Vorzug des Himmels erscheint es, dass dort kein König und kein Hermelin existiert. Wenn der Dichter, wie aus Gründen der Sprache und Ueberlieferung vermutet wird, um 1170 schrieb, that er es wohl nicht ohne Zusammenhang mit dem Kreis von Thomas Becket, dem Reformator der Geistlichkeit, dem Vorkämpfer der Theokratie und zum Theil auch des Sachsentums gegen des Königtum, der gerade in diesem Jahre in seiner Kathedrale zu Canterbury zum grossen nationalen Märtyrer wurde."

The passage to which Brandl refers is as follows (ll. 357 f.),

Ther nys nouther fou ne grey. ne konyng. ne hermyne.
Ne oter. ne acquerne. Beuveyr ne sablyne.

It would surely be astonishing to find the word "king" in this long list of furs, the use of which was characteristic of the rich. The word "konyng" evidently does not mean "king" as Brandl supposes, but "cony" (cf. with this reading of J, Ms. L: "cunig"). It is worth while to call attention to the error, as Brandl's general statement precedes the reference, and might be supposed to rest on other evidence as well. As a matter of fact it does not. There is no "Abneigung gegen höfisches Wesen" in the poem whatsoever, and not the slightest support for Brandl's theory of the author's connection with the circle of Becket.

Another inaccurate statement, which might mislead the reader, occurs on p. 617. In speaking of the poet's attitude toward the Virgin in the *God Ureisun of Ure Lefdi*, he says,

"Der Dichter gibt sich da mit individueller Unmittelbarkeit, als Mönch, welcher der Gottesmutter alles geopfert hat und sie dafür seine liebe Frau nennt. Er sehnt sich nach ihr, will sich von ihr waschen und kleiden lassen, schenkt ihr sein Herzblut und sagt dafür

Gif ich der seggen: mit leove leafdi, þu ert min l"

The poet nowhere calls her "seine Frau," and the element of "geistliche Minne" is certainly sufficiently marked without quoting the poet in part in such a way as to give so materialistic a suggestion to his words. What he does ask is that he may be washed and clothed "through [her] great mercy that spreads so very wide" (l. 140), plainly a use of the familiar Scriptural metaphor. The misprint of "mit" for "mi" will be noted.

CLARENCE GRIFFIN CHILD.

University of Pennsylvania.

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ANNOUNCEMENTS.

Messrs. D. C. HEATH & CO., Boston, announce for immediate Publication, The *Merchant of Venice* in the *Arden Shakespeare Series*, also *Nicotiana und andere Erzählungen*, edited by Dr. Wilhelm Bernhardt.

Messrs. HENRY HOLT & CO., New York, have just issued *An Introduction to American Literature* by Henry S. Pancoast.

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MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES.

Baltimore, February, 1898.

AMERICA'S SHARE IN THE REGENERATION OF BULGARIA.

(1840-1859.)

I.

THROUGH four hundred years of Turkish oppression the Greeks never lost the consciousness of their former glory, and dreamt of the reëstablishment of their independence. Their aspirations were kindled to a new flame in the beginning of our century, when they received the warm moral support of the cultured of Europe who, as if in repayment for their services in the Renaissance, were burning with the desire to see all the Greeks gathered in under the rule of classical Athens. At last their struggles were crowned with success in the establishment of the temporary government under the presidency of Capodistria. The country, however, presented a sad spectacle. The rich and the educated were living abroad in the large capitals of Western Europe, or at Odessa, Alexandria, and in the Phanar quarter of Constantinople. In the Morea, the poverty of the ignorant populace was unparalleled. Capodistria did his very best to introduce a system of primary schools, but the exchecquer was drained, there were to be found few suitable teachers, and scarcely any textbooks in the vernacular, or in that mixed dialect which aimed at making the ancient Greek the literary form.

The Anglo-Saxon world, among whom there were to be found the most enthusiastic Philhellenes, came to his rescue. Lord Guilford built and endowed a Greek University on the island of Corfu, while American missionaries, uniting their enthusiasm with their native sense for the practical, took an active part in building up the lower schools. In 1831 there were in the Peloponesos one hundred and seventy-two schools with less than ten thousand pupils; that is, about one schoolboy to every three hundred inhabitants. Girl schools did not exist until a preacher of the Gospel from Massachusetts, Jonas King, braving persecution on account of heterodoxy, established them along with schools for boys. In 1832 there was associated with him Elias Riggs who had just graduated from Amherst College. They translated Woodbury's *Geography*, Pailey's *Arithmetic*, Gallaudet's *Psychology*, Cutter's *Physiology*, and other American schoolbooks, and printed them in their own printing establishment, one of the very first in the country. Nor was Capodistria slow in discovering the praiseworthy activity of the men from beyond the Atlantic, and in a rescript of February 8-20, 1831 (Document No. 1915), he begged the Secretary of the American Board of Foreign Missions, Mr. Anderson, to express his thanks to his people in New York and to invoke their continued aid.

The missionary efforts for the evangelization of Greece dates from an earlier period. In the beginning of the twenties, the American Press at Malta had been issuing a vast number of religious and semi-religious tracts, intended for the Greeks of the Ionian Islands, Asia Minor, and Greece Proper. The educational importance of these tracts has been much greater than one would be inclined to suppose, for while the Greek presses of Vienna, Venice and Paris supplied the higher classes of society with some kind of a literature, there was absolutely nothing readable in existence for the masses. It need not at all surprise us, then, to hear of the great eagerness with which the pamphlets and books of the American missionaries were bought up. Fortunately for the nascent consciousness of the people, the Americans were in full sympathy with the popular language, and naturally enough. It was their purpose to reach the hearts and minds of the common people who had been badly cared for by their more fortunate brothers and by the Orthodox Church, and to achieve this end they had to speak to them in an intelligible dialect.

For the same reason they furnished the Greeks with a translation of the Bible made but one hundred and fifty years before. But the language having in the meantime become antiquated, the British and Foreign Bible Society set about to provide them with a more modern version of the whole Testament.

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Bishop Hilarion was singled out by them to do that work. In 1821, during the darkest days for the Greeks at Constantinople when "even Franks were scarcely respected," he was intrusted with the labor. He, of all the ecclesiastics, was alone in full sympathy with the missionaries, in fact it may be said he was their creation. Hilarion never forgot to acknowledge his dependence on the Bible Society, as is evident from his letters to Rev. H. D. Leeves, the Society's agent in Turkey. In a letter of September 13, 1821 to the office in London, Leeves says;

'"I have lately received a letter from Hilarion, informing me that the transcription of this manuscript was completed, and that he was preparing to depart for his Bishopric. As you may like to see a little of the Bishop's sentiments, I translate a portion of his letter. 'I take with me,' he says, 'my Manuscript, that when, with God's permission, I arrive at my diocese, and enjoy quiet, I may pursue the revision and correction of it. Both I and my assistant here have ceased from our labours, on account of the fearful circumstances which have occurred; but God, whose providence watches over good undertakings, will not suffer this, which has for its object the common good, to remain unfinished! Friend and brother, I implore God for this reason alone, to grant me life, that I may finish this work, and that I may thus manifest my gratitude to the Bible Society, which has chosen me to be its minister in this labour, and may fulfil my obligations to my nation, by the completion of this undertaking which is dear to God.'"

In the same letter he announces that with Hilarion's aid he has been able to procure a suitable person to translate the Bible into Albanian. In another, from Hilarion to the Patriarch of Constantinople, Anthimus, and the Holy Synod of the Greek Church, written in 1827, we again find him acknowledging his obligations to the Bible Society:

"Although the sublimity of the divine thoughts of Scripture does not admit of change, and the giving them another form is a difficult task to the feebleness of human understandings, it is nevertheless of the first necessity that we should at least dissipate the darkness with which the language involves them, and render the latter so clear, as that the Scriptures may become as comprehensible as they can be to the understanding of those who read them. And it was perhaps necessary that this should have been done many years ago, in order that the reading of the Holy Scriptures might become more general; but different circumstances which have occurred from time to time, and perhaps a negligence and want of zeal for good things, have been the cause, that this measure of public utility has never been undertaken until these our days; nor perhaps would it even now have been undertaken, had not the British Bible Society, with a benevolent zeal, taken it under its care.

"This renowned and useful Society (to which all nations owe infinite thanks) having perceived, from experience, that the divinely inspired morality of these sacred books is able to change the manners of men from barbarism to civilization, from disorder to order, from the life of beasts to that of men, moved by religious zeal, voluntarily undertook the care of translating, at its own expense, all the sacred books of the Old and New Testament into all the languages spoken throughout the world, and to publish them for the common benefit of men; and, up to the present day, it has published them in upwards of eighty dialects. This Society having found the translation of the New Testament made one hundred and fifty years back, from the Hellenic into our modern language, published it in London, and, with the permission of the Patriarch, distributed it. But, afterwards, having received information of the bad style of this translation, they engaged me to make a new translation, both of the New Testament, and of the sacred books of the Old."

Hilarion was during the greater part of his life Archbishop of Ternovo in Bulgaria.

II.

The Bulgarian Kingdom, which at one time had been the terror of Byzantium, was completely crushed by the Turks after the battle on the Field of Blackbirds and the sack of Ternovo at the end of the fourteenth century. The flower of the Bulgarian youth was drafted into the Turkish army where they constituted the formidable troops of the Janissaries, and at one time nearly all the officers of the palace were Bulgarians so that their language practically became the court language at Constantinople. But those who remained at home were turned into a nation of slaves, paying heavy taxes to their oppressors. The last vestige of their independent existence was wiped out when one of the Sultans, in classifying his subjects according to their religions, mentioned the Bulgarians together with the Greeks.

This gave the latter the supremacy in spiritual matters, and henceforth to the heavy

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burden of Turkish rule was superadded the intollerable yoke of the clergy, which was entirely recruited in the Phanar quarter of Constantinople. These lived on the life blood of the nation, enriching themselves at the expense of the poor peasants. They had no interest in the intellectual welfare of the masses, and Bulgaria, once the seat of Slavic learning, became the most ignorant of European countries. Whatever few schools did exist before the first quarter of this century were all taught in Greek; the service was held in that ancient language, doubly unintelligible to the Slavic masses.

Under these conditions the inhabitants of Macedonia, nearest to Greece, and therefore thrown in contact with that country, became bilingual, using their own despised dialect only in the narrow circle of their homes, nay, whole cities became completely hellenized.

When, in the memory of men still living, Bulgaria for the first time woke from its lethargy of more than four hundred years, it had no traditions, no literature, in fact no language ready for literary use, for during that period the idiom had passed through strange vicissitudes. The Bulgarian language, rich in inflections, uncontaminated by foreign influence, except through the Greek, had been used by the protoapostles of the Slavs, Cyril and Methodius, in the translation of the New Testament and other works. When, in the twelfth century, Russia became the leading Slavic country, its many monasteries began to supply the rest of the Orthodox Slavic world with a religious and apocryphal literature. The language used in these productions was the Old Church Slavic influenced in forms and phonetics by the spoken dialects of Russia. This Slavic language of the Russian redaction thus became the official language of the Church even in Bulgaria and in Servia, where it is still used for this purpose.

In the meantime the spoken idiom of Bulgaria, unimpeded by the controlling influence of a literary norm, was departing more and more from its parent language. It differs now in two important particulars from all its sister idioms in that it has almost entirely lost its many case endings, and in that it has developed a postpositive article, such as is found in Roumanian and Albanian.

The Bulgarians were for the first time roused from their torpid state in 1762 by manuscript copies of Paysius' *Slavo-Bulgarian History of the Bulgarian People, its Kings and Saints.* The author, a monk at Mount Athos, was not a critical historian, but his work breathed such warm patriotism that it atoned for its many defects of scholarship and became instrumental in creating a nucleus of a national party, and kept ablaze the little spark of culture which managed to penetrate into their benighted country. Under the influence of this impetus, his pupil Sophronius published in 1806 his *Sermons for Weekdays and Holidays*, in which one of the modern Bulgarian dialects was for the first time used in a printed book. The conditions were, however, not favorable for the use of this new idiom or for the development of a literature, and before the year 1827 there were less than a dozen books extant in which there was made any attempt at approaching the speech of the people. In a letter from Mr. Leeves to the British and Foreign Bible Society of January 18, 1827, there is given a good account of the state of learning in Bulgaria at that time, and there is also foreshadowed in it the course which henceforth Anglo-Saxons, both English and Americans, will take in order to assist this Slavic country in forming a native literature:

"It appears that the Greeks (the Bulgarian bishops being always Greeks, named by the Patriarch and Synod at Constantinople) have laboured to introduce the use of their own language as much as possible among this nation; and in all the country to the south of the Balcan, (and after quitting Adrianople the whole Christian population is Bulgarian) the custom of reading the service in Greek almost universally prevails: and whatever schools are established, the Greek language alone is taught. On the other side of the Balcan, however, that is to say, in Bulgaria Proper, the church service is read in the ancient Slavonian (the mother of the Bulgarian dialect) everywhere except at Ternovo, the metropolis, where the custom of reading in Greek has also been introduced. Slavonian books are also read in the schools. The modern Bulgarian is, however, so far changed from the mother tongue, that the people can understand little or nothing of what they hear in church; and numbers of the priests, from want of education, are much in the same circumstances with the people. When, in addi-

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tion to this, it is considered that the Bulgarians have scarcely any books in their spoken language, it will appear absolutely impossible that they should be anything but what they are—extremely ignorant. All the individuals of this nation who acquire any tincture of learning, and they are very few, are necessarily obliged to seek it through the medium of another language. A small beginning is at present being made to the cultivation of the Bulgarian tongue, in which two elementary works have lately been published; the one a spelling-book, to which is appended a treatise on arithmetic, and a few particulars of natural history; and the other an abridged history of the Old and New Testament; both translated from the Greek. The language has not yet been reduced to rules, and a grammar and lexicon are still desiderata. The above works have been executed by Bulgarians, who have left their country, and obtained some education in Wallachia or Germany; and the few schoolmasters resident in Bulgaria who have any reputation for learning, have enjoyed this advantage. The hand of the Turks weighs heavy upon this people, interesting and estimable in many respects; but light will, I trust, soon break in upon them; and this, *it is evident, can only be effectually diffused by the cultivation of their spoken tongue.*"

III.

From another passage in the letter just mentioned we learn that the British and Foreign Bible Society was then trying to find suitable persons to translate the New Testament into Bulgarian. Its agents had induced the Archbishop of Adrianople to commission two priests at Selimnia to commence the labor, but this work was not executed to the satisfaction of the Society and was at once rejected. These priests had translated only a portion of the first Gospel and had stopped their work when they heard that the Archbishop at Ternovo, Hilarion, was employed in a similar undertaking. But even this latter translation seems to have been abandoned when it was learned that Sapunov of Bucharest had made his arrangements for printing his edition of twelve hundred copies of the New Testament. That was welcome news to Mr. Leeves, and in reporting it in a letter of August 11, 1827, he exclaims: "I am glad, for my own part, that this beginning will be made by themselves."

The following year his Gospels were printed at the press of the Metropolitan of Wallachia, and in a few years four hundred copies were sold by him in his immediate neighborhood. But from a lack of enthusiasm and on account of the disturbed state of Turkey as the result of its war with Russia, he made no effort to sell the rest, and in 1834 they had not yet been disposed of, when Mr. Barker began to make overtures for the purchase of the eight hundred copies which Sapunov still had on hand. Before consummating the transaction, Mr. Barker went with a copy of the Gospels from Bucharest to Ternovo, in order to consult Hilarion on the genuineness and comprehensibility of the language employed in the translation. He was disappointed at not meeting him, for he was away on his annual round in his diocese. So he turned for advice to the Protosingellos, the priest next in dignity, and the latter informed him that

"they were not only exact, but also the language was well adapted for the poor, being that which they speak in the extensive bishopric under Hilarion's care, and, for what he knew, they would be understood all over Bulgaria."

A translation which had been prepared in the same year by Fotinov, a Bulgarian teacher in Smyrna, in Asia Minor, had been rejected "as being neither Slavonian nor Bulgarian, but a mixture of both." Not satisfied with the statement made by the Protosingellos, Mr. Barker carried Sapunov's translation wherever he went, and had it subjected to a close scrutiny. On October 16 of the same year he was able to announce that

"Sapounoff's Bulgarian Gospels were everywhere understood; and though some words in that work are different to those in use in those parts, still the language is such as to be comprehensible both to rich and poor."

It had been the intention of the Bible Society to get a complete translation of the New Testament and to print it in London, but this plan, too, was soon abandoned when Mr. Barker succeeded in 1836 in making

"arrangements for obtaining a translation which is likely to prove more satisfactory, and to which Archbishop Hilarion has kindly promised to give his sanction."

This new man employed in the task of furnishing the Bulgarians with the new Testament was Neophytos of Ryla, a monastery under Hilarion's jurisdiction. We have seen how the Archbishop of Ternovo had been in-

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fluenced by the foreign missionaries to favor religious instruction in the native language of the people; it was, therefore, natural for him to depart still farther from the practices of the Phanariot priests in Bulgaria by directly encouraging the efforts of the Anglo-Saxon missionaries to promote popular instruction. At that time the Lancasterian schools were very popular in the South-East of Europe. They owed their origin to an English missionary whose name they bore, and were based on the principle of mutual instruction by the pupils themselves; they were specially intended for those parts of the world where teachers and books were not easily to be had, and for that reason found ready acceptance in those regions where the missionaries were active.

In the Turkish Empire most of these schools owed their origin to the efforts of the preachers of the Gospel, while many of them, notably those at Syra, Athens, Smyrna, Constantinople were directly under the charge of Americans. When Hilarion had made up his mind to give Bulgaria a native school, he selected Neophytos of Ryla to be its first teacher. He sent him to Bucharest to get acquainted with the methods of the Lancasterian schools, and after Neophytos's return began his activity as a pedagogue and writer of schoolbooks. One of these was a Grammar of the spoken language. Although written in a discursive style and permitting certain forms of the older tongue, it still deserves creditable mention as the first attempt to establish rules for the modern idiom. The following year after the appearance of this work, Neophytos was engaged, through Hilarion's instrumentality, to write a translation of the whole New Testament for the British and Foreign Bible Society.

IV.

The usefulness of the American missionaries in Greece was cut short by restrictive measures of King Otho who, upon becoming of age, had himself assumed the reigns of government, and had yielded to the pressure brought to bear upon him by the Orthodox bishops. He issued an edict that only the Greek Catholic religion could be taught in schools established by foreigners. One by one the Greek missions were abandoned, or transferred to places outside the pale of the influence of the Church. Mr. Riggs was ordered in 1838 to repair to Smyrna on the Ægean Sea. The choice of that city as a base of operation was a particularly fortunate one, for from that place various nations could be easily reached, while the Turkish Government did not do anything to impede the work of the Protestants.

Henceforth Smyrna became the central depot of distribution and publication of schoolbooks and religious literature. The British and Foreign Bible Society regarded Riggs as a suitable person to supervise the printing of the Bulgarian New Testament, and sent through Mr. Barker, its agent, the newly acquired manuscript to be issued there. At that time there was not a printing establishment in the whole of Bulgaria, and what few books had been printed in Slavic type for the people, had been issued in Servia or Wallachia. Mr. Barker provided Damian, the Greek printer of Smyrna, with a font of Slavic type, and thus created the first Bulgarian typography. Here were issued in 1838 and 1839 the Gospels and Acts, and in 1840 the complete New Testament. In 1839 there was, it is true, established a small printing office at Saloniki, but all the books that appeared there were in Old Slavic, or in a mixture of the old with the new idiom, whereas Smyrna became the seminary, however small its beginning, of Bulgarian learning. The first reviewer and censor of that nascent literature was Elias Riggs.

At first he had to restrict himself only to a general supervision of the works issued under his care, for his knowledge of the language was not sufficiently great to correct the translations; but even at that early period he stood for a national language based on the spoken form, following in this the natural tendency of all the missionaries of his time. Neophytos himself was a Macedonian, and his translation of the New Testament was made in his native dialect. Considering his proneness to use Slavic forms in his previous works, which he published in 1835, it is fair to suppose that his manuscript of the Bible was not less free from them; but these have all disappeared in the printed book, no doubt at Riggs' suggestion or through his correction.

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The latter insisted on a pure Bulgarian of the Western (Macedonian) type, since for a time to come he expected to confine his missionary efforts to the country this side of the Balcan mountains. The Gospels were frequently reprinted and were received by the people with the greatest enthusiasm, and for a period of two decades served as a model for the written idiom of the nation. Later, when culture penetrated into Bulgaria Proper, this abnormal state of raising a dialect spoken beyond the provinces of the country to the dignity of a literary language could not be maintained. When the Eastern dialect began to rise in importance, Riggs was among the first to adopt it for his translation of the whole Bible, but previous to the sixties, Neophytos' *New Testament* and Riggs' religious and ethical tracts formed the basis for all other literary productions.

Among the few Bulgarians who were settled at Smyrna, there was one who was in charge of a Lancasterian Greek school in which some Bulgarian was taught. This schoolteacher, by the name of Fotinov, was destined to become the founder of the first Bulgarian periodical. In 1894 the Bulgarians celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of this red letter year in the history of their intellectual awakening. Toasts were drunk, speeches made, and volumes written to commemorate the event. One of the country's most prominent scholars, Prof. Shishmanov, has since written an exhaustive treatise on the life and work of that Smyrna schoolmaster. In that unbiassed essay the distinguished author is inclined to give the missionaries their due for playing an important part in Fotinov's evolution, but not having had access to the archives of the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions, which contain all the correspondence of the missionaries sent out by that society, he has been led greatly to underrate that influence and to place the whole subject in a wrong perspective. In that article he says:

"There is, however, no doubt that the causes for that sudden development of Fotinov stand in some relation to the foundation of the Bulgarian printing office in Smyrna, and to the appearance of Neophytos' translation of the New Testament, printed there at the expense of the British and Foreign Bible Society. From Mr. Riggs' reminiscences we learn the important fact that Fotinov had been engaged by Benjamin Barker, the Society's agent, to overlook the printing of the first edition. Since that edition came out in 1840, one may freely infer that Fotinov entered into an agreement with that agent soon after the appearance of Fotinov's Greek Grammar. It is difficult to say what influence this agent may have had on our writer and journalist, and in how far his issue of the 'Ljuboslovie' is connected with the history of the Protestant propaganda in our parts. One thing, however, is certain; considering Fotinov's weakness for Smyrna, he would never have realized his plans, if the British and Foreign Bible Society had not furnished A. Damian's printing office with Slavic type. There are besides a few more proofs that the Protestant missionaries helped Fotinov. Such are, for example, the illustrations in his Geography (and may be also in his 'Ljuboslovie'?) which had been furnished to him by the Society. as we learn from Mr. Riggs. But did the help of the Preachers of the Gospel stop there? I am inclined to answer in the affirmative, even though the later close relation of Fotinov with the missionaries, whose fruit is the first translation of the whole Bible, may lead the investigator to suppose a more active foreign influence on the original plan and edition of the first Bulgarian periodical. Against such a supposition speak the very contents of the Journal in which there is not the least trace of Protestant striving. On the contrary, there reigns in it, as we shall see, a purely Orthodox spirit, though free from all religious intolerance and narrow dogmatism."

With the aid of the documentary evidence spoken of above we shall attempt to reconstruct the facts in their chronological sequence. It will be remembered that long before the year 1840 Fotinov had been invited by the Bible Society to furnish a translation of the Gospels, and that it had been rejected as not written in pure Bulgarian. Fotinov was peculiarly obstinate on the subject of a literaray language: he had himself been brought up in the traditions of the Greek school, and like the Greek schoolmen, regarded a return to the ancient language as the desideratum for a literary norm. By a similar reasoning the Church-Slavic, in the corrupted form in which it was known to him, seemed to him preferable to the quaint dialect of his native home. Only when he came under Riggs' control, he was induced to follow the precedent established by Neophytos' translation. This came about in

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the following manner.

In 1841 Barker sent a few tracts of the American Tract Society to a pious Scotchman at Odessa; the latter had them translated by some Bulgarian students there, and sent them to Smyrna to be printed. Riggs employed Fotinov, the only educated Bulgarian within easy reach, to revise them with him. The following year there were issued two of them; *Friendly Counsels to Parents respecting the Training of Children*, and *The Tree of Intemperance and the Tree of Temperance.* Other two tracts: *Something for the Unlearned*, and Gallaudet's *Child's Book on the Soul*, Part 1, were taken by Riggs to Constantinople and there revised by Ognianovich, a Servian, who had just established a native printing press, and had become an ardent Bulgarophil. The last two were printed in 1843 and 1844 respectively. All these tracts were highly treasured by the natives, and were used as textbooks for the study of Bulgarian in those Lancasterian schools that were fortunate enough to provide themselves with the same.

Through Riggs Fotinov became acquainted with the different American schoolbooks whose Greek translations were regarded as far superior to any other current at the time. The excellent cuts which accompanied them made them especially attractive, and threw in the shade all the native productions of the kind. No doubt Fotinov used them in his school. However it may be, he thought well enough of them to translate Woodbury's *Geography* into Bulgarian, and this was issued in 1842 from the Smyrna press. The success of the translation was phenomenal. Thirsting for knowledge, but possessing no reading matter, the Bulgarians welcomed that insignificant textbook with its American woodcuts, as one would to-day receive in America the latest work of a great novelist or a noted historian. It was the first book that conveyed to them the knowledge of the world without, and it filled their hearts with an unquenchable desire for learning.

In the same year Fotinov sent around a circular to solicit subscribers for a Bulgarian periodical. When the number had reached four hundred, he started in 1844 to publish his *Philology* (Ljuboslovie), which at once became the rallying ground of the few intelligent men that the country could muster. In a letter of June 5, 1844, Riggs writes to the Secretary of the A. B. C. F. M.:

"I send you a specimen of the Bulgarian Monthly Magazine published here. It contains many articles (some of them religious) translated from *our* Greek Magazine. It is in fact a child of that work, without being sustained in any degree at our expense. This is one instance illustrative of the indirect influence of missionary exertions in these parts."

So, we see, this first periodical, from which dates the beginning of Bulgarian journalism and belles lettres, is "a child of an American Magazine,"—the direct result of Fotinov's acquaintance with Riggs. The few original articles that were written for that monthly by no means display any scholarship, but they for the first time dealt with Bulgarian matters and thus directed the attention of the people to their own country. Unfortunately Fotinov returned to his vagaries of a mixed Slavo-Bulgarian language, and this and the general poverty of his subscribers who would not, or could not, pay their dues, led to a cessation of the magazine in 1846. But the seed had been sown, and a rich crop has grown up in the last fifty years, so that now Bulgaria presents the unprecedented example of a nation rising to high culture from a state of crass ignorance within half a century.

V.

With rare exceptions, the Bulgarians have entirely forgotten their early benefactors. This deplorable state of affairs is not so much due to their express desire to be ungrateful as to the unfortunate, self-abnegating practices of of the missionaries, whose efforts were all the time directed in *majorem Dei gloriam* and who therefore failed to subscribe their names to their literary productions. In the sixties they produced an extensive anonymous literature by which, among other things, the alarming contagion of the Roman-Catholic propaganda was successfully checked, but it was possible to ascertain the name of the author of those pamphlets only by rummaging through the Archives of the Missionary Society at Boston. In the same manner, Elias Riggs did not attach his name to any of his own writings, and

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entirely refrained from mentioning himself as the reviser of any of the early books that were issued at Smyrna or Constantinople. It is not, therefore, to be wondered at that even such liberal men as Shishmanov should be inclined to allot to the preachers at best an indirect influence in the awakening of the country, and to ascribe various Bulgarian books wrongly to native authorship.

That Riggs was well fitted to carry on the revision of the works printed under his care and to write in idiomatic Bulgarian, is attested by his scientific journey to Varna and his linguistic studies at Constantinople, of which he reports in a letter of November 16, 1843:

"When I wrote you last (June 7th) I was about leaving home for the annual meeting of our mission. I had then in mind a tour in Bulgaria and an absence of some months from home. I proposed to the brethren of the mission the matter of the journey and the whole question how I should spend my summer. As my health was not good, they advised me not to go into the interior of Bulgaria, but suggested that I might visit Varna, a Bulgarian town, but on the coast of the Black Sea, and which could be reached by a steamer, spend more or less time there as I might find expedient after seeing the place, and then return to Constantinople, where I could at all events find Bulgarians, make some inquiries, and revise the Bulgarian tracts we had on hand. In compliance with the suggestion, I left Constantinople for Varna July 10 and arrived there the following day. I spent only a week there, partly because I found that the Bulgarian language is spoken only by a few peasants from the neighboring villages and partly because the place is confessedly unhealthy . . . .

Returning therefore to Constantinople on the 17th, I immediately engaged the services of a Bulgarian teacher, and commenced revising for the press some tracts in that language which we have had on hand for several months. As my teacher lived at Arnaout-Köy, the village next below Bebek on the Bosphorus, at the invitation of Brother Wood, I took up my abode under his hospitable roof, and was accustomed to walk to Arnaout-Köy, spend an hour in revising, and return by about seven oclock every morning. Except this hour, I gave the greater part of each day to miscellaneous employments, making health my first object, and entirely intermitting the work which I should have been engaged in at Smyrna. This I continued for six weeks, and during that time examined, and with the help of the teacher revised, one hundred and thirty-two pages of MS."

The fruit of his intimate acquaintance with the spoken idiom was his *Notes on the Grammar of the Bulgarian language*, a pamphlet of twenty-four pages, published in a small number of copies at Smyrna in 1844. This first attempt by a foreigner to establish rules for this Slavic tongue contains, in the short space just mentioned, all that is essential for practical purposes, and is based on the Macedonian dialect in which the author wrote up to the year 1859. Of this pamphlet there are a few copies in American libraries, but in Bulgaria it is entirely unknown, not being mentioned in any of the bibliographies. Nor is it generally known that the second grammar of the language written by a foreigner (Rev. F. C. Morse of St. Johnsbury, Vermont), and printed at Adrianople in 1859, which has not lost its value even to-day, owes not a few of its excellent features to suggestions by the author of the first treatise on the subject.

In the year 1851 began the agitation for the translation of the whole Bible into the vernacular, and soon after Fotinov was employed for the purpose of writing the same under Riggs' guidance. In 1857 there was brought out an edition of the Psalms. In the same year Riggs left for a two years' stay in the United States. Upon his return to Constantinople, to which place the mission had been removed in 1853, he resumed his labors with Fotinov, but the latter died a week later, and another collaborator had to be found. In the meanwhile great changes had taken place. Yielding to the urgent requests of Riggs, Hamlin, Schaufler and Richardson, the American missionaries at Constantinople, the Missionary Society had the year before established a station at Adrianople, and Riggs himself was, upon his return, sent on an inspection tour through Bulgaria for the purpose of deciding on other towns suitable for missions. In his long report, which is of great interest on account of its wealth of topographical notes, he dwells on the necessity of using the Eastern variety of speech, instead of the Macedonian, for all further publications, since from his inquiries among schoolteachers and other competent men, he had become convinced that the future belonged to that dialect. For the same reason he now engaged a native of Bulgaria

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proper to aid him in the translation of the Old Testament (published in its entirety in 1872), and in other missionary publications.

With the establishment of the missions in Bulgaria there began a new period of American influence. Although the religious propaganda became the most prominent feature of their work, yet they continued furnishing the nation with translations of American schoolbooks, opened schools for them, and in 1864 began publishing the *Zornica*, an illustrated magazine, whose circulation was only second to the most popular native periodical, and in many other ways aided the country to free itself from the incubus of ignorance that had been lying heavily upon it for many centuries. In the meantime young Bulgaria was rapidly preparing itself to take the place of the foreign teachers and to agitate the intellectual and political independence of the country.

It is an interesting fact that when in 1876 Bulgaria had broken out in revolt against Turkey, it was an American who was most active in obtaining their political freedom. In an article by Mr. Geshov, the present minister of Finance in Bulgaria, published a year or two ago, and entitled *Memoirs of a Political Convict*, he points out that it was Eugene Schuyler, the American Minister to Turkey, who drafted the constitution for his country, and that it was through his efforts, and through his efforts alone, that it was accepted in its entirety at San Stefano, and he concludes his remarks by saying that had it not been for Schuyler, Bulgaria would not have been made free.

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GERMANIC ETYMOLOGIES.

1. GOTH. *aha* 'mind,' *ahjan* 'believe,' *ahma* 'spirit,' O.H.G. *ahta* 'regard,' etc. According to Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wtb.*, s.v. *aha*, these words cannot be connected with the I.E. root *oq* 'to see,' because they show no labialization. In many of these forms the labialization regularly disappears (cf. Brugmann, *Grd.* i² 607), and from these generalization took place. Goth. *aha* may, therefore, be connected with the I.E. root *oq* without any difficulty.

2. Goth. *airus* 'messenger,' O.E. *ār;* and O.N. *erende*, O.S. *ārundi* have caused trouble on account of the ablaut *ai: a, ē*. The simple fact is, they should not be brought together. Goth. *airus*, O.E. *ār* is a noun of agency from the root *eḷ* 'go' (Brugmann, *Grd.* ii, 303); while O.N. *erende*, O.S. *ārundi*, 'errand,' with the ablaut *ar: ēr*, belong to the root *ĕr* 'go,' 'hasten,' in Skt. *ar* 'hasten,' *arvant-* 'hastening,' O.S. *aru* 'quick.' Cf. Persson, *Wz.*, 25.

3. Goth. *brunjō* 'breastplate,' if a genuine Germ. word, may be in formation a fem. abstract to the pres. part. of the root *bher* 'bear,' like *sunja* to the root *es* 'be.' The pre-Germ. form would be **bhrgṭ̣ā-n-*, meaning primarily 'something to be borne.'

4. Goth. *dulþs* 'feast' is a fem. stem in -ti- to a root *dhuel, dheuḷ*. There are two possibilities. It may be the root, 'remain,' 'dwell,' in O.E. *dwelan*, and have come to its meaning just as Goth. *fastan* 'hold firm' and 'fast.' Or it may be the root 'cut' in Goth. *dulgs* 'guilt,' O.H.G. *tolg* 'wound.' (Cf. Ehrismann, *PBB.*, 20, 60). In the latter case it would go back to the meaning 'sacrifice.' The use of the word favors this view. It was evidently a religious feast, in Goth. especially the paschal feast.

5. Goth. *fastan* 'hold fast,' Skt. *pastyā̀*, I have for some time regarded as a compound of the root in *stō, stand*, but found no satisfactory connection for *pa-*. My friend, Mr. W. A. Wirtz, suggested that it might be the *pa* in *pascor*. This I believe is correct. The Germ. stem *fastu-* corresponds exactly with Lat. *pastus*, 'pasture.' The *s* of *pastus* is, therefore, not after the analogy of *pascor*, but is organic. The primary meaning of the word is 'feeding place,' which was the only abiding place of our nomadic ancestors.

6. Goth. *dauhts* 'feast' and *gadauka* 'household,' 'family' are both set down by Uhlenbeck as "unbekannten ursprunges." We may at least advance one step by connecting the two words. Goth. *dauhts* is, in formation, an abstract in *-ti-*, from the pre-Germ. stem **dhukti-* <**dhug-ti-*. The base of this, *dhug-*, also in *ga-dauka* from the stem *-*dhoughō-n*, probably meant 'eat' or 'taste.' So that *ga-dauka* meant primarily 'fellow-eater,' 'companion,' like *ga-hlaiba*.

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Now this stem **dhoughgo-* may be divided into root **dhough-*, **dheugh-* and suffix *-go-*; and the root I believe to be the widespread I.E. root **dhŭ-*, which here has taken on the meaning of 'taste,' 'eat.' The same root is in Goth. *dauns* 'odor,' 'savor,' which is probably the intermediate step in the development to the meaning as seen in *ga-dauka* and *dauhts*.

7. Goth. *jah* 'and' is compared by Uhlenbeck with O.H.G. *ja* and *joh*. Other words mentioned in this connection are O.H.G. *jehen* 'acknowledge' and Gk. ἦ 'indeed.' Cf. Kluge, s. v. *ja*.

Neither the comparisons nor the explanations are complete. Goth. *jah* cannot be directly connected with O.H.G. *joh*, nor with *ja*. In *jah* and in *joh* we have the I.E. enclitic *-*qe*, Skt. *ca*, Gk. τε, Lat. *-que*, as in Goth. *nih*, *nauh*, etc. But while Goth. *jah* goes back to I.E. **io-qe*, O.H.G. *joh* must be referred to **iu-qe*. The first element in O.H.G. *joh* is, therefore, not the same as in Goth. *jah*, but is identical with Goth. *ju* 'already,' O.S., O.E. *ju*, *gio*, O.H.G. *ju*, *giu*.

The O.H.G. verb *jehan* may be directly compared with Goth. *jah*. The verb may contain an original ablaut, or may be of secondary formation. The latter is the more probable. For the verb must have been formed from the conjunction, and as this nowhere occurs in Germ. as **jeh*, the probabilities are that the ablaut of the verb is secondary.

As *jah* and *joh* cannot be directly combined, so Goth. *nih* and O.H.G. *noh* do not correspond. Goth. *nih*=Lat. *neque*, but O.H.G. *noh* represents I.E. **nu-qe*. This divergence of the O.H.G. *noh* is explained by F. H. Fowler in his dissertation, *The Negatives of the I. E. Languages*, p. 31, as an assimilation to the particle *noh* 'yet,' on account of its use as an intensive with negatives. This assimilation was doubtless furthered by the corresponding affirmative particle *joh*.

8. Goth. *kuna-wida* 'fetter,' O.E. *cyne-wiðde*, O.H.G. *khuna-with*, *cuonio-widi*. "Das wort ist noch immer dunkel," says Uhlenbeck.

The last part is beyond a doubt connected, as is the supposition, with Goth. *ga-widan*, 'bind,' O.H.G. *wetan*, etc. The first element is the word 'knee.' The meaning of the compound is, therefore, 'knee-band.' In O.H.G. *cuonio-widi* occurs the same ablaut as in Gk. γωνία 'corner,' Skt. *jānu* 'knee.' Both O.E. *cyne-* and O.H.G. *cuonio-* point back to an *i-* or *iā-* stem, and may be compared with Gk. γωνία. The ablaut in Goth. *kuna-*, O.E. *cyne-*, O.H.G. *khuna-* comes from I.E. **ĝniio-*, which is the same as is Goth. *kniu*<**ĝneuo-*. The compound is formed similarly to Goth. *fōtubandi*.

9. Goth. *ga-nipnan* 'be sad,' and O.E. *genīpan* 'get dark,' *genip* 'mist' are generally connected. The last word contains the root in a meaning nearest the original. It goes back to an I.E. root *nib*, which it is best to regard as an outgrowth of the root *en*, discussed in my article in the third number of the *Jour. of Germ. Phil.* The Gk. root *νιβ-* in *χέρνιβον* 'hand-basin,' *νίπτω* 'wash the hands,' is supposed to come from I.E. *nigh*, on account of *νίζω*. Those who see no difficulty in the development of a Germ. labial from an I.E. velar might refer the Germ. root *nip* also to I.E. *nigh*. It is better, however, to regard these two roots as extensions of a simpler form *neiə-* 'flow' or 'be wet.'

The development in meaning is natural. O.E. *genip* 'mist' is not far from the root meaning. As mist causes darkness, we easily arrive at O.E. *genīpan* 'get dark.' And 'be dark' readily passes into 'be sad,' as we see in Eng. *gloom*, *gloomy*, hence the final step to Goth. *ganipnan* 'be sad.'

10. Goth. *ga-tarnjan* 'estrange,' 'separate' has not been connected with any other Germ. word, except ultimately with *gatairan*. The word, however, may be compared with O.H.G. *trinnan* 'withdraw,' 'depart,' *aba-trunnig* 'deserting,' *ant-trunnig* 'fugitive.' These are connected by Brugmann, *Grd.* ii, 970, with Skt. *dṛ-ātí*, from the root *der*. As O.H.G. *trinnu* comes from **dr-enuō*, so Goth. *-tarnja* represents **dr-niō* or **dor-niō*.

11. Goth. *guþ* 'god,' 'God.' Of the different derivations given for this word that proposed by Aufrecht, *BB.*, 20, 256, is the best, though the connection in meaning given there is certainly wrong. Skt. *juhóti* 'pour into the fire,' 'offer an oblation' gives us the clue to the development. The part. **ghutó-* 'offered,' 'poured out as an oblation,' applied to the object of reverence, would come to signify

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'worshiped,' and then the object of worship, the deity. Cf. also Skt. *hōtar-* 'priest,' the counterpart to **ghutó-* the one worshiped by the oblation.

12. Goth. *hlaiw* 'grave' is usually referred to the root *k̂leḭ* 'lean,' and compared with Lat. *clīvus* 'hill.' It is better, I think, to connect it with the root *k̂el* 'cover,' 'conceal' in O.H.G. *helan*, Lat. *celō*. Words meaning 'hill' formed from the root *k̂leḭ* uniformly denote a 'slope' or 'incline,' and not a 'mound' or 'elevation.' A grave, no matter how high a mound might be made, would not be regarded as a 'slope' or 'hill-*side*,' though it might be regarded as an 'elevation,' as in Lat. *tumulus*. In O. H. G. *grab*, O. Sl. *grobu*, 'grave,' the original idea was 'excavation.' Other Germ. words for 'bury' mean also 'cover,' 'conceal,' as Goth. *filhan*, O. E. *byrgan* 'bury,' *beorgan* 'protect,' both from the (root meaning) 'cover,' which is still in mod. Germ. *verbergen*. Goth. *hlaiw*, in all probability, had a similar development. To the same root belong also Goth. *hleiþra*, *hlija* 'tent,' O.E. *hlid* 'lid,' 'cover.'

These words and all related to them have, in my opinion, developed directly from the meaning 'cover.' I believe, however, that the roots *k̂leḭ* 'cover' and *k̂leḭ* 'lean,' which are extensions of *k̂el* 'cover' and *k̂el* 'lean,' are ultimately identical, the latter being the original meaning.

13. Goth. *ib-* in *ib-dalja* 'descent;' *ib- uks* 'going backward;' O.E. *ebba* 'ebb,' etc., is probably the same particle as the *if-* in Goth. *if-tuma* ('next following'), which has been compared with Gk. *ἐπί* 'upon.' In form this is a locative to a stem **ep-* or **epe-*, meaning 'base' or 'down.' The same element is possibly in I.E. **pĕd*, **pŏd* 'foot,' and in Gk. *πέδον* 'ground,' and other related words.

14. Goth. *hwōpan* 'to boast,' for which, so far as I know, no etymon has been found, is undoubtedly connected with *af-hwapjan* 'choke, quench,' *af-hwapnan* 'become extinguished,' M. H. G. *ver-wepfen* 'turn' (of wine). There is apparently no logical connection between the two sets of meanings, and it was outside of Germ. that I first found a cognate for *hwōpan*. This I saw in Lith. *kvĕpti* 'breathe,' *kvāpas* 'smoke,' Gk. *καπνός* 'smoke,' Lat. *vapor*. Goth. *hwōpan* meant, therefore, primarily 'blow, fume, vapor,' and came to signify 'boast,' just as did Eng. *blow*, *vapor*, and corresponding words in other languages. Goth. *af-hwapjan* was simply 'to blow out' or 'smother as with smoke.' With this word the connection with Lat. *vapor*, etc., has already been made. Compare Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wtb.* s. v., *afhwapjan*.

We have in this group of words the ablaut *qu̯ĕp- qu̯ōp-*, *qu̯ap-*. The ablaut in Goth. *hwōpan* may be secondary, from an original **hwēpan : hwai-hw-ōp*. The final *-p* is not what we should expect from the *p* of Gk., Lat., and Lith. The Goth. may go back to the pre- Germ. *qu̯ĕb-* or perhaps rather to *qu̯ĕpn—*, *qu̯əpn—*, as in Gk. *καπνός*. Cf. Streitberg, *Urg. Gr.* §127. So I should prefer to explain it.

With a similar meaning occurs the root *qu̯ĕ-s-*, *qu̯ə-s* in O. Bul. *kvasiti* 'fermentare,' O.N. *hvæsa* 'hiss,' (id. ib. p. 112). In meaning M.H.G. *ver-wepfen* is more closely related to O. Bul. *kvasiti* than to Goth. *af-hwapjan*. The simplex *-wepfen* would be exactly synonymous. Similarity of meaning, however, proves nothing of itself, but does in this case show that on that score there is no ground for separating the roots *qu̯ē-p-* and *qu̯ĕ-s-*. If then we admit a root *qu̯ĕ-* which by the addition of different determinatives gives various compound roots, we may also refer to this root Goth. *hwapjan* 'to foam,' and, with Uhlenbeck, connect it with Skt. *kváthati* 'seethe,' which is explained differently by Brugmann, *Grd.* 1^2, 790.

15. O.H.G. *hwelf*, O.E. *hwelp*, O.N. *hvelpr*, O. Sw. *hwælper*, *hwalper*, 'whelp,' from pre-Germ. **qu̯el- bo-*, **qu̯ol- bo-*, come from a root *qu̯el* 'yell,' 'sound.' The same root with a prefixed *s* occurs in Gk. *σκύλαξ* 'whelp,' Norw. *skvaldra* 'bark incessantly,' Lith. *skalìkas* 'hunting dog that barks continually,' Čech. *skoliti* 'yelp,' (cf. Brugmann, *Grd.* i^2, 595.) Compare further O.N. *hvellr* 'loud sounding,' Mod. Sw. *skwella* 'resound,' Eng. *squall*, *squeal*.

This is not the same root as *k̂el* 'sound,' though one root has undoubtedly been contaminated by the other, and it is difficult to refer many of the words to their proper source. To *s-qu̯el* probably belong O. N. *skǫll*

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'laughter,' *skal*, *skual* 'chattering.'

16. Goth. *swarts* 'swart,' 'black' from **s-u̯or-do-* contains the root *u̯er-* 'cover,' which passes into 'befoul' as in Lat. *sordidus*, and 'black' as in the Goth. Cf. Skt. *var-ṇa* 'color,' 'complexion,' which contains the root *u̯er-*. With the suf. *-dhā-*, M.H.G. *swarte*, etc. See *schwarte* in Kluge's *Et. Wtb.* These words belong to the root *u̯er-*, discussed in *Jour. Germ. Phil.*, no. 3.

17. Gothic *bi-sauljan* represents the 'schwundstufe' of the root *u̯el-*, with a prefixed *s-* as in *swarts*. The *s-* in these words is due to some such word as Goth. *smeitan* 'smear.' The development in meaning is the same as in *swarts*. The root *u̯el-* had also the meaning 'cover,' a development of the meaning 'enfold,' 'wrap.'

18. Goth. *swaran* 'swear,' O. N. *svara* 'answer' has in it the root *u̯er* 'speak,' in *waurds* and its cognates. The *s* here is due to the initial of words like, *say*, *speak*. The root *u̯er* 'speak,' 'answer' is the same as *u̯er* 'turn.' Observe that Skt. *varṇa* means 'outside,' 'color,' 'complexion' and 'sound,' 'word.' There must also be some relation between this word and *svárati* 'sound.' (Cf. Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wtb.* s. v. *swaran*, where the contrary is assumed.) On the development of meaning from 'turn' to 'answer,' compare Eng. *return*, *reply*, *retort*, etc.

19. The root *k̂leu̯-* 'hear' is referred by Brugmann to an unfound root *k̂ăl-*. This is connected doubtfully by Prellwitz in his *Et. Wtb.* with the root *k̂el-* 'sound;' about this there can be no doubt. The root *k̂leu̯* itself means 'sound' as well as 'hear.' O.N. *hlymr* 'noise;' O.E. *hlēoþor* 'sound,' 'voice,' *hlȳdan* 'sound;' M. H. G. *lût* 'sound;' and O.E. *hlūd* 'loud,' Gk. *κλυτός* 'renowned' come as easily from the meaning 'sounding,' 'sounded,' as from 'heard.' In Lith. *gerdas* 'shout,' 'cry:' *girdẽti* 'hear' we find a parallel. And the probabilities are that all words meaning 'hear' come from a root meaning 'sound'; for the proethnic man could have no idea of hearing except as a sound or noise.

The simpler root *k̂el-* occurs in Gk. *κέλαδος* 'noise,' (cf. Prellwitz) O. H. G. *hellan* and *s-cellan* 'resound,' *ga-hel* 'clear-sounding,' *holōn*, *halōn* 'call,' Lat. *calāre*, Gr. *καλέω*, and their numerous cognates. No further proof of this connection is needed.

Goth. *hausjan* 'hear' may also be referred to a root meaning 'sound.' Such a root occurs in Skt. *kāuti* 'he shouts,' Lith. *kaukti* 'howl,' Gk. *κωκύω* 'cry,' 'shriek.' (Cf. Prellwitz, s. v. *κυδάζω*.) Compare also, for meaning, Skt. *gōsati* 'sounds:' Av. *gush* 'hear.'

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AMERICAN-FRENCH DIALECT COMPARISON.

Two Acadian-French Dialects compared with "Some Specimens of a Canadian-French Dialect Spoken in Maine."

PAPER NO. II.* C.

W.: æn bèl fam=une belle[83] femme. See phrase no. 31, note 47.

67. C.: ŏn bèl fam=une belle[83] femme.
CC.: ŏn bèl fam= " " "

W.: lṑ è krṑz=the water is deep=l'eau est creuse.

68. C.: lṓ é krṓz=l'eau est creuse.[84]
CC.: lṓ è krṓz= " " "

W.: ŏn[85] æ̀ fæ̀=un enfant.

69. C.: æ̃n æ̃ fæ̃[86]=" "
CC.: æ̃n æ̃ fæ̃[86]=" "

W.: sèz[42]òmlâ sō̃ fu=ces hommes-là sont fous.

70. C.: séz[42]òmlâ sō̃ fu=ces hommes-là sont fous.

CC.: séz[42]umlâ sō̃ fu=ces hommes-là sont fous.

W.: sōnè=son nez.

71. C.: sōné=son nez.
CC.: sōné= " "

* Paper No. I appeared in MOD. LANG. NOTES for December, 1893, January and February, 1894; and part of Paper No. II in December, 1897, and January, 1898.

83 A form corresponding to Fr. *gentille*, I have not found in use in any of the localities I have studied.

84 A form corresponding to Fr. *profonde* is not in use.

85 For other forms of the indefinite masculine article, see phrase no. 25 and also note 40.

86 The dialect form for Fr. *an* or *en* is nearer *æ̃* than *ā*; as a rule it appears to me to be *æ̃*. Cf. phrase no. 27 and see note 42.

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W.: la pli=la pluie.
72. C.: là püi[87]=la pluie.
CC.: lá püi[87]=" "

W.: sèz yŏ[88]=ses yeux. Cf. no. 37.
73. C.: séz yŏ= " "
CC.: séz yŏ= " "

W.: pòrt=porte.
74. C.: pòrt[89]= "
CC.: pòrt[89]= "

W.: nu=nous.
75. C.: nu=nous, but not as subject for which ŏ=Fr. *on* with third pers. sing. is used.
CC.: nu=nous, but not as subject for which ž or žə=Fr. *je* with the verb in the first pers. plural.

W.: twè[90]=toi. Cf. no. 14.
76. C.: twà[90, 91]=toi.
CC.: twà[90, 91]= "

W.: vu=vous. Cf. no. 92.
77. C.: vu[91]="
CC.: vu[91]="

W.: vâtæ (or vò=?)=va-t'en.
78. C.: v[8]âtæ[86]= "
CC.: v[8]âtæ[86]= "

W.: tædbæ=perhaps=peut-être bien. The *d* was not very distinct.
79. C.: ptètbæ[94] and tèt bæ=peut-être bien. Cf. Passy's tsé pa =Fr. *je ne sais pas*. *Étude*, p. 123.
CC.: tèt bæ=peut-être bien.

W.: savapa bæ=ça (ne[92]) va pas bien.
80. C.: sâ vâ pâ bæ[94]=ça (ne[92]) va pas bien.
CC.: sâ vâ pâ bæ= " " " " "

W.: bókubæ=beaucoup bien.
81. C.: [93]bukubæ[94]= " "
CC.: bókubæ[94]= " "

W.: sàvŏ=savon (probably).
82. C.: sàvŏ[95]= "
CC.: sàvo[95]= "

W.: livü=I saw him *and also* I saw her=?
83. C.:[96] =
CC.: žlvü[97]=je levis.

W.: à vâ vnir=she is going to come= elle va venir.
84. C.: à vâ[98] mnir=elle va venir.
CC.: à vâ vnir= " " "

W.: la vlæ[99] (sometimes nearly vla[99]) ki vyæ=la voilà qui vient. [50](For exception to tš=Fr. *k*.)
85. C.: làvlà[99] ki vyæ*=la voilà qui vient.
CC.: lá vlá[99] tši vyæ*=" " " "

W.: i[57] dèn=he is giving=il donne. See no. 12.
86. C.: i[57] dŏn=il donne.
CC.: i[57] dun=" "

W.: i ètaprèdèné=il est après donner. See. no. 13.
87. C.: i (or) il é àprè dŏné.

87 The *l* of Fr. *pluie* is completely lost; parallel with this is dialect *pü*—Fr. *plus*.: cf. kŏkŏ in phrase no. 17.

88 See the comment on dialect *dž*—Fr. *y* in note 54 referring to this phrase, no. 73.

89 The *o* is the same here as in French; a noticeable feature, however, of these two dialects is that in words where the *r* is final or followed by a silent consonant, the dialect *o* is then *not* the Fr. *o* in the French word *or*, that is, mid-back-wide-round, but mid-back-narrow-round as in Fr. *beau*; thus, dialect *tór*—Fr. *tort*, sounds exactly like Eng. *tore* (the past of *to tear*).

90 Cf. again in regard to dialect *wè* and *wé* the *Remark* under note 103 of Paper no. 1—(referred to before in notes 16 and 26 of this paper). *twè* is heard a good deal,—see the note no. 91 below, where a remark by the school teacher, Mlle. Allard, gives an idea of the difference in usage of *twé* and *vu* as observed by her.

91 Mlle. Allard says: "Les Canadiens se tutoient plus que les Acadiens. En général, les parents canadiens se font tutoyer par leurs enfants, ce qui est très-rare chez les Acadiens. Les Acadiens du Nouveau Brunswick, de la Nouvelle Ecosse et du Cap-Breton se tutoient généralement, excepté l'époux et l'épouse qui, quoique se tutoyant avant leur mariage se disent *vous* lorsqu'ils sont mariés."

92 Just as a form corresponding to Fr. *ne* is lacking in the dialects, so *ne* itself is disappearing in popular French.

93 The form *bukŭ* is apparently due to the influence of the last syllable on the first. It generally replaces Fr. *très* before an adjective; for example, *bukŭ bòn*—Fr. *beaucoup bonne*, that is, *très-bonne*.

94 *bæ̃* is the form in use for the Fr. adverb *bien*; *biæ̃*, *biæ̃* (see note 72)—Fr. *bien* in the sense of the noun, *goods* or *property*.

95 As remarked in note 86, dialect *æ̃* to my ear as a rule represented Fr. *an* or *en*; so, too, the dialect form for Fr. *on* sounded like *ã* or *æ̃*, difficult to distinguish which; cf. the Parisian pronunciation of Fr. *an* or *en* with Fr. *on*.

96 An exact equivalent to the CC. *ž l vü*—Fr. *je le vis* is lacking as there is no preterite tense in the dialect.

97 Evidently analogy of the past participle.

98 Influence of the *n* in nasalizing the Fr. *v* so that the sound is as written *mnir*. Cf. Passy's *amnu*—Fr. *avenue* and *ro-mi*: *r*—Fr. *revenir*. *Étude*, §434.

* Conjugated with *ãw.r*—Fr. *avoir*.

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CC.: A like form of expression not in use.

W.: fó99 kə lièzőt tũt dədlå (*kə* or a very short *kè*, *l* in *lièz* very faint, *də* or *dè* with very short *è*)=I must take them all out of there=faut que (je? les?) ôte tou(te?)s de delà.

88. C.: fó99 kə žléz ót tud də lå=faut que je les ôte tou(te?)s de delà.

CC.: fó99 kə ž léz ut tu də lå=faut que je les ôte tou(te?)s de delà.

W.: té100 fu (not *tè*—; but cf. no 91.)=you are a fool=tu es fou.

89. C.: té100 fu=tu es fou.

CC.: tè100 fu=" " "

W.: 100té fõl=tu es folle.

90. C.: 100té fõl=" " "

CC.: 100tè fõl=" " "

W.: tè101tõfũ=you are a fool=tu es un fou.

91. C.: té æ̃ fu40, 15=tu es un fou.

CC.: tè æ̃ fu40, 15=" " " "

W.: vuzètfu=vous êtes fou.

92. C.: vuzètfu=" " "

CC.: vuzètfu=" " "

W.: téfũ kòm æ̃ mãš a balèt103=you are a fool like a broomstick, tu es fou comme un manche à balai.

93. C.: té fu kòm æ̃ mãš (mãḥ) a bàlè=you are a fool like a broomstick, tu es fou comme un manche à balai.

CC.: tè fu kòm æ̃ mãš a bàlè=you are a fool like a broomstick, tu es fou comme un manche à balai.

W.: i fè frèt34=it is cold=il fait froid.

94. C.: i57 fè frèt34=it is cold=il fait froid.

CC.: i57 fè frèt34=" " " " " " "

W.: i fè šó=it is warm=il fait chaud.

95. C.: i57 fè šó=il fait chaud.

CC.: i57 fè šó=" " "

W.: i bwè16=he is drinking=il boit.

96. C.: i bwà16=il boit.

CC.: i bwà16=" "

W.: truvé=to find=trouver.

97. C.: truvé=trouver.

CC.: truvé= "

W.: ma60 vå ékrir=I am going to write=moi vais écrire.

98. C.: ž103 må ékrir=je vais écrire.

CC.: ž vå ékrir= " " "

W.: sòn étàb è grãd=his stable is large. Cf. no. 10; son étable est grande.

99. C.: sõn étàb104 é grãd=son étable est grande.

CC.: sõn étàb è grãd=son étable est grande.

W.: la lwè16=the law, la loi.

100. C.: là lwà16=la loi.

CC.: là lwà16=" "

W.: æ̃ pyé*=a foot, un pied.

101. C.: æ̃ pyé=un pied.

CC.: æ̃ pyé=" "

W.: õ põdzòm=some men=un peu des hommes.

102. C.: æ̃ põdòm (rare); kèkòm kyökòm (far commoner)=quelques hommes.

CC.: æ̃ põ dum=un peu d'hommes.

W.: pupwå=father=papa.

103. C.: pàpå=papa.

CC.: pəpå105=papa.

W.: lè42 mõbl=walls of the room (?)=les meubles.

104. C.: lé42 mõb=les meubles.

CC.: lé42 mõb=" "

W.: nwèr16=black=noir.

105. C.: nwèr16=noir.

99 Cf. with examples from popular French given by Passy in his *Étude*, §271.

100 Popular French, Beyer und Passy, §91.

101 Analogy of forms where a *t* may be heard, as in the third pers. sing. See note 23.

102 In lists of words where a final *t* is sounded in the dialects representing words where in French under like conditions no *t* is heard, my notes go to show that the feature is more common in Canadian than in Acadian French; see note no. 59, Paper No. I. Professor Squair records the Ste. Anne pronunciation of Fr. *balai*, no. 4 in list (5) of his *Contribution*, which if I might interpret it phonetically would be about like *balæ* or *bàlə*.

103 *må*=Fr. *va* here seems to be used on the analogy of such expressions as no. 44: *ž må bàlie*=Fr. *je vais balier*, in which the *m* can be accounted for as in note 64.

104 Both *grãš* (*gr.* *k*) and *étàb* are in use; there is however no form corresponding to Fr. *écurie*.

105 Weakening of the vowel of the unaccented syllable; see Passy, *Étude*, §313.

* As in no. 51 dialect pidži represents Fr. *pays*, a form *pèž* might be looked for representing Fr. *pied*. Cf. also phrases nos. 133 and 134 where one might rather look for *fèž* than *fig*.

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CC.: nwèr[106]= " "

W.: æn[36] mèzõ=a house=une maison.

106. C.: ὸn mèzõ=une maison,
CC.: ön mèzõ= " "

W.: æn[36]ésèl=a ladder=une échelle.

107. C.: ὸnésèl=une échelle.
CC.: ὸnésèl= " "

W.: æn[36] plæs (*or* plàs?)=a place=une place.

108. C.: ὸn plàs[62]=une place.
CC.: ὸn plàs= " "

W.: lὸn (with a short vowel)=moon=lune.

109. C.: lün=lune (the *ü* is very short†) and the effect similar to *lõn*.
CC.: lün=lune (the *ü* is very short†) and the effect similar to *lõn*.

W.: sa vwè=his voice=sa voix.

110. C.: sà wa[106]=sa voix.
CC.: sà wà[106]= " "

W.: æ̀ šyæ̀=a dog=un chien.

111. C.: æ̀ syã̀[72] and šyæ̀=un chien.
CC.: æ̀ šyã̀[72]= " "

W.; æ̀ ša (or rather šà)=a cat=un chat.

112. C.: æ̀ šà[107]=un chat.
CC.: æ̀ šà[107]= " "

W.: dè šà=des chats.

113. C.: dé[42] sà=" "
CC.: dé[42] žà=" "

W.: æ̀ rwè

114. C.: æ̀ rwa.[108]
CC.: æ̀ rwà.

W.: æn rèn=a queen=une reine.

115. C.: ὸn rèn=une reine.
CC.: ὸn rèn= " "

W.: æn wèzó=a bird=un oiseau.

116. C.: æ̀ wézó[109]=un oiseau.
CC.: æ̀ özó[109]= " "

W.: æ̀šmæ=a road=un chemin.

117. C.: æ̀šmã[110] and šmæ̀=un chemin.
CC.: æ̀šmã[110] " šmæ̀= " "

W.: æ̀ (or ẽ) kanòt[109]=a boat=un canot.

118. C.: æ̀ kànó=un canot.
CC.: æ̀ kànó= " "

W.: flör=fleur.

119. C.: flör[111]=fleur.
CC.: flör= "

The cardinal numerals 1–20, 100;

W.: æ, dõ, twà, kat (katz[81]òm=Fr. quatre hommes), sæ̀k, sis, sèt, üit, nöff, džis, õz, dūz, trè[1]z, katòrz, tšẽz (not tšæ̀z), sè[1]z, džissèt, dzizüit, džiznöff, væ̀; sã, (or perhaps better sæ̃).

C.: õ̃, æ̀, dö(z),[112] trwa(z), trwà(z), kàt(r)(z[81]), sæ̀(z[81]), sæ̀k, si(z), sis, sè(z[81]), sèt, üi(z[81])(t), üit, nö(z[81])(v), nöf, di(z), dis, õz, duz, tréz, trèz, kàtòrz, kyæ̀z, sèz, di sè(z[81]), di sèt, dizüi(z[81])(t), dizüit, diznõ(z[81])(v), diznõf, væ̀(z[81])(t) sæ̀(z) (but sæ̀ õ or æ̀).

CC.: õ̃, æ̀, yõn, dõ(z[112])dõs, trwa(z), trwas, kàt(z), sæ(k); si(z), sis, sè(z), sèt, üi(z), ult, nö(z), nöf, di(z), dis, õz,

† Corblet in his *Glossaire Picard* gives *louna* on *l'ne*.

106 This is merely a bilabial for a lip-tooth consonant; cf. phrase no. 8; a pronunciation which occurs also in popular French as mentioned in note no. 94 of Paper No. I.

107 Feminine *ène* *šà*—Fr. *une chatte*.

108 As a rule in Carleton as in Cheticamp, a final French *e* is represented in the dialect by *æ̀*. For Carleton, in the following words both *e* (*e* rather than *a*) and *æ̀* are heard, *e* by the young and *æ̀* by the old: *trwa* and *trwæ̀*—Fr. *trois*; *bwa* and *bwæ̀*—Fr. *bois*, Eng. *wood*; *mwa* and *mwæ̀*—Fr. *mois*, Eng. *month*; *pwa* and *pwæ̀*—Fr. *pois*, Eng. *pea*; *pwa* and *pwæ̀*—Fr. *poids*, Eng. *weight*. Most other dialect words with the ending corresponding to Fr. *oi*, like *mwa*—Fr. *moi* and *twa*—Fr. *toi*, have, as a rule, only *a*. This points to something similar to what Beyer in his *Franz zische Phonetik*, p. 20, comments on; that is, that the modern tendency in popular French is to bring open and closed *a* together.

109 In Carleton and Cheticamp the rule is that *wè* corresponds to Fr. *oi*, when the *oi* is not final. There are, however, a few cases of *wé* instead of *wè* as in Carleton *wézó* while Cheticamp *zó*—Fr. *oiseau* is irregular. See the *Remark* † under note no. 103, Paper No. I.

110 Cf. note 72. I recorded a number of cases of dialect *ã*—Fr. *in*, but could establish no exact rule.

111 *flör* is used continually for a form corresponding to Fr. *farine*, Eng. *flour* and in this sense appears to be an Anglicism. In Carleton and Cheticamp the dialect ending corresponding to Fr. *-eur* is apt to be closed, that is, the *ö* in Fr. *peu* rather than the *ö* in Fr. *peur*.

112 The forms enclosed in parentheses are heard before vowels; those ending in a vowel before consonants, or when there is no form ending in a consonant, as final as in *dì*, *trwa*; those ending in a consonant may appear as final or where that is the only form as in *dus*, *très*, etc., before both vowels and consonants. The form for Fr. *cent* is hardly distinguishable from that for Fr. *cinq* when before consonants.

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duz, trèz, kàtòrz, tsæ̆z, sèz, disè(z), disèt, dizüi(z), dizülˈt, diznö(z), diznöf, væ̆(z)(t), sæ̆(z).

SUPPLEMENT.*

W.: zé[113] bæ̆dz ami=I have many friends [=j'ai bien des amis].

121. C.: ž̆é bæ̆[94] déz àmi=j'ai bien des amis.
CC.: ž̆é bæ̆ déz àmi= " " " "

W.: han é tšö·kö=I have some [=j'en ai quelqu(es) uns. I doubt the correctness of the accent, and think the last letter should be *ō̃*].

122. C.: ž̆ānékō̆kō̃=j'en ai quelqu(es) uns.
CC.: ž̆ānétšō̆kō̃= " " " " "

W.: han é débå=I have some stockings [=j'en ai des bas].

123. C.: zé dé bå=j'ai des bas; (not said as above in Waterville with *an* or *ā*= Fr. *en*).
CC.: ž̆é dé bå=j'ai des bas; (not said as above in Waterville with *an* or *ā*= Fr. *en*.)

W.: hé[113] dé kutó=I have some knives [=j'ai des couteaux].

124. C.: ž̆é (ḥé) dé kutó=j'ai des couteaux.
CC.: ž̆é dè kutó= " " "

W.: ḥané=I have some [=j'en ai].

125. C.: zānè[112]=j'en ai.
CC.: ž̆āné= " "

W.: ž̆é[113] tā šæpó=I have many hats [=j'ai tant de chapeaux].

126. C.: ž̆é tā dsæpó=j'ai tant de chapeaux (not said without *d* or *də*).
CC.: ž̆é tā dš̆æpó=j'ai tant de chapeaux (not said without *d* or *də*).

W.: hé[113] šó=I am warm [=j'ai chaud].

127. C.: ž̆é (hé) (ḥé) šó=j'ai chaud.
CC.: ž̆é šó.

W.: héswì=I am thirsty [=j'ai soif. The sign ì=English *i* in (*hit*), (*pin*), etc.].

128. C.: zé (hé) ḥé[116] swèf.
CC.: zé[116] swèf.

W.: hé[113] fā=I am hungry=j'ai faim.

129. C:. ž̆é (hé) ḥé [110, 72] (rather than fæ̆).
CC.; ž̆é fā[110, 72] (fæ̆).

W.: pupå é[114] bå̃=papa is good [=papa est bon].

130. C.: pàpå é bō̃=papa est bon.
CC.: pəpå[105] è bō̃=" " "

W.: pupå é[114] grā̃=papa is tall [=papa est grand].

131. C.: pàpå é grā̃=papa est grand.
CC.: pəpå[105] è grā̃=" " "

W.: mā̃ gæ·så[114] éptši=my son is small [=mon garçon est petit].

132. C.: mō̃ gærsō̃ é pti[49]=mon garçon est petit.
CC.: mō̃ gærsō̃ è pti[49]=mon garçon est petit.

W.: ma fig[115] é bèl=my daughter is handsome [=ma fille est belle].

133. C.: mà fiy é bèl=ma fille est belle.
CC.: mà fiy è bèl= " " " "

W.: no fig[115] vièn=our daughters are coming [=nos filles viennent].

134. C.: nó fiy vièn=nos filles viennent.
CC.: nó fiy vənō̃[116]=nos filles viennent.

W.: mu·ma lævyu dö gró·rå=mamma saw two big rats (gró·rå in her dialect means either rats or big rats) [=mamam? deux gros rats. I doubt the correctness of the accent in mu·ma, and the last letter in the same word should perhaps be *ā*. In *lævyu*, I think *yu* should be *ü*].

135. C.: məmā à vü dō̃ gro·rå (Cf., however, note 60)=maman a vu deux gros rats.

* Professor Sheldon continues: "As a supplement I can now add some additional specimens taken from the pronunciation of M. J. (—dž), the mother of L. L. and written in a phonetic spelling essentially the same as that employed above. They were written at my suggestion by an inexperienced observer not familiar with spoken French. He writes *ə* for both *ə̆* and *ə̃*. I add in brackets remarks of my own.—M. J. was born in Cornville, Maine, cannot read nor write, is forty-nine years old, has always lived in Maine, except a year and a half in Canada after being married."

112 An expression much used here is *žānéānàs*—Fr. *j'en ai en masse*, meaning *beaucoup*.

113 Cf. this *é*—Fr. *ai* with that recorded in nos. 4 and 5, 6 and 7, (which is *è*).

114 Cf. this *é*—Fr. *est* with that recorded in nos. 1, 2, 50, 87 and 99.

115 Cf. with nos. 35, 36, 37 and 38 where Fr. *y* (consonant) —dialect *dž*. See also the * under note 105.

116 What is said in the important note 41 applies to this case.

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CC.: məmă å vü dŏ́ gró rå=maman a vu deux gros rats.

W.: "'Father' in her dialect is the same as in standard French, or perhaps the first *e* is pronounced more like *ie* in the modern French '*pierre*.'

136. C.: pér=père.
CC.: pér= "

W.: "I don't think I have given all the various ways for 'I have' in the dialect. I will not say positively, but . . . . . it seems as if she said something like *ɣfé* or *hwfé* for 'I have.'"

137. C.: žé, hé ḥé.
CC.: zé.

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OLD ENGLISH GRAMMAR.

An Elementary Old English Grammar (Early West Saxon) by A. J. WYATT, M. A. Cambridge: At the University Press, 1897. 160 pp.

WHEN this latest grammar of Old English fell into our hands, we felt tempted to exclaim with Ymagynatyf in *Piers the Plowman:* "*Þ*ere ar bokes ynowe!" Elementary Old English Grammars as well as Readers and Exercise Books, have kept coming thick and fast for a number of years. Besides, the publication of two new books is being looked forward to with keen interest; namely, the revised edition of Sievers' *Grammar*, and Bülbring's *Elementarbuch* in Streitberg's series. And now the list is swelled by another number. It is true that in the mother country of the Anglo-Saxon speech there have been so far no signs of a possible overproduction in this line; and the enthusiastic activity of America does not appear to concern the author of this new grammar. Anyhow, no one could well be supposed nowadays to enter upon such a task, unless he were sure of his case.

Mr. Wyatt's plan was to combine in his manual the merits of Sievers' 'Germanic' and Sweet's 'independent' method, whilst confining himself in the main to an elementary presentation of Early West Saxon. In the elaboration of this scheme he has been remarkably successful. Mr. Wyatt is a thorough scholar in Old English—as his edition of *Bēowulf* has sufficiently shown—and though he naturally follows the steps of Sweet, Sievers, and Cosijn, he proves himself to be an independent philologist. The didactic talent of the author appears on every page. His methods of arrangement, classification, and formulation of rules are not absolutely new. Every intelligent teacher of Old English has no doubt, in a great many cases, resorted to the same practical devices as Mr. Wyatt. But it is very convenient to have them put together, in a clear, concise form. To enumerate the 'innovations' in detail is unnecessary. Suffice it to call attention to some general features, and to mention just a few particulars which invite comment.

The text book does not pretend to be a complete grammar. "It would have given a specious air of completeness to the book to have added a section dealing with Old English syntax; but I am strongly of opinion that for the present such aid is best given in notes on selected texts." (*Preface*, page v). There are two principal parts: the first dealing with Inflection, the second with Phonology; besides we find, on the first seven pages, a condensed list of the chief paradigms, and in an Appendix a few sections on Word-Formation. The exposition of the sound-laws is especially well done; we note in particular the stress laid on the chronology of the different O. E. phonetic changes. Praiseworthy is the author's effort in combating inaccurate popular statements of linguistic phenomena (cf. § 119; § 68, n. i).

The statement that the O. E. diphthongs have the stress on the first element (§ 4; cf. § 141) needs modification,—at least if we consider the comparative fulness of information generally presented in this 'elementary' grammar.—If *hwilc*, *swilc*, *mīn*, *ðīn*, etc., are given a place among the adjectives which are always strong (§ 41), such as *eall*, *sum*, etc., should not be omitted. From the curious note that *ān*=one, has always the strong form, and *āna*=alone, always the weak form, we mighț

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be led to conclude that *āna* has nothing whatever to do with *ān*.—Has the vowel length in *ōfost* (§ 108) and *ēfstan* (§ 128) been proved?—*getrēow* (§ 112 should be *getrēowe* (*getrīewe*); in § 126 we find *getrīewe*.—In the chronological table of sound-changes (§ 115), shortening appears in the first place. The only two examples given, **liht* and *betwih* (§ 16a), may justify this arrangement, but the reader should beware of inferring from those instances a general rule of early shortening. Further, the influence of following *w* is, indeed, posterior to i-umlaut in *mēowle*; but *niewe* (Sievers, § 73, 2), *fēawe* (§ 73, 1) certainly point to an earlier period. In these cases the student will do well to bear in mind Mr. Wyatt's words that some of these processes "must have been in operation over a considerable period of time."—The criticism of Sievers in § 145, n. loses its point by the fact that (1.) Sievers himself is guilty of no inconsistency in the use of the term 'Palatal Umlaut' in his Grammar (see the original German edition, §§ 85 and 102), and (2.) in his *Abriss* (1895), § 5, the name is employed in the narrower sense only.—The remark that the loss of *h* in *ðȳrel* is preceded by i-umlaut and by breaking (§ 159), seems to be due to an oversight.

The following misprints have been noticed: p. 1, last word: *lāru* for *lārum*; § 33, n. 3, l. 5: *and in hęre* for *as in hęre*, § 40, 3: *miere* for *mīere*; § 54, n. 2: *feorðe* for *fēorðe*; § 174: *onliehtan* for *onlīehtan*, cf. § 126; the omission of the diacritical hook under the *e* or *o* in: *dęhter* § 37; *āsęcgan* § 60, d; *cwęllan*, § 64, e; *swęre*, *swęriað*, etc., § 80, and n. 5; *sęnde*, *sęnd* § 83, n. 6; *nęmde*, *nęmnode*, § 88, 5; *gesęnded*, § 89, 1 b; *sęcge*, § 93; *gǫngan*, § 96, n. 4; *ęlne*, § 171, 3; *forswęrian*, § 174; *wębbestre*, *wędlāc*, § 175.

It is easily seen that every new elementary book is bound to be, in a certain way, an improvement upon its predecessors. Wyatt's grammar deserves, in our judgment, to be ranked among the very best introductions to the study of Old English, whether we look at it from the scientific or from the practical point of view.

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SPANISH LITERATURE.

La Isla Bárbara and *La Guarda Cuidadosa*, two comedias by Miguel Sanchez (El Divino), edited by HUGO A. RENNERT, Ph. D.—Publications of the University of Pennsylvania, Series in Philology, Literature, and Archeology, Vol. v. Boston: Ginn & Co., 1896. 8vo, pp. xx, 297.

LA présente étude a été lue à l'École des Hautes-Études, à la conférence d'espagnol de M. Alfred Morel-Fatio, comme un des travaux de l'année scolaire 1896–'97.

Dans cette édition, M. Rennert nous donne deux comédies dont l'une, *La Isla Bárbara*, est beaucoup moins connue que l'autre: c'est sur celle-ci que nous avons concentré notre attention. Disons tout d'abord que M. Rennert aurait pu faciliter de beaucoup la lecture et l'étude du texte en l'imprimant de façon à indiquer clairement les formes de versification employées par le poète, comme l'a fait M. Mérimée dans son édition de *Las Mocedades del Cid*, et comme le fait M. Menendez Pelayo dans son édition du théâtre de Lope de Vega.

Dans l'introduction qui est bien faite, M. Rennert insiste en particulier sur un fait déjà signalé par M. Baist, comme il le dit du reste, à savoir que notre poète n'est pas un successeur du grand Lope de Vega, mais au contraire un de ses prédécesseurs. Aux passages cités par M. Baist, M. Rennert en ajoute d'autres encore tirés des écrivains contemporains, lesquels, me semble-t-il, mettent ce point hors de doute. A propos de l'un de ces passages, celui qui est tiré de l'*Arte Nuevo de Hacer Comedias* de Lope de Vega, il est à remarquer que M. Rennert semble ne l'avoir pas complètement compris. Nous insérons à ce sujet la note suivante que nous devons à M. Morel-Fatio.

M. Rennert n'a pas bien interprété le passage de l'*Arte nuevo* qui se rapporte à Miguel Sanchez; il a confondu l'*engañar con la verdad*, procédé que Lope signale comme ayant été employé par Sanchez "dans toutes ses comédies," avec le *hablar equivoco* dont Lope parle ensuite en général et sans application à Sanchez.

Voici le passage de l'*Arte nuevo*:

1. El *engañar con la verdad* es cosa
Que ha parecido bien, como lo usava
En todas sus comedias Miguel Sanchez,

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Digno por la invencion desta memoria.
2. Siempre el *hablar equivoco* ha tenido
Y aquella incertidumbre anfibologica
Gran lugar en el vulgo, porque piensa
Que el solo entiende lo que el otro dize.

Là-dessus, M. Rennert écrit: "This, freely translated, means: 'Speeches with a double meaning—literally, to deceive with the truth, i. e. to tell the truth, but in such a way that it will be misunderstood—always have a good effect, as Miguel Sanchez, worthy of memory on account of this invention, has used them in all his plays,' because, he continues, 'the spectator thinks that he alone understands what the actor is saying.'"

Il n'est nullement question dans le premier passage, le seul relatif à Sanchez, de "Speeches with a double meaning;" il est question uniquement de l'*engañar con la verdad*. Pour comprendre le sens de cette expression, il faut se souvenir qu'un des principaux artifices des auteurs de *comedias* consistait dans la "suspension de l'intérêt." Il ne fallait pas que le public fût averti trop tôt du dénouement de l'action; aussi l'auteur cherchait-il par tous les moyens possibles à ne pas le laisser entrevoir; il s'appliquait à "tromper l'attente des auditeurs." Lope le dit lui-même très explicitement (*Arte nuevo*):

En el acto primero ponga el caso,
En el segundo enlaze los sucessos
De suerte que hasta el medio del tercero
Apenas juzgue nadie en lo que para.
Enga..e siempre el gusto y donde vea
Que se dexa entender alguna cosa,
De muy lexos, de aquello que promete.

Engañar el gusto, dissimuler l'issue de la pièce en trompant le spectateur, tel était le procédé habituel. Miguel Sanchez eut l'idée d'inventer quelquechose de nouveau. Ayant affaire à un public qui s'était accoutumé à être trompé, qui s'attendait toujours à quelque dénouement imprévu et ne répondant pas aux données du premier et du second acte, il s'imagina lui de le *tromper avec la vérité*, c'est à dire d'annoncer ce que serait le dénouement. Le public ne le croyait pas, et il obtenait ainsi le même résultat que ses émules: il trompait comme eux les spectateurs, mais il trompait en disant vrai. Le procédé, comme on le voit, n'a rien de commun avec le *hablar equivoco* dont il est parlé après. J'ajoute que l'*engañar con la verdad*, qui, d'après Lope, caractériserait "toutes les comédies" de Sanchez, n'apparait, à mon avis, ni dans la *Isla Bárbara*, ni dans la *Guarda Cuidadosa*.

Quant au texte, il est souvent incompréhensible, comme le dit M. Rennert. Mais la ponctuation aurait pu être considérablement améliorée, et souvent il nous semble que la meilleure leçon a été mise dans les variantes. Nous nous permettrons, donc, d'indiquer les corrections suivantes.

v. 14. *Permite, ya*

21. Substituer la variante au texte.

33 ss. Il faut ajouter, après v. 32, et comme v. 33, le vers qui suit 32 dans le ms.; et omettre le vers 38 du texte, qui manque dans le ms, et n'a pas de raison d'être vu qu'il détruit le sens du passage. Avec le texte ainsi reconstitué, le sens est parfait. La rime indique qu'il faut substituer *afrenta* à *ofensa* dans le vers 33 du ms., (correction suggérée par Mlle. E. Wallace, de l'Université de Chicago). Le texte donné est:

31. [Rey]—Es cuerdo, no se crea que se a puesto
En cosa de que no saldrá muy presto.
Domicio—En punto está que á aquel que le socorra
Perdonará el agrabio por mi cuenta.
35. Rey—Que no, que será açer con que se corra;
¿ Como es posible que tal pecho sienta
Ynconveniente alguno? el nos aorra
Del temer, porque nada le amedrenta,
Con la buena opinion que dél tenemos
De que en este peligro le ayudemos.

Nous proposons la leçon suivante:

31. [Rey]—Es cuerdo, no se crea que se a puesto
En cosa de que no saldrá muy presto.
Nadie se mueba ques açerle afrenta[1]
Domicio—En punto está que á aquel que le socorra
35. Perdonará el agrabio por mi cuenta.
Rey—Que no, que será açer con que se corra;
¿ Como es posible que tal pecho sienta
Ynconveniente alguno? el nos aorra,
Con la buena opinion que dél tenemos,
40. De que en este peligro le ayudemos.

45. ymitas;

46. digo;

78. Le texte nous offre:

Mas como hombre de rraçon asiste;

tandisque l'édition de Tortosa présente:

Mas como en hombre de razon consiste;

De ces deux leçons qui sont toutes deux mauvaises, nous croyons que l'on peut en faire une bonne. Il n'est pas très difficile de voir en *en*, de l'édition de Tortosa, une faute, soit d'impression soit de copiste, pour *un*. Nous lisons donc:

Mas como un hombre do rraçon asiste;

Dans le texte adopté par M. Rennert le vers est trop court, à moins de

1 ms. *ofensa*.

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faire hiatus entre *como* et *hombre*.

99. acuda

104. espumosa,

108. Substituer la variante.

123. Substituer la variante.

124. suerte que

129. Lire *inquietud* au lieu de *quietud*.[2]

215. Pues sí,

218. Substituer la variante. Omettre REY-*Dime.*, et lire

VITELIO—Dejame: arto e sido mudo:

237. La correction que nous donne ici M. Rennert est inutile. Le vers manque dans le ms., et l'édition de Tortosa offre une leçon très bonne et très idiomatique :

REY. ¿ Emilio, hay quien le de ropa?

La question est une manière d'impératif déguisé, ce qui s'accorde tout à fait avec l'esprit du temps.

241. capa; y ven.

243. *Aqueste* se rapporte à *vestido*, v. 242.

247–8. Substituer les variantes.

Y este me ayudó á librar
De la pasada locura;

Avec cette leçon on a un bon sens pour le passage 243–256, ce qui n'est guère possible avec le texte.

250. peso:

260–1. Le passage n'est pas du tout clair, et, à la suite d'une longue discussion dans la classe, nous avons adopté, comme étant la moins mauvaise, la leçon suivante :[3]

DOMICIO. Vitelio, ¿ qué? Bueno está.
¿ Lo pasado no os contenta?

272. La variante nous paraît préférable, parcequ'elle exprime mieux l'incertitude qui règne dans l'esprit du roi, en reléguant la chose dans l'avenir.

290. Ici M. Rennert a probablement choisi la meilleure leçon. Mais la variante est intéressante comme spécimen du langage vulgaire. *Tablon*, dans le langage de la *Germanía*, ou fraternité des voleurs—"table." *Banco*—le banc où les malfaiteurs étaient enchaînés pour ramer dans les galères: et ensuite, dans le langage de la *Germanía*,—synonyme de "prison." La leçon provient sans doute d'une copie d'acteur.

377–8. . . . *acordarte*,
Que si

La virgule est nécessaire au sens, parceque le vers suivant n'est qu'une parenthèse, et le *si*, de 378, n'est pas le lat. *si*, mais le lat. *sic*.

388. *ella*,

De 385 à 392 il n'y a qu'une phrase, assez compliquée à la vérité: *aunque* (385) se rapporte à *con todo aquesto* (389). Nous donnons ici la traduction littérale de la phrase.

"Et *quoique* ce soit la vérité que le fait qu'elle est ma sœur (et cette seule raison) m'imposa l'obligation de la défendre, *cependant* mon honorable garde me forçait toujours de me rappeler qu'elle était ton épouse aussi bien que ma sœur."

451. *Cansarete*

472. Lire *Que su piedad*

475. *enbarcar*,

510. Le vers est à corriger à l'aide du ms.

509. EMILIO. . . . . *Pues luego*
Soy aqui.
VITELIO. *¿ Qué importará?*

Et Vitelio doit dire les deux vers suivants et les deux octaves: c'est à dire jusqu'au v. 528.

519. Substituer la variante.

633. Fortuna,

727. Substituer la variante.

759. vengo;

936. Substituer la variante.

966. locos;

967. Agora sí,

970. Substituer la variante.

979. ¿ Que mi

982–3. Que armas dejó el enemigo
Con que socorra á mi amigo.

998–9. Substituer les variantes.

1027. Substituer la variante.

1037. sequeis

1055. bajos

1065. esta

1081–2. Substituer les variantes.

1098. vida,

[2] Correction de M. Morel-Fatio.

[3] Suggestion de Mlle. E. Wallace.

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1170. gusto;
1173. La correction est inutile. T. donne une bonne leçon, qui est meilleure que celle du texte.
1230. Substituer la variante.
1246. Substituer la variante.
1251. parienta
1316. Substituer la variante.

¿ Cuando le a visto la tierra ?

1324. concluya
1339. celos,
1340. llama;

Il nous semble que *llama* devrait être considéré comme un impératif adressé à Nisida. Le passage est obscur.

1347. *La* se rapporte à l'idée qui est exprimée dans *razones*, v. 1345.
1348. Substituer la variante.
1366. Vers faux: substituer la variante.
1470. traemelé.
1510. vete.
1515. huerta
1516. Ve,
1526. Qué
1579. Anda, ve, que yo te fio
1637. entrambos
1709. ¿ Y porqué
1712. hurtais ?
1762. vengaté
1826. Substituer la variante. Dans le texte, tel que nous le donne M. Rennert, le vers est trop court à moins de ne faire pas la synalèphe dans *si ha habido*. La leçon du ms. donne *si abido*, tandis que grammaticalement il faudrait *si a abido*. Mais cette omission de la forme personnelle du verbe ne devrait pas nous étonner, me semble-t-il, et on pourrait dire que le *a* initial de *abido* a absorbé le *a*, (3e p. sing. ind. prés.), et que nous avons ici un cas de "ἀπὸ κοινοῦ eines Lautes," suivant l'expression employée par M. Tobler au sujet d'un phénomène analogue d'anc.-fr., dans une note de la page 187 de ses *Vermischte Beiträge zur französischen Grammatik*, Band I.
1873. Substituer la variante.
1912. deseais,
1943. halles,
1944. obliga,
1968. Substituer la variante, parceque le vers est faux.
1989. Substituer la variante, à cause de la syntaxe.
1992. ella.
1993. Anda, Pulciano,
1996. agravio;
1998. responde;
2000. obligo;
2001. amigo,
2002. Omettre *Que*, qui détruit à la fois le rythme et le sens.

Yo cobraré la muger.

2032. celo, como
2069. La correction de M. Rennert est inutile, vu que les leçons de T. et du ms. sont toutes les deux bonnes. Celle de T. nous paraît préférable.
2090. tierra;
2147. Substituer la variante.
2149–50. Substituer les variantes.

¡ Qué, aun ube yo de tener
La culpa! . . . . Yo me destruyo.

2164. contento.
2172. presto
2173. Substituer la variante. *Echar el resto*, terme de jeu—"risquer tout."

A echar en seguilla el resto.

2174. dolor;
2175. perseguir,
2189. Lire *sinjusticia* (en un seul mot). C'est une recomposition populaire, faite parceque le peuple ne sentait plus la force de *in* comme préfixe négatif.
2201. *ir;*

La variante est moins cacophonique.

2319. *Dios*,
2355. Que veut dire M. Rennert par ses remarques sur les variantes: "2355–2359 *wanting in M.*—2355. (*sic*); deso (?)."? M. Morel-Fatio a suggéré *desearía* pour *de se fia*. Dans le texte, le vers est faux. Il est à remarquer que tout le passage, 2355–2360, est très obscur.
2374. amparada
2387. quejas,

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2416. corazon, fiera,
2455. La variante nous paraît préférable.
2476. encierra;
2515. Hermana, decí ¿ qué es esto?
2608. defiendemé.
2609. escuchamé,
2615. Substituer la variante.
2616. No, traidor,
2621. presto;
2622. Vamos,
2684. nombres.
2730. Exemple intéressant d'hendiadys dans *pudiera:* 3e personne avec *hablarme;* 1e personne avec *hablalla.*
2775. Substituer *duda* à *deuda.* Littéralement "Dans un tel bien, le doute du bien excuse ma folie, car, etc."
2829. aportastes,
2855. sierra,
2868. demas.

2870. Ea, dama ¿ no acabamos?

La première personne du pluriel remplace souvent la seconde du singulier, daas le langage très familier.

2886. La forme *pudistes*, 2e pers. du sing. du prétérit, est à remarquer. Il y en a plusieurs explications, mais la plus satisfaisante nous paraît celle-ci; à savoir, qu'elle s'est ajouté une *s* par influence analogique avec les autres formes de la 2e pers. du sing., lesquelles se terminent toutes en *s.*
2906. cuesta
2907. inhumana!
2908. salido
2910. hermana!
2935. Substituer la variante, à cause du jeu de mots que fait avec intention Troyla, feignant d'avoir mal entendu ce que disait Vitelio. La réponse de Vitelio (v. 2942) s'accorde avec cette leçon.
2968. perdónamé,
2976. Substituer *es te* à *este.*
2978. Miré

3010. ¿ Ya . . . . . preste?

3041–2. Substituer les variantes.
3053. Substituer les variantes.
3132. Grammaticalement il faudrait *venga;* mais la rime exige *vengo.*
3466. Contóle
3537. Substituer la variante.

¡ Tras de qué intentos me arrojo!
3701–2. TROYLA. Usamos aca esta guarda,
Vitelio. ¿ Qué se te da?

3707. Substituer la variante.

¿ No te ha de conocer?
3708. ¿ Qué tienes ya que le digas?

3787. sido,
3910. Y tú,
3935. Substituer la variante.
3996–8. C'est Vitelio qui devrait prononcer ces vers, et non pas Drusilo.
4033. desprecieis
4049–52. Malgré l'habitude qu'ont les auteurs espagnols de répéter le titre de la pièce dans les derniers vers du troisiéme acte, la leçon du ms. nous paraît préférable. Et quoique "*La Isla Bárbara*" ne soit pas nommée explicitement dans la leçon du ms., elle est toutefois suffisamment désignée.

La versification de cette comédie laisse beaucoup à désirer.—Je n'ai pas du tout essayé de relever tous les cas de cacophonie, mais on aura une idée de la fréquence de ce phénomène en considérant les vers: 1280, 1603, 1614, 1928, 2606, 2867, 2908, 2917, 2928, 2946, 3249, 3753.—Il semblerait aussi que la question de l'*f* lat. initiale, c'est à dire la question de savoir si elle permettait ou empêchait la synalèphe, dépendait absolument de la volonté du poète. Pour l'affirmative, voir les vers: 1311, 2115, 2116, 2867, 2872, 2900, 2915, 2944, 3249, 3284, 3353; pour la négative: 1268, 1594, 2836, 3762, 3766. Ces listes ne sont complètes ni l'une ni l'autre. Dans tous ces cas nous n'avons affaire qu'aux deux mots: *hacer*<*facĕre* et *hallar*<*afflāre*, devenu par transposition <**fallare.*

Les quelques remarques qu'on aura trouvées plus haut sur la comédie elle-même nous ont paru intéressantes. C'est pour cela que nous les avons insérées, bien quelles n'entrassent point dans le cadre que nous nous étions proposé pour ce travail.

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FAUST.

Historia D. Johannis Fausti des Zauberers nach der Wolfenbütteler handschrift nebst dem nachweis eines teils ihrer quellen herausgegeben von GUSTAV MILCHSACK. [Überlieferungen zur Litteratur, Geschichte und Kunst hrsg. v. Gustav Milchsack, Herzl. Bibliothekar in Wolfenbüttel. 2. Bd., 1. Teil. Wolfenbüttel: Verlag von Julius Zwissler, 1892–1897.]

THIS book is at once a very noteworthy and a very aggravating contribution to our knowledge of the real nature of the *Faustsage*. Gustav Milchsack publishes herewith for the first time a manuscript of the *Faustbuch* discovered by him in the Wolfenbüttel ducal library. We are, however, left wholly in the dark as to the circumstances of the discovery and as to the present whereabouts of the manuscript. The editor does not even distinctly state, but leaves us to infer, that the version of the chap-book here presented is based, not upon a forgotten print, but upon a manuscript. With the single exception of a footnote, p. ccxc sq., suggested by a discussion of Lerchheimer's relation to the original of the *Faustbuch*, Milchsack offers no systematic attempt at showing the relation of the present version to that contained in the Frankfort edition of 1587. Instead of with critical apparatus for controlling the Wolfenbüttel manuscript in subsequent investigations, the Introduction is almost exclusively concerned with the question of the sources of the *Faustbuch*. Not even a hint do we find as to the intention of the editor to deal critically with the manuscript question in the second part of the work, or at any subsequent time. The very importance of the investigations chronicled in the editor's Introduction renders still more regrettable defects like those just mentioned.

However, we have good reason to be thankful to Milchsack for full information concerning other discoveries described in the aforesaid Introduction, and to these I wish to call especial attention.

A brief review of the cultural conditions that produced the *Faustbuch*, with emphasis upon the importance of the unknown author, almost the sole transmitter of the so-called *Faustsage* to subsequent generations, occupies the first fourteen pages of the book. Scherer's view (*Das älteste Faustbuch*, Berlin, 1884, s. xiv), that oral or written tradition concerning Faust and possibly other magicians, whose personality has been merged by the Anonymous in that of Faust, is the broad substratum of the whole chap-book, Milchsack finds scarcely in accord with the extreme paucity of details touching the *Faustsage* outside of the *Faustbuch* itself (s. xv). That not even Widmann, whose collection of material followed closely upon 1587 and was prompted by a desire to surpass the performance of the Anonymous, presents us with any new points, not easily traceable to familiar literary sources, certainly does seem strange, if we still hold to the view that the Anonymous drew heavily upon a large stock of widely current gossip, oral and written, concerning Faust and his more or less similar prototypes.

Milchsack accords Ellinger full recognition for the implications of an article published by the latter under the title: *Zu den Quellen des Faustbuchs von 1587* (*Zs. f. vergl. Litt. Gesch.* N. F., i, 156 ff., 1887, 88). Ellinger points out the opportunity afforded by the heterogeneous make-up of the chap-book for separating the various layers from each other and for resolving them into their constituent parts.

"Es ist Ellinger's unbestreitbares Verdienst, die Bahn dieser fruchtbaren Untersuchungen eröffnet zu haben durch den Hinweis auf das Faustische Rhodus, wo der Sprung aus dem ungewissen Zwielicht der Hypothesen auf den hellen Boden der Tatsachen gemacht werden muss: durch den Hinweis auf die Quellen" (p. xvii).

Ellinger's attempt to follow his own clue led him to a careful comparison of geographical and historical hand-books of the sixteenth century, with passages of the chap-book and the discovery of sundry striking resemblances, particularly in Sebastian Münster's *Mappa Europae*, Frankfurt a. M., 1536, and in the same author's *Cosmographei*, Basel, 1550, whose discussion is the substance of his article in the *Zs. f. vergl. Litt.-Gesch.*, N. F., p. 156 sq. His conviction of the existence of another as yet undiscovered source, common to the Anonymous and to various other hand-book writers of the sixteenth century, as Münster, Franck, Quad, Jobst, and Sauer (*Zs. f. vergl. Litt. Gesch.*, i, 158), doubtlessly proved quite as suggestive to Milchsack, as did the general theory, already quoted. Especially was this true in the light of Erich Schmidt's article (pub. first in the *Goethe-Jahrbuch III*, 1883, and later in *Charakteristiken*, p. 1 sq.), entitled *Faust und das 16. Jahrhundert*, in which

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the author showed that the supernatural secrets of the chap-book stand in a droll anachronism with the cultural status of the latter part of the sixteenth century. Milchsack quotes Schmidt's words (*Charakteristiken*, p. 22):

"Der Autor hat den riesigen Fortschritt der Naturwissenschaften nicht mitgemacht, und so geschieht es, dass der Titan Faust, der seltsamerweise trotz Jahresgehalt und höllischer Kunst genötigt ist, in einer Zeit spöttischer Lasstafeln und Prognostica sein Leben als Horoskopsteller zu fristen, und sein Berater in wissenschaftlichen Dingen greulich verwahrlost sind, dass über die Bedeutung des Sonnenstandes für Sommerwärme und Winterkälte ein Kapitelehen von belustigender Albernheit vorgetragen und alles Astronomische ohne eine Ahnung der Kopernikanischen Revolution vom Standpunkt vorsintflutlicher Anschauung aus abgehandelt wird,"

to support his own view that the nonsensical and incoherent revelations of Mephostophiles are a proof, not of the ignorance and incapacity of the Anonymous to grasp the *Faustsage* in its breadth and depth, but of their mediæval or at least of their ante-Reformation origin (p. xix). It seems to me questionable whether Schmidt really meant what Milchsack attributes to him here. His quoted words are, at any rate, equally capable of another construction; namely, that the ignorance of the Anonymous was the occasion of his putting into the mouth of Mephostophiles such antediluvian philosophical and scientific views as the chap-book contains. However, the intention of Erich Schmidt in the premises is significant at this point merely as a stimulus to Milchsack, prompting him to search earlier records for the sources suspected by Ellinger to lie in the sixteenth century. Whether Milchsack read this into or out of the words of Schmidt is immaterial. To his mind the Anonymous, measured by the standards of his day, was at least a fairly well educated man, with some conception of the enlightenment of his age, who thought the aforesaid antediluvian views just strange and eerie enough to render a magician and practitioner of the black art impressive, not indeed to scholars like Tritheim, Mutian, Wier, and Lerchheimer, but to the naïvely credulous public for which he wrote (p. xix). In the absence of a strong creative imagination that would have enabled him to portray his hero as the central figure of some bold dream of the future, realizing the most daring hopes and speculations of his contemporaries, he conjures up the pale shades of the vanishing past, with which to charm or to terrify a less fastidious audience (p. xx). This interpretation of Erich Schmidt's conception of the problem is certainly original with Milchsack. At any rate, Ellinger seems to forget, while examining and comparing the handbooks of the sixteenth century, the wide discrepancy between the chap-book contents and the comparatively enlightened views of the Anonymous' own time. Similarly Szamatólski, who presents in his *Zu den Quellen des ältesten Faustbuchs* (*Vierteljahrschrift für Litteraturgeschichte*, i, 161 ff.) many striking parallels between the chap-book and *M. Elucidarius*, Frankfurt a. M., 1572, attaches little importance to the fact that the Lucidarius is a product of the twelfth century, that has been a favorite of the 'Messen' through a long series of reprints because of its encyclopædic substance (cf. p. xxii). Such reflections led Milchsack to search the hand-books of the fifteenth century for the source of the chap-book, suspected but not discovered by Ellinger.

In Hartmann Schedel's *Buch der Cronicken und gedächtnus wirdigern geschichten von anbegynn der werlt biss auf diese unssere zeit*, Nürnberg, 1493, he has hit upon what certainly seems the source in question. The theological, the astronomical, and the geographical-historical details of this encyclopædic work, whose subsequent editions and reprints are practically literal copies of the original of 1493, reappear in sundry parts of the chap-book with only slight deviations in form and substance. For example, the whole of the twenty-sixth chapter, the longest in the *Faustbuch*, which describes the travels of the hero, and the twenty-seventh chapter, *vom Paradeiss*, consist entirely of paragraphs and of smaller fragments of the *Cronick*, with slight or with no verbal variations, bound together by a slender thread of narrative, intended to furnish the necessary transitions from point to point. If we omit three oriental cities that head Schedel's list, and sundry European cities that the Anonymous does not mention at all, we find in *Cronick* and chap-book the same sequence of places, involving a very remarkable zig-zag journey pursued by Faust through twelve stations, beginning with *Trier* and including, besides, *Paris*, *Mainz*, *Neapel*, *Venedig*, *Padua*, *Rom*, *Mailand*, *Florenz*, *Lion*, *Köln*, *Aachen*, (p. xxv sq.). We must certainly agree with Milchsack (p. xxvi) that at this point no very

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deep reflection was necessary to convince the chap-book author that a closer regard for details of continental geography would render travel easier, even for a man like Faust, seated upon a *Flügelross*, and would also reduce the demands upon the credulity of even a very naïve and superstitious audience. We are, therefore, not surprised to see him abandon at this juncture the sequence observed by Schedel, and proceed with some regularity eastward from *Aachen* to *Konstantinopel* and back again by way of *Memphis-Kairo* to *Erfurt* through a series of towns, all of which are described in the *Cronick*. In parallel columns (p. xxvi—p. iil [=xlviii]) Milchsack presents piece by piece the relation of the successive parts of the twenty-sixth chapter of the chap-book to their fifteenth century originals as contained in the *Cronick*. Here is the mysterious source of so much that is similar in the hand-books of Franck, Münster, Jobst, Quad, Sauer, etc., (*Zs. f. vergl. Litt.-Gesch.*, i, 158), and its much closer correspondence with the *Faustbuch* makes inevitable the inference that it was in the hands of the Anonymous. The ease with which the latter transforms these geographical-statistical data of an ancient hand-book into the elements of a magic journey, is a staggering blow for our faith in the credibility of any part of the chap-book, and for our belief in the existence of any considerable body of oral or written Faust-tradition, to which Eilinger confidently refers as *unmittelbare Quellen* (*Zs. f. vergl. Litt.-Gesch.*, i, 158). This is far removed from Scherer's theory (*das älteste Faustbuch*, p. xiv) of faithful transcription, occasional transference, and anecdotal decoration. This is wholesale literary piracy, backed by a certain fundamental shrewdness, and capacity for loosely linking together the items of the book and connecting them with the name and the person of the hero.

Chapter 27, with its eastward trip through lands quite likely selected by the Anonymous from the map in Schedel's *Cronick* (bl. 12b and 13a) and through places he had early noted in his original and reserved for later use,—names well calculated to suggest great remoteness,—brings us at length to the climax of Faust's earthly journeyings, to the Garden of Eden itself. A glance at the parallels presented on pages lv, lvi, lvii, shows that Schedel furnished substance and in some cases also verbal form of this, as of the preceding chapter. The slavish copying of geographical and historical details already noticed is presumptive evidence of similar procedure elsewhere in the chap-book. In three other places we find unmistakable evidence of a use of Schedel's *Cronick* like what we have already mentioned. The whole of the twenty-first chapter consists, save for a few introductory words of the anonymous, of a series of extracts from Schedel, with slight verbal modifications, well illustrated by the following parallel:

"Von dess Himmels Lauf, Zier und Ursprung"

SCHEDEL'S *Cronick*, Bl. 3a:

Amm andern tag sprach got. Es werde das firmament in dem mittel der wasser: und tailte die wasser von wasseren und er hies das firmament den himel. Got hat das firmament gescheibelt, beweglich, andere emfintliche ding begreiffende gemacht, und auss zesammengerunnen wassern in gestalt des cristals befestigt, und darinn das angeheft gestirne.

FAUSTBUCH W. p. 43, 8:

. . . Dann Gott macht anfenglich den Hymmel auss dem mittel des wassers, unnd theilt die wasser vom wasser, unnd hiess das Firmament den hymmel. So ist der Hymmel kuglicht oder Scheublich unnd beweglich. Auch ist der Hymmel, der vom wasser erschaffen unnd zusamen gefüegt ist, so befestigt wie der Christall unnd sicht auch oben im Hymmel also. Darinn ist angehefft das gestirn, etc.

No less interesting than this papable literary transfer of chapter 21 (cf. Milchsack, pp. lix, lx and lxi) is the somewhat more complicated situation in chapter 22: *Ein Dispntatio und falsche antwort dess Geists Doctor Fausto gethon* (cf. pp. lxii, lxiii). Of especial importance is the appearance in Schedel's *Cronick* (Bl. 1a) of the passage embodying the doctrine urged by the Arabian philosopher, Averrhoës, (b. 1126, d. 1198), concerning the uncreated and eternal nature of the world and of mankind,—a passage, whose counterpart in the chap-book is, as Scherer says (*Das älteste Faustbuch*, p. xviii), one of the few places, where we rise above the measure of mediæval ignorance and half-education, characteristic of the work. Instead, however, of being one of those features of Faust-tradition not utterly

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spoiled by the supposed incapacity of the Anonymous, it stands here revealed as a wretched plagiarism (p. lxiv). Schedel gives the Averrhoistic and also the Christian view side by side, apparently for completeness' sake':

[D] Jeweill bey den allergelertisten und fürnamsten mannen die die waren natur und geschicht beschriben haben vom geschopff der werlt, und von erster geburt der menschen zwayerlay wone ist. So wollen wir von disen vordern zeiten: den anfang nemende auf das kürtzst schreiben: Sovil sich von sower (altershalben) enthlegnen dingen gezimen wil. Etlich haben gemaint das die werlt ungeporn und unzerstörlich: und das menschlich geschlecht von ewigkeit her gewesen sey, und anfang einichs ursprungs nit gehabt hab. Etlich mainten die werlt geboren und zerstörlich seyn, und sagten das die menschen anfang der gepurt genomen hetten.

The Anonymous' choice of the heathen view tallies with his desire to render his hero as Antichristian as possible (cf. lxvi). Schedel's mention of the Mosaïc creation theory in the middle and towards the end of this chapter of the *Cronick* doubtlessly led the Anonymous into the well known discrepancy between the statement of Mephostophiles as to the uncreated nature of the world and of mankind and the same spirit's later utterance as to the creation of mankind and of the heavens at the hands of God. Szamatólski suspected (*Vierteljahrschrift f. Litteraturgesch.* I, 180) compilation at this point because of the glaring contradiction just noticed, but was unable to indicate the source for obvious reasons. His appeal to Aventin's lengthy attempt in his Bavarian *Cronicle*, A. D. 1526, to refute the Averrhoistic theory as good proof of the wide currency of the latter in the sixteenth century, seems to me as devoid of cogency as it does to Milchsack (p. lxvi). Aventin's effort was far more likely prompted by his outraged religious feelings upon reading the doctrine in Schedel's *Cronick*. This would be morally certain, if an examination of the Bavarian *Chronicle* revealed frequent borrowings from Schedel.

Once launched upon the contradiction already emphasized, the chap-book author was naturally forced into the deviations from Schedel shown in the rest of the twenty-second chapter. There remain of this chapter the first fifteen lines, descriptive of Mephostophiles approach to Faust, whom the spirit finds deeply depressed, for which no literary source has yet been discovered.

Another theological chapter, the third of the three places mentioned above, is the tenth, in the *Faustbuch: Question Doctoris Fausti mit seinem Geyst Mephostophile* whose substance and, in part, whose wording is found in Schedel's *Cronick* (Bl. 6a, 2): *Von underschied der himlischen ierarchey gewalt oder fürstenthumb.*

The scope and nature of the parallels, cited in detail by Milchsack (pp. xxii–lxxiv), between the *Faustbuch* (chaps. 10, 21, 22, 26, 27), and Hartmann Schedel's handbook, are such as to show clearly the author's slavish dependence upon printed authority, and to cast a serious doubt upon the theory that the chap-book rests to any considerable extent upon oral or written Faust-tradition. We see the Anonymous here at work with shears and paste-pot, now condensing, now omitting, and again shuffling his clippings to adapt them more closely to the space and purpose of his *Roman*, and the more we see him do it the more incredulous we become, as to his own statement about the well-known *Faustsage*, whose mouth-piece he professed to be. Is this statement anything more than a rather clever didactic and commercial trick to increase the sale and influence of his ware?

Milchsack begins his discussion of *Mittelbare Quellen* (pp. lxxiv sq.) with a notice of what, as it seems to me, may prove to have been a direct source. A passage in Jacobus de Theramo's *Belial zu teutsch, etc., etc.*, Strassburg, 1508, corresponds closely with about one third of the fourteenth chapter of the *Faustbuch* concerning the efforts of the evil spirits to people Hell with the ensnared souls of men (W 29,14–30,9). Since, however, an earlier edition of the *Belial* (Reutlingen, 1472) presents several still more striking verbal resemblances to the chap-book than the Strassburg edition of 1508, while the latter more closely accords with the *Faustbuch* in two particulars, Milchsack does not claim to have found the direct source of the Anonymous. In the absence of a possible third edition of the *Belial* with none of the deviations just mentioned, that should tally in each instance with the chap-book, we cannot be sure that the work of de Theramo is the direct prototype of this part of the *Faustbuch*. As the matter now is, Milchsack is properly in doubt whether the hypothetical direct source copied *Belial*, or whether the latter is a copy of the former (p. lxxix).

Less satisfactory than the foregoing is Milch-

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sack's attempt (pp. lxxix–xc) to discover in Dionysius von Leeuwen's *Cordiale de quatuor novissimis et de particulari judicio et obitu singulorum*, Colonie, 1473, or a German abridgment of the same: *Tractatus quatuor novissimorũ. Das sind die vier letsten ding*, etc., 1493, and in: *Ain schöne matteri Eingedailt in sibē tag der wochē und genant der sündigen sele spiegel*, etc., Ulm, 1487, the indirect sources of sundry passages of the chap-book, as for instance, parts of chapters sixteen (W 35, 33–36, 10, and W 37, 31–38, 34) and sixty-nine (W 116, 25–32). In spite of the parallelism here disclosed, these works prove scarcely more than that eschatological opinions of this stamp prevailed in theological books of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, wherefore it is superfluous to assume a *Faustsage* as their basis in the chap-book.

Pages xciii–ccxliii discuss the relation of Ludovicus Milichius' *Zauberteufel* (*Der Zauberteufel. Das ist von Zauberei, Warsagung, Beschwerung, Sagen, Aberglauben, Hexerei und mancherlei Wercken des Teufels*, etc., Frankfurt, a. M., 1563) to the *Faustbuch*. Sigmund Feyrabend's reprint of the work, Frankfurt, a. M., 1587, in his *Theatrum Diabolorum* and the existence of at least two further editions of the book, one at Frankfurt, a. M., 1564, and the other *ibidem*, 1566, are proofs of the wide circulation of the work. The tone of the treatise and the dedication of the author's only other known work,—*Schrap Teufel*, etc., Homburg (?), 1566; Frankfurt (?), 1567,—to the doughty Count Wolrad von Waldeck, of Protestant fame, show the theological leanings of Milichius. His work (*Zauberteufel*), a warning against evil and dangerous practices, answers the two questions: 1. What is Witchcraft? 2. What kinds of Witchcraft are there? Its thirty-eight chapters are not concerned with ultimate questions, like how? or why? The author's chapter head-lines (1. *Ob Zaubery sey.*—2. *Was Z. sey.*—6. *Dass alle Z. durch den Teufel werde aussgerichtet.*—7. *Von etlichen mitteln unnd Ceremonien zur Z. gehörig*, etc.), are ingeniously worded and adapted to catch the attention of the reader.

The preface of the Wolfenbüttel manuscript (W 5–9) shows unmistakably the substantial and also the verbal influence of the *Zauberteufel*. (Cf. Milchsack's parallel columns, pp. cvii, cviii, cix and cx). Definitions of *augurium*, *chiromantia*, etc., assume the same shape in the chap-book as in sundry parts of the *Zauberteufel;* in the eighth chapter of the latter work we find the prototype of the deprecatory statement of the *Faustbuch* concerning the abuse of God's Words in incantations (p. cxi); Milichius mentions the *Gespensten und Wunderzeichen, welche die Egyptischen* [*Zauberer*] *für dem König Pharao thäten*, thus furnishing almost literally the model of W 8, 4 sq., not to speak of other allusions in Milichius to the arts of the Egyptian sorcerers. References in the *Zauberteufel* to Persia, as the original home of sorcery, to Hebrew words in incantations, and to the Chaldaeans, as celebrated exponents of occult sciences (pp. 99 sg. and 198), may easily account for the assertion of the Anonymous concerning Chaldaic, Hebrew and Persian *vocabula* as particularly potent agents of magic (W 8, 7 sq.). Again Milichius apparently furnishes the prose original (p. 52) of the rhymed saying in W 9, 15, 16. Upon these and other similar facts the argument rests that the author of the preface of the Wolfenbüttel Ms. had the *Zauberteufel* before him as he wrote. The question whether this author also wrote the manuscript itself, or whether he merely furnished an original Ms. that had no preface, with the preface in question, or whether the latter is merely a substitute for a preface that accompanied the original, differing from that of W and S, can only be decided after an exhaustive comparison of the extant versions has been made. Milchsack assumes the author of the *Vorrede* to be identical with that of the Ms. I shall later give reasons for regarding the *Vorrede* of W as older than that of S, and incidentally show why, as it seems to me, the editor of S found it necessary to write another preface.

In the twentieth chapter of his book, Milichius gives us under the caption *Vom Milchstelen*, a geographical and climatological explanation of the growth of summer fruits at some point during what passes for mid-winter at some other point, and ascribes to the extreme quickness of the Devil, that enables him similarly to manipulate stolen eggs, butter, and milk, the appearance of such fruits in winter at the pleasure of the wizard. Milchsack shows this to have been a current view of the matter in the sixteenth century (pp. cxviii sq). Hence the chap-book author might have derived his chapter: *Abentheur an des Grafen von Anhalt hoff getriben* (W 86, 1 sq.) from Hermann Hamelmann: *Der Teufel selbs*, etc., Frankf. a. M. 1568 (?), or from some other hand-book,

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save for his tendency, already observed in case of Schedel's *Cronick*, to continue the use of the same source as long as it proved fruitful. Milichius furnishes at any rate the essence of the passages in question Place, time, persons, and situation seem to be the invention of the Anonymous. Even the kernel furnished by Milichius shows development under the influence of the *Elucidarius*. Milchsack quotes two passages from the twelfth chapter of this work that contain questions of the pupil and replies of the master, as to the cause of the seasons of the year and of the change from day to night (W 87, 1–7 and 87, 9–12). Thus he corroborates the contention of Szamatólski as to the use of the work on the part of the Anonymous. Szamatólski showed in his article already quoted the dependence of the *Faustbuch* chapter *Vom Donner* (W 74, 14 sq.) upon the fifteenth chapter of the *Elucidarius*. Milchsack recognizes the cogency of this argument, but finds in the chap-book author's use of the words: *Kiseln, das Gewölck an den Ort treiben* (lacking in the *Elucidarius*) evidence of his knowledge and use of the *Zauberteufel* even here; especially in view of Milichius' further statement, p. 208: *Er macht die blitzen im regen, und lässt den wind kommen auss heymlichen orten* (Enden). Professor Victor Michels (cf. *Deutsche Litteraturzeitung*, xviii, 43, column 1698), in his attempt to reduce this argument to its lowest terms, overlooks entirely the passage of Milichius, just cited, as well as the Anonymous' derivation from Milichius' statement that the clouds can come *auss den Mitternächtigen landen, odder auch auss sonst nahen orten* of the chap-book conclusion that *offt umb Mittag ain Gewitter daher kombt ye im Aufgannng, Nidergang unnd Mitternacht* (W 75, 3 sq.).

The salient features of the conjuring scene, that is 1. place, 2. ceremonies, 3. number of times the formula is repeated, and 4. the time of the occurrence are furnished by Milichius. The cross-roads (W 12, 30), the magic circles (W 12, 31 sq.; 13, 9, 11, 18, 23; 14, 3), the triple conjuring (W 13, 30 sq.), and the time of the occurrence (*gegen Abent*, W 12, 30, or, more definitely, *inn der Nacht zu Neun unnd Zehen Uhr*, W 13, 2, and with indication of extent, *biss umb Zwelff uhr inn die Nacht hinein*, W 14, 4 sq.) all find their counterparts in Milichius, p. 61, 63, 62, 59, respectively. The most important of all, the formula itself, we find nowhere in the chap-book, notwithstanding the brave flourish of allusion to Greek, Latin, Hebrew, Chaldaic, Persian, and Arabic vocables, figures, characters, incantations, and to necromantical books (W 11, 31 sq. and W 24, 24). In view of this, Milichius' omission of the formula from conscientious scruples, lest the weak and the inquisitive be tempted to a wicked use of it, if given, is significant (cf. Milchsack, p. iC.). The omission can certainly not be accidental in case of the Anonymous and, judged by the zeal of the author in making the adventures and person of Faust both interesting and terrifying, it is not withheld because of moral compunctions. The conclusion is, therefore, that the Anonymous did not give the formula for the simple reason that he did not know it. (Cf. p. cxxxi.)

I can see only a fanciful connection between Mephostophiles' appearance to Faust as a fiery shooting star, that changes gradually into a ball of fire and finally into a gray monk (W 13, 17 sq.), and Milichius' discussion of genuine and of false diabolical appearances (pp. 88 sq. and 134). More probable to my mind than this is the theory, later adopted by Milchsack and discussed by him at length (pp. cccxlvii sq.), that Luther's anecdote *Tischreden*, Erl. ed. 60, 28) of the Devil who "a Monk would be" and who really became one under the condition imposed by the brethren that he adopt their garb and ring a little bell (schelle, glöcklin) whenever he approached, is, along with the Protestant Anonymous' identification of the Catholic Monk with the Devil himself, the occasion of the Gray Monk's appearance in the chap-book. This view also explains Faust's desire to marry, and the Monk-Devil's rabid objection to it, far more acceptably than the current consideration that marriage is ordained of God and hence hateful to the Devil.

Milichius speaks repeatedly of Simon Magus as *the* magician since the time of the apostles, and plainly has him in mind when enumerating the acts within the range and power of a *Schwarzkünstler* (cf. Milichius: chaps. v, vi, xiii, xiv, xvi). His quotation of the Clementine *Recognitiones* in their bearing upon the life and career of Simon Magus, is an earnest of his great interest in the character and deeds of this object of the allusion contained in the eighth chap. of the Acts of the Apostles. Here then we have: *a.* the author of a *Zauberroman*, provided but scantily with oral and written tradition as basis, ransacking old handbooks and treatises (cf. researches of Ellinger,

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Szamatólski, Hartmann, Bauer, Stuckenberger, Meyer, Milchsack, etc.), for material and for suggestions for a plot; *b.* evidence of acquaintance with and drafts upon the substance and form of the *Zauberteufel*, and, *c.* the inevitable selection of Simon Magus as conceived and portrayed by Milichius as lay-figure for the hero, Faust. Milichius tells us (p. 48) of the boasts of Simon Magus: *a.* ability to render himself invisible; *b.* power to pass through solid obstacles; *c.* safe flight from lofty points; *d.* power to free himself and bind his keepers; *e.* power to cause prison doors to open spontaneously, to allow escape; *f.* power to endow inert objects with life; *g.* power to cause sudden growth of plants and trees; *h.* power to resist effects of fire; *i.* power to render himself unrecognizable by facial transformation; *j.* power to turn into a sheep or goat; *k.* can cause beards to grow upon the faces of boys; *l.* can fly like a bird; *m.* can produce gold in abundance; *n.* can appoint and depose kings; *o.* can cause himself to be revered as a deity.

What are some of the accomplishments of Faust? He becomes invisible in presence of the Pope (W 59, 11) and at the Bavarian wedding (W 80, 30; frees himself and others from imprisonment (W 90, 10); causes the sudden growth of a garden (W 104, 1 sq.); assumes the appearance of Mahomet (W 66, 24); furnishes the students on Ash Wednesday with donkey heads (W 93, 9); rides through the air on a sort of Pegasus (Flügelross) (W 56, 28), in a dragon-car (W 53, 23), and also on the folds of his mantle (W 80, 19); in place of heathen images he brings to life the Emperor Alexander (W 76, 7) and Grecian Helen (W 94, 6). In spirit and in detail we note a substantial resemblance between the magic experiments of Simon Magus and those of the chap-book Faust. This was long ago recognized by E. Sommer and de la Garde. Recently Th. Zahn (Cyprian von Antiochien und die deutsche *Faustsage*, Erlangen, 1882) urged that, in view of such striking resemblances, the *Simonsage* is the direct prototype (*Stammvater*) of the *Faustsage*. Kuno Fischer's objections to this claim (*Goethes Faust* I, Stuttg., 1893, pp. 44 sq.), typical of a whole class of similar criticism, were cogent as long as no tangible connection between the two figures could be shown. Now Milchsack shows in his whole argument: 1. that the so-called *Faustsage* is the basis of the chap-book in no such important sense as all his predecessors have tacitly assumed or explicitly claimed; that is, that the Anonymous wrote an independent *Roman*, selecting material and, in part, phraseology from printed German books, wherever he found what seemed adapted to his purpose, and 2. that in Milichius' *Zauberteufel*, from which the author of the Wolfenbüttel Ms. unquestionably borrowed many substantial and partly also verbal features, Simon Magus is repeatedly alluded to as Arch-Magician. From this he infers that the resemblance between Simon and Faust is not accidental but intentional,—resting not upon oral or written tradition, but upon the literary workmanship of the chap-book author (cf. pp. cxxxv sq.). Attentive study of the details of this argument convinces me of the soundness of Milchsack's reasoning and conclusion.

Zahn and other scholars have frequently traced the gnostic conception of the inherent, creative wisdom of the deified Simon (*die Kraft Gottes, die da gross ist*)—the *Ennoia*—later made concrete by identification with Athene, especially with the Homeric Helena, just as Zeus was transferred at times to the figure of Simon. Thus the connection with the Homeric myth was early effected and, in spite of the protests of the Church Fathers (cf. Epiphanius, Haer. xxi, 3), never forgotten. The efforts of the church were, however, successful in fastening upon Helen in her relation to Simon the stigma of paramour by reiterating the claim that she was merely a lewd companion, selected by Simon from a Syrian brothel (cf. p. cxlvi). In view of the argument already cited for regarding Simon Magus as the deliberately chosen prototype of the Faust of the chap-book, the question arises whether it is at all natural to suppose that the Anonymous would stop short at the figure of Simon and not include his companion Helena, associated with him in the mind of theologians ever since the early centuries of the Christian era. In not a single fragment of the *Faustsage* before 1587 does Helena appear as the companion of Faust. She has nothing whatever to do with the *Faustsage*. She was long regarded as the concubine of Simon Magus. In the *Faustbuch* she becomes the concubine of Faust.

The lewdness of magicians, and especially of witches in their intercourse with the Devil, was a feature of popular belief, formulated by Milichius in his *Zauberteufel*, p. 43, where he quotes the words of Chrysostomus' *de pulchri-*

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tudine et oratione (cf. p. clxix sq.). Hence the prominence of the rôle assigned by the author to lewd interruptions of Faust's incipient moods of regret and penitence by the Devil, masquerading as a series of beautiful women. The occasion of Faust's fits of penitence is his disappointment at the insufficiency of the Devil's replies to his questions, so that a regular see-saw ensues between *Forschbegier* and *Gier nach gemeiner Sinnenlust.* As the years of the compact pass, and Faust's desperate strait becomes more obvious to him, the Devil finds it increasingly difficult to devise sensual gratifications adequate to silencing the stings of conscience and pangs of remorse experienced by his victim. Revealing a certain measure of dramatic power, in the Anonymous, there comes towards the very end of Faust's career, as a kind of climax, the desire to possess that paragon of beauty, Helen of Troy, as the fulfillment of the most daring and least possible of all wishes (cf. pp. clxviii, clxix).

Important for an understanding of the chap-book version of Faust's compact with the Devil is Milichius' distinct statement in the tenth chapter of the *Zauberteufel*, p. 92 sq., that the magician has not a passive but an active part in such agreements:

Er thue was er wöle so ist des alles der Zauberer theylhafftig. Und auss dieser ursach muss der Zauberer unterweilen etwas von seinem eygen leibe darzu thun, als har vom haupt oder sonst was. Muss auch etwann den bund, so er mit dem Teuffel machet, mit seinem eygen blut versigeln.

Faust's employment of magic, from a thirst of knowledge and from motives of vanity and frivolity

—nam an sich Adlersflügell, wolt alle gründt am Himmel unnd Erden erforschen. Dann sein fürwitz, frechheit unnd Leichtfertigkeit stach und raytzt jn also, das er auf ein zeit ettliche Zauberische vocabula, etc.,

(W 12, 21 sp.), is foreshadowed by Milichius' regretful statement (p. 87) that men resort to magic *etwaun auss unverstandt etwann auss fürwitz unnd rhum, dass sie nicht mit andern zustimmen wöllen sondern mehr wissen denn ein ander* and, instead of heeding the revelation of God's Word, devote themselves to temporal, uncertain, and petty investigations, *ja die dinge, welche kein mench wissen kann noch soll und stehen allein in gottes versehung und gewalt ausgründen wöllen* (p. 261 sq.) (cf. p. clxxv).

Nothing in the compact itself nor in the tradition concerning the situation, suggests the need of its formal renewal five years before the expiration of the stipulated term. Milchsack seems to me, therefore, right in finding significant Milichius' statement (chap. 21, *Von dem Hexenfahren in der Lufft*) that there is reason to suppose the Devil occasionally holds conclave with witches and wizards to renew with them the agreement, for fear that, if he depended upon the initial compact, they might backslide and turn again to God. Faust's vacillating nature, his frequent fits of despondency and regret, would naturally suggest the adoption of Milichius' hint (cf. p. clxxviii).

To avoid a depleted treasury, Faust at the instance of Mephostophiles digs (W 107, 24 sq.) for buried treasure in the crypt of an old chapel near Wittenberg. He discovers a dragon sitting upon the treasure, and by conjuring the creature compels its withdrawal into a cavern. He finds, however, nothing but coal with an accompaniment of spooks. Nothing daunted he brings the coal home, where he finds it has been turned into gold and silver. In the thirty-sixth chapter of his book Milichius tells us of the unholy origin of buried treasure—wrested not infrequently from its rightful possessors, and often explicitly entrusted to the keeping of the Devil by wicked misers—and mentions as a sign of this unholy origin the presence of dogs, toads, and other unclean beasts found lying upon the treasure. He adds that he saw with his own eyes a huge poison dragon lying dead by a cavern, around which a circle had been drawn under which treasure lay buried. He reports the saying that such treasure sometimes disappears or is changed into coal, recalls Lucian's tale of Simon's lusty digging for treasure and fear upon finding it lest it turn to coal, and also Erasmus' words: *Hem, pro thesauro carbones*, and adds that in digging for buried treasure the sight and sound of spooks are common enough (cf. p. clxxxi). Here we certainly have every essential feature of the chap-book record. I have followed Milchsack's argument thus in detail to show concretely the basis of his contention as to the Anonymous' use of Milichius' *Zauberteufel* in ways already specified in my review. Pages clxxxii–ccxliii are devoted to a minute scrutiny of the demonological views of Milichius and their reflection in the chap-book. This strengthens

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the argument I have already outlined, although it depends for its value upon the validity of the reasoning thus far.

Omitting from our review of that part of the *Einleitung* entitled *Zusätze* (pp. ccxliv–ccxcvi) Milchsack's disappointed mention of *Meyster Hannsens Lucifers mit seiner gesellschaft val*, Bamberg, 1493 (discovered and reprinted by Jos. Baer & Co., Frankf. a. M. during the printing of Milchsack's book. Cf. the latter's confidence as to its relationship to the chap-book, p. lxxii.), his corroboration by means of this work, probably unknown to the Anonymous, of Düntzer's derivation (Goethe's *Faust* I, Leipsig, 1850, p. 23) of the name Mephostophiles from a half-educated juggler's version of (ὁ)*μὴ φωτό μιλος* (p, cciii) and also his quotations from Rudolf v. Ems' *Weltchronick*, the *Christherrechronik*, with comparison of the *Kaiserchronik* in their barrenness of suggestions for the Anonymous concerning the *Simonsage* (pp. cclx–cclxvi), we turn for a moment to the third and last of these *Zusätze*, the author's view of Lerchheimer in relation to the chap-book. He claims the latter antedates in its composition Lerchheimer's *Christlich Bedencken und erjnnerung von Zauberei* (1585) by some years. The tone af absolute confidence in which Milchsack speaks of this (cf. Footnote, p. cxix:

"Die noch immer allgemein geglaubte Behauptung, dass der Verfasser des Faustbuches Lerchheimer's Arbeit benutzt-habe, ist zweifellos unrichtig. Als Lerchheimer's Buch erschien, war das Volksbuch im Manuscript längst vollendet und wahrscheinlich schon in mehrfachen, Abschriften verbreitet.")

implies positive knowledge as to the date of the Wolfenbüttel Ms., that is certainly not utilized in that part of the *Einleitung* already published. Unfortunately this argument is marred by the author's undisguised indignation at what he regards as the unwarranted use made by Wilhelm Meyer, in his *Nürnberger Faustgeschichten*, of the loan to him, before publication, of the Wolfenbüttel Faust Ms. and of those parts of the *Einleitung* already in print. Meyer's attempted refutation (*Faustgeschichten*, p. 23 sq.) of a view of the relationship of Lerchheimer and the Anonymous, entertained neither by him nor by any one else, save Milchsack, can have been suggested, he argues, only by the footnote just quoted at length (cf. pp. ccxliv sq.), and must have been intended to prejudice these as yet unpublished studies in the eyes of Faust scholars. With no desire to act as umpire in the premises, I cannot help protesting against the introduction into a scientific argument of individual grievances and the confusion of personal pique with impartial zeal for the truth. Bad faith and deficient sense of honor should certainly be punished; they cannot, however, be adequately treated in the midst of the report of an investigation, without detriment to the latter. The spirit of controversy introduced at this point by Milchsack weakens the effect of his evidence by suggesting that he is more anxious to show Meyer to be in error than to arrive at the true state of the case, chap-book author vs. Lerchheimer.

The story of the old man tormented by the Devil because of an attempted conversion of the latter's victim, strong through faith and prayer to scoff at and repel the Evil Spirit, is told by Luther (*Tischreden*, 59, 323), by Lerchheimer (*Christlich Bedencken*, etc., 1585, p. 37), and by the Anonymous (W 98, 24). Meyer defends the generally accepted view of the dependence of the *Faustbuch* version upon that of Lerchheimer and derives the latter from Luther (pp. 24 sq.) Milchsack finds reason to believe the sequence is 1. Luther, 2. *Faustbuch*, and 3. Lerchheimer. To prove this he arranges the three versions in parallel columns (pp. cclxxx–cclxxxiii), distinguishing by different kinds of type agreements between Luther and either of the other two, and between Lerchheimer and the chap-book. For Meyer, Lerchheimer's closer connection with Luther is sufficiently evidenced by the parallelism between the triumphant sneer of the old man in the *Tischreden: Ei, Teufel, wie ist dir so recht geschehen; Du sollt sein ein schöner Engel, so bist du zu einer Sau worden* and that in Lerchheimer's story: *Ey, wie ein feine stimm und gesang ist das eines Engels der im Himmel nicht bleiben konnte, gehet jetzt in der leut heuser verwandelt in ein saw*—phrases not found in the chap-book. Milchsack meets this argument by reminding us (p. cclxxxix) that the comparison of devils with swine was commonplace among theologians ever since the New Testament account of the demons permitted by Christ to enter the swine that rushed down a steep place into the sea and were drowned (Matth. 8, 30 sq.). The swinish grunting of the Devil in the old man's chamber, mentioned by the chap-book, would, therefore, naturally suggest to the theologian, Lerchheimer, the sneering comparison, not contained in the *Faustbuch*, especially as a logical improvement (*im Paradies ein Engel, auf*

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Erden eine Sau) upon the latter's halting expression (*der nicht zwen tag lanng im Paradies bleiben mögen . . unnd hat inn seiner wohnung nicht bleiben können*). (Cf. p. ccxc.) In comparison with this apposite consideration Milchsack's further argument (p. cclxxxviii) that in the two expressions: *bist du zu einer Sau worden* and *verwandelt in ein saw* only two words (*ein, saw*) are actually identical, and that the derivation of the one from the other is hence improbable, seems to me weak and valueless. This thumb-rule reasoning would easily disprove his own conclusions as to the relation of the chap-book to Milichius, or even to Schedel. Its controversial character, hostile to the scientific spirit, is obvious. Milchsack gives on p. cclxxxiv a conspectus of verbal correspondences between the *Tischrede* on the one hand, and the *Faustbuch* and Lerchheimer on the other. Of ten places where the three fail to tally with each other, the *Faustbuch* agrees with the *Tischrede* in eight, Lerchheimer in only three instances. That the chap-book author should have copied Lerchheimer and have accidentally hit upon the exact phraseology of Luther five times in one ancedote, at points where his supposed original was either misleading or silent, is to my mine extremely improbable. Not equally convincing is Milchsack's attempt to derive Lerchheimer from the *Faustbuch*. His rejection (p. cclxxxvi) of the possibility that Lerchheimer followed the *Tischrede* directly seems to me entirely unwarranted by the internal evidence. I regard, therefore, as of little value the brief comparison (footnote, pp. ccxc, ccxci) of the Frankf. print, S, with the Wolfenbüttel Ms., W, intended to show that Lerchheimer must have copied neither of these nor their original, but rather an independent copy of that original.

Without having attempted an exhaustive comparison of S with W, I have noted some points that indicate the earlier origin of W: 1. The *Vorrede* of S, when compared with that of W, seems the substitute of an editor not content with the rather mild didacticism of the latter, and fairly bristles with guides for the protection of the unwary reader. (Cf. the triple quotation of Bible texts on the first two pages.) The preface of W is apparently too descriptive and too historical,—too liable, therefore, in the eyes of the Frankfurt editor to mislead the public. As a remedy he has reduced the historical data to the minimum, substituted an exclamatory sermon by way of warning, and characterized Mephostophiles on the third page of the *Vorrede* as

einen bösen verfluchten Lügen und Mordtgeist der in der Warheit und Gerechtigkeit nicht bestanden, unnd seiner Sünde halben auss dem Himmel in den Abgrund der Hellen verstossen worden, mit Leib unnd Seel, zu zeitlicher unnd ewiger Verdamnuss zu eygen ergeben.

These words contradict Mephostophiles' own description of his estate and frame of mind, (W 24, 32. 35, 32. 36, 27. 41, 27. 56, 10) and certainly seem inspired by the fear of allowing the assertions in the body of the book to go unchallenged in the preface. Religious zeal furnished the Frankfurt print with a preface different from that of W 2. The anecdotal features of the Frankfurt preface seem to be terse reductions of the more circumstantial and clumsier equivalents of W (cf. the Goldtwurm snake story: W 5, 25 sq; S bottom of p. 7 of *Vorr.*). Also the career and fate of Zoroaster: W 7, 21 sq.; S middle of p. 7 of. *Vorr.*). 3. S abounds in stilistic improvements as compared with W that continually suggest an editor who consciously avoids the crudities of his original (cf. the reversion in S of the chapter sequence, 60, 61, and the entire omission of chapter 62, as contained in W, to render Faust's life with Grecian Helen the climax of this part of the work). Sundry other omissions and substitutions, large and small, that cannot safely be studied without access to the Wolfenbüttel Ms. or to an adequate critical apparatus, seem in line with my conviction that W is considerably older than S.

Milchsack's chapters upon *Tendenz* and *Composition* are manifestly incomplete, and were published in this fragmentary condition at the instance of the impatient printer. Judgment as to their value should be suspended until the appearance of their supplements in the second part of Milchsack's studies. My desire for an early appearance of these supplements is stimulated by the realization of the great importance of what he seems to me already to have clearly proven: 1. What Meyer had asserted without proof in his *Nürnberger Faustgeschichten:* that oral and written tradition concerning Faust or still earlier magicians, is the basis of the chap-book in no such sense as has hitherto been supposed; 2. that the chap-book is a *Zauberroman* whose plot is the invention of the Anonymous. 3. That the historical, geographical, and cosmological features of the work owe a large substantial and verbal debt to Schedel's *Cronick*. 4. That Milichius' *Zauberteufel* was studied carefully by the chap-book author, literally quoted in a number of instances, made to yield the ground-work of numerous chapters, phraseologically the work of the Anonymous, and to lend in the person of Simon Magus, and by inference that of his companion, Helena, the outlines of the career of Faust, and, 5. that Lerchheimer's *Christlich Bedencken* can no longer be regarded as the prototype of a portion of the *Faustbuch*.

STARR WILLARD CUTTING.
University of Chicago.

CORRECTION.

MOD. LANG. NOTES, vol. xii, p. 238, footnote: Instead of "The greek letter $v=u$," read "$v=\mathring{u}$." The ring over the *u* was broken off in a few numbers while passing through the press.

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VOL. XIII. MARCH, 1898. No. 3.

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

A. MARSHALL ELLIOTT, MANAGING EDITOR.
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MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES.

Baltimore, March, 1898.

THE FIFTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA.

THE Modern Language Association of America held its fifteenth annual meeting Dec. 27–29, at the University of Pennsylvania. The programme included an afternoon and evening session on Dec. 27th, a morning and afternoon session Dec. 28th, and a morning session Dec. 29th. By courtesy of the officers of the Houston Club, the auditorium of Houston Hall was used as the official headquarters of the Association.

The Association was called to order by the President, Professor Albert S. Cook of Yale University. The reports of the Secretary, Professor James W. Bright, and of the Treasurer, Professor Herbert E. Greene, both of Johns Hopkins University, having been received, and other routine business disposed of, the first paper of the session upon "The New Requirements in Entrance English" was read by Professor T. W. Hunt of Princeton University. This paper will appear later in full in the columns of this Journal.

The second paper was by Professor Henry Wood of Johns Hopkins University upon "The close of Goethe's *Tasso* as a literary problem," of which the following is an abstract.

Speculations as to Tasso's future, drawn from the play itself, Professor Wood said, are nugatory. Biographical side-lights, based on the equation Goethe-Tasso and Frau von Stein-Princess Leonore, will always retain a certain shifting but real interest, defying precise statement though never to be denied. But Leonore of Este is a pietist of the renaissance, a character foreign to Frau von Stein. Goethe fixed the type of the pietistic grand lady in his *Wilhelm Meister*. It is found in the Countess, her family and environment. This character, conceived and worked out for the novel during the years of Goethe's initial interest in Tasso (1781–83), represents a new creation in literature. It became at once the literary prototype of Princess Leonore in the drama.

Both the Princess and Wilhelm's Countess are "schöne Seelen," revealing the "grosse Welt" to their lovers, who worship them from afar with "stille Neigung." Each author is admitted to the boudoir, to recite his productions. Mistaking tender sympathy for complaisance, each surprises his lady and himself into a wild embrace. Bronght to his senses by the womanly and resolute "Hinweg!" each hears with despair the rumble of the carriage wheels bearing his injured patroness away from the rural retreat, with no farewell said.

Both Princess Leonore and the Countess, 'sick and lost to this world,' sink into a condition of tender melancholy and pietistic inertia. In the one case the influence proceeds from Herrnhut, in the other from "die Stillen im Lande," who give character to the 'evangelical renaissance' at the Court of Ferrara. This entirely new view of Leonore's surroundings and character is abundantly confirmed by the indirect evidence contained in books like Jules Bonnet's *Aonio Paleario* and *Olympia Morata*, and Benrath's *Bernhardino Ochino*. Leonore of Este in the play is the pietistic German "Weltdame," with an Italian coloring. The early part of *Wilhelm Meister* is a character study for the drama. Goethe's Princess represents in a dramatic figure the consummate unification of what in the novel was still a complex type, appearing in the "schöne Seele" of the *Confessions*, and her two nieces, the Countess and Natalie.

The same result was achieved in the case of the minor characters. The Baroness in *Wilhelm Meister* is a rudimentary sketch of Leonore of Sanvitale, the "verschmitzte kleine Mittlerin" of Tasso's unjust accusations. Jarno is an equally unmistakable, though fragmentary, study for the character of Antonio.

By vouchsafing a future to Wilhelm, rescuing him 'so as by fire,' Goethe has in a certain sense granted both hero and heroine in *Tasso* a new existence under more favorable conditions. Not Tasso reappears but his German counterpart, the defeated lover of a second

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Leonore, who this time wins in his conflict with the world, for himself and for his "schöne Seele." Goethe is not satisfied until the literary characters that owe their origin to his own experiences have been allotted in his works the full measure of a rounded life. What they thus lose in dramatic intensity, they gain as examples of the fulness and complexity of modern culture.

The results of the present study are claimed to be: first, proof of a close connection in character and incident between *Tasso* and the early chapters of *Wilhelm Meister;* second, the establishment of complete literary identity between Goethe's pietistic "Weltdamen" in the novel and his Princess Leonore of Este as the literary centre of the evanglical mystical renaissance at Ferrara; third, the substitution in one instance of a new canon of the survival and development of literary types in Goethe, in place of the shifting and evanescent personal types hitherto assumed.

The paper which was to follow, by Dr. Thérèse F. Colin of Bryn Mawr College, upon "The phraseology of Molière's *Précieuses Ridicules* historically considered," was not read, but a brief abstract may be given here. Molière was charged by his contemporaries with having grossly satirized the *Précieuses* and with having made his characters use extravagant language of his own invention. The purpose of the paper was to determine how much truth there was in this assertion. From a study of the writers of the time, Dr. Colin has sought to define the language of the *Précieuses*, to note its sources and the ridiculous abuse into which its imitation led, finding, it would seem for Molière's justification, a sufficient number of parallel passages which may have furnished him with the very expressions so bitterly criticized in 1659 when the play was first performed.

The fourth paper by Professor John E. Matzke of Leland Stanford Junior University upon "The question of free and checked vowels in Gallic Popular Latin," was to have been read by Professor L. E. Menger of Bryn Mawr University, but Professor Menger in view of the difficulty of presenting the paper in detail properly, gave instead a summary of Dr. Matzke's views, and a statement regarding his own position as at variance with and as criticized by Professor Matzke.

The main point of Dr. Matzke's paper was that a definition of the terms "free" and "checked" must be based on the forms of words as existing in Popular Latin. The vowels in these words developed according to a principle elaborated by ten Brink: all vowels in open syllables, not already long, become lengthened, all vowels in closed syllables, not already short, become shortened. The time for the action of this law has been determined by Pogatscher and Mackel to be the sixth century. Therefore, the definition of "free" and "checked" must be restricted to the forms of words as existing at this date.

Dr. Menger, in his remarks on the paper, suggested that it is probably impossible to make any general statement of the question that will include all cases of vowel development in French. The nearest approach to such a statement is that of Schwan-Behrens. He said that in the sixth century only ę and ǫ had developed. The other vowels did not begin to develop until the eighth century. When they did develop they did so as influenced by consonantal conditions of the latter century without regard to the sixth. If we limit our definition to this century we exclude the influence of palatals, which, for the most part did not begin altering until after this date. He asked if we are not interested in causes that really did determine the fate of vowels, rather than in their condition at a time when they had not altered materially or in all cases, so far as we can judge, from the value they possessed even in Classical Latin.

Dr. Menger questioned the justice of restricting the action of ten Brink's law to the sixth century; he understood it as referring to a general tendency in Romance, that was apt to manifest itself during any of the centuries of the formative period. Dr. Menger stated his belief that if we wish a statement that will cover all cases at all times, we shall have to vary the statement according to the cases and the times; that is, the question is a chronological one, and its full determination must probably go hand in hand with the separate determination of the first indications of change on the part of each vowel. In controlling the dates of such changes, the most important aid will be found in comparing the one with the alterations of the palatals, and until the exact stages and times of the de-

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velopments of the latter are known, further advance in our knowledge of Old French vowel developments is hardly to be hoped for.

The next paper was by Professor Felix E. Schelling of the University of Pennsylvania upon "Ben Jonson and the Classical School." Starting with the antithetical terms "romantic" and "classical," and affirming the co-existence of both classic and romantic art in all ages, as elements of differing intensity, Professor Schelling pointed out three manifestations of the classical spirit in literature in the period from the Renaissance to the reign of Queen Anne. These are 1. the empirical classicism of Sir Philip Sidney, busy with externals such as theorizing upon the Greek unities, and the introduction of classical measures into English verse; 2. the assimilative classicism of Ben Jonson, based on that poet's temperament and deep scholarship; and 3. the pseudo- or conventionalized classicism of Alexander Pope.

A contrast was then drawn between the manner of Spenser, that is, Spenser's way of imitating and interpreting nature artistically by means of poetic expression, and the manner of Jonson. Spenser was chosen as the representative, as he was the leader of a large school of poets, his contemporaries and successors, and his manner was described in brief as consisting of a sensuous love of beauty involving the power of pictorial representation, a use of classical imagery for decorative effect, a fondness for melody of a flowing sweetness and continuousness of diction, involving at times diffuseness. In contrast the manner of Jonson displays a sense for form, a sense of finish, reserve and self-control. In a word, the antithesis between the two poets is that of romanticism and classicality.

This was followed by a discussion of Jonson's relations to his time especially in his literary dictatorship. It was shown that the subject matter of Jonson's non-dramatic verse contains practically all the varieties of poetry subsequently practised by Dryden and Pope. It was established that 1. Jonson wielded the greatest literary influence of his time; 2. that this influence was exerted chiefly upon the scholarly and cultivated classes; 3. that this influence extended until long after the Restoration; 4. that it made directly for the classical ideal and lasted while that ideal lasted. A brief enumeratien then followed of existing theories set forth to explain the origin of the transformation that came over English Literature between the reigns of Queen Elizabeth and Queen Anne. It was urged that while the form of versification was of value in indicating the nature of this change, weight must be given to many other considerations.

The second part of this paper was devoted to a discussion of the thesis that not a trait which came to prevail in the poetry of the new classical school can be found that is not directly traceable to the influence and example of Ben Jonson. Attention was called to the attitude of Jonson toward the prevalent literary taste of his age, his contempt for popular judgment, his criticism of his contemporaries (Sidney and Spenser among them) and his objection in general to the romanticism of his day. This position was explained as that of a professional man who had a theory to oppose to the amateurishness and eclecticism of his time. In this respect Jonson's position was stated to be much that of Matthew Arnold in his exclamation: "Amid the bewildering confusion of our times I seemed to myself to find the only sure guidance, the only solid-footing among the ancients." Some of Ben Jonson's theories which betray the classicist were then set forth,—his belief in the rhetoric of Quintilian and in the criticism of Horace, his conviction that English drama must follow the ancients; but these theories were shown to be none the less reasonable and liberal, and his position in general that of a man desirous of applying the canons of the past to conditions which he recognized as different in the present. The restrictions of classicality in practice as contrasted with matters of theory were then considered: among them Jonson's tendency to precise and pointed antithetical diction, his slightly Latinized vocabulary, his occasional preference for abstract over concrete expression, and his somewhat conventionalized metrical form. His practice in this last particular was shown to be entirely in accordance with his theories expressed in his conversations with Drummond, and elsewhere. It was shown that in Jonson's non-dramatic verse the decasyllabic rhymed couplet is all but his constant measure, that in his hands it became the habitual measure for occasional verse, and sanctioned by his usage, remained

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such for one hundred and fifty years. It was shown that not only did Jonson's practice and theory thus coincide, but also that the practice of no other poet exemplified like characteristics to anything approaching the same extent until we pass beyond the accession of Charles I.

Illustrations were then given to show the nature of the versification of several poets preceding and contemporary with Jonson. The results of this consideration, [which cannot be given here] show first, a gradual decrease in the number of run-on couplets and run-on lines through Spenser, through Jonson and Dryden to Pope, but they showed also a division of these six poets into two groups with respect to the use and non-use of the continuous line: Sandys, contrary to the usual theory on this subject, showing a close affiliation to the manner of Spenser, and Jonson falling into a group which includes Waller, Dryden, and Pope. A further examination into Jonson's use of antithesis and into other devices of the later classical manner shows that he contained in his versification, as in his style and in his theory, all those qualities which developed to a greater degree came finally to characterize the style and versification of the so called "Classical Age;" and moreover that this could be affirmed of no other poet contemporary with Jonson's earlier career.

In conclusion, attention was called to the liberality of Jonson's spirit despite his own strong preferences, and to the eclecticism of his practice which had much to do, with other influences, in delaying the coming of the following age of restriction. This is especially exemplified in Jonson's two disciples: Robert Herrick and Edmund Waller. Both owed much to Jonson, but Waller especially carried on the classical spirit in the lyric which he impoverished and conventionalized, and in occasional verse, for which he possessed a peculiar talent.

Professor W. T. Hewett of Cornell University then spoke upon "The sources of Goethe's printed text," and upon that of *Hermann und Dorothea* in particular. He first presented a history of the various collected editions of Goethe's works. Starting with the statement that Goedeke in his *Deutsche Dichtung* (1849) was one of the first to call attention to errors in Goethe's printed text, he reviewed the services of Professor M. Bernays in tracing the numerous corruptions in the earlier writings, especially in *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers*, *Götz von Berlichingen*, *Stella* and, *Clavigo*, to the unauthorized Himburg editions. The efforts of Seuffert in the *Goethe Jahrbuch*, vol. xv, to determine the relation of the Stuttgart to the Vienna edition of Goethe's *Werke*, B and B′, as illustrated in a study of Goethe's "Erzählung," *Die Guten Weiber*, were examined. After showing that a uniform law for the protection of literary property did not exist in Germany before 1837, and how unsuccessful previous efforts in this direction had been, certain sovereigns having favored piratical reprints, Professor Hewett examined the history of the text of a single poem, *Hermann und Dorothea*, giving a summary of the results of a collation of nearly all the printed editions of the poem, about forty-five in number, including many hitherto unknown reprints. It was shown that the contamination of the text began as early as 1798, the year after the publication of the poem, and that these errors were repeated in later unauthorized editions until the first collected edition of the works, 1808 (A), where, in spite of the revision of Goethe, the publisher used as the basis of the text a Reutlingen reprint of 1806, which contained numerous typographical errors, and that these errors were incorporated in all subsequent editions of the poem, and appeared in the collected editions of Goethe's works; namely, in B and B′, and in C and C′, and thus became a part of the standard text. Only one revision of the poem by the author can be predicated. All other changes are due to the caprices or inaccuracies of proof-readers and compositors. More than twenty readings derived from pirated editions, which have been received into the text, were pointed out. Among the indirect results of the investigation, it was shown that the classification of the dates of publication of the various volumes of the first edition of the *Werke* (A) by the Weimar editors required revision (*Goethe Jahrbuch*, vol. xvi, p, 262); no essential divergence was found in the text of the poem in editions B and B′; and the readings of Egmont given by Strehlke in the Hempel edition of Goethe were verified (see Minor. Goethe's *Werke*, Weimar ed. vol. 8, p. 342).

In the last paper of the session upon the

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"Parallel treatment of the vowel *e* in Old French and Provençal," Dr. A. Jodocius, of Philadelphia, gave a summary of the vowel *e* in open and closed syllables both in Old French and Provençal, as well as in their principal dialects, with the differences of pronunciation in the various parts of France. He also cited rimes from the *Donat Proensal*, and the opinions of the principal authorities on the origin of the suffixes, as evidence that the supposed existence of a suffix *erium*, replacing *arium* at an epoch anterior to the formation of any Romanic language, could not explain such forms as *porchier*, *cavallaria*, and others.

In the evening, the Association met in extra session to listen to the address of the President. The Provost of the University, Mr. Charles C. Harrison presided and made an address of welcome to the Association. Professor Cook's subject was "The province of English Philology." His theme was not English philology proper, but the use of the terms "philology" and "philologist" in English. Maintaining the view of Wolf and Boeckh to be the correct one,—that any permanent record of man's intellectual activity is proper to philology, and that any form of study of the spoken, or of the written word, is essentially philologic, the aim of which is in a scientific spirit and with scientific method to reconstruct the past. He made a plea against that current limitation of the term philologist which would make it apply to the linguist only as distinguished from the student of literature, pointing out the antagonism, or apparent antagonism, which necessarily results between the two bodies of workers, despite the fact of their essential unity of aim.

"We must never forget," Professor Cook said in part, "that the philologist is a lover. As Pythagoras was not willing to be called a wise man, but only a lover of wisdom, and thus coined the word philosophy, so the philologist may well be content to call himself a lover, too —a lover of the thrilling and compelling voices of the past. He becomes a philologist, if he is worthy of the name, because they have thrilled and compelled him; and he would fain devise means, however circuitous in appearance, by which to insure that they shall thrill and compel others. His sensibility is the measure of his devotion; and his devotion, while it may not be the measure of his success, is certainly its indispensable condition.

If, then, philology truly considered enlists the head in the service of the heart, if it demands not only high and manifold discipline but rich natural endowment; if its object is the revelation to the present of the spiritual attainments of the past; if it seeks to win free access for the thoughts of the mightiest thinkers and the dreams of the most visionary of poets; if it seeks to train the imagination to recreate the form and pressure of a vanished time, in order to stimulate our own age to equal or surpass its predecessors in whatever best illustrates and ennobles humanity; if there are not wanting numerous examples of poets who have been philologists and philologists who have been essentially poets; and, finally, if philology is the only term which thus fully comprehends these various aspects of a common subject (and we have the most authoritative precedents for employing it in that signification), shall we willingly allow the word to be depreciated and this largeness and unity of the corresponding conception imperiled by consenting to employ it for the designation of a single branch of the comprehensive whole, and that the branch which to the popular apprehension least exhibits the real import and aim of the science? If not, and if we are willing to be known as philologists in the truer and larger sense, can we not do something to make this sense the prevalent one by consistently adhering to it in our practice, and so far as possible, inducing others to accept and adopt it?

"By thus doing we shall not only be recognizing a truth which is indisputable, but also be promoting that harmony of opinions and sentiments without which the most strenuous individual efforts are certain to prove in some degree nugatory."

The second session, Tuesday morning, Dec. 28th, opened with a paper by Dr. Edwin S. Lewis of Princeton University, upon "The morphology of the Guernsey dialect." This paper was the continuation of a study which has appeared in the *Publications* of the Association, dealing with the phonology of the Guernsey dialect. The completed work on the morphology will be published at a later date, only a few of the leading points being mentioned at the Convention. 1. Guernsey words ending in *-ę*, from Latin -ELLUM, have *-jǫ* in the plural. This development differs from that in Normandy proper, where are found such products resulting as sing. *-jǫ* plur. *-jǫ*, or sing. *-ę* plur. *-jā*, or sing. *-jǫ* plur. *-jā*. In Guernsey there are only two products corresponding to these: *bjǫ* plur. *bjǭ* and *vjǫ* plur. *vjǫ*. Attention was also called to lengthening in the plural, with its varying developments: *bæ* or *bæf* plur. *bǣ*, *sęk* plur. *sę̄*; *ljȩ* plur. *li*; *žnŭdī* plur. *žnŭā*; *miræ* plur. *mirær*;

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jęl̃ plur. *jęr*, and these forms were explained. 2. Masculine nouns ending in *-œ* have *-əręs* in the feminine, as *sŏžœ* fem. *sŏžəręs*, *filœ* fem. *gləręs*, the latter word illustrating, in the masculine, the palatalization of intervocalic *l* immediately preceding the accent. 3. *ü* develops after the sibilant *š* in *šü*, *šüt*, *šüna*, and also in *žü*, used after the verb. 4. The Guernsey dialect would seem to lend weight to Behrens's argument that in such forms as *avez-vous*, *savez-vous*, the accent was first pushed back to the stem of the verb, thus causing the fall of the ending *-vez*. Gaston Paris's idea was that the accent was first pushed forward to the pronoun.

Various peculiarities of the Guernsey personal pronouns were also mentioned, and argument for the development of *nou* from *l'on* was found in the Guernsey expressions *nou fait*, from Latin NON FACIT, and *boudiax*, corresponding to the French *bon Dieu*.

The paper which followed was by Dr. Eva March Tappan of the Worcester English High School, upon "The poetry of Nicolas Breton." It opened with a survey of the great events of the age in which Breton lived and noted their failure to produce any visible effect upon his poetical works. Breton is to be classified as a religious poet who made literary departures into *vers de société*, satire, and pastoral. His *vers de société* received little praise, and its one gem, *A Sweet Lullabie*, was ruthlessly claimed for Gascoigne.

As a satirist, Breton is to be regarded as a literary descendant of Gascoigne, his satire having little in common with that of Hall, Donne, or Marston. His religious verse shows, it was stated, two of the marks of the real hymn. 1. It embodies a real, or seemingly real, individual experience. 2. It manifests no consciousness of the audience. His freedom in religious composition was ascribed to his conventional and uncontroversial disposition, and to the fact that his creed consisted of but three articles, namely: 1. wrong is punished, 2. right is rewarded, 3. repentance wins forgiveness. Breton knew nothing of the theological pessimism of Gascoigne, nothing of the ecstasies of Southwell, nothing of the higher selfishness of Thomas à Kempis, but he was a simple, true-hearted, Christian man, who meant to do his best, and was sorry when he failed. His religious verse, always tender, sweet and hopeful, developed into rare earnestness, clearness of vision, and an exquisite eagerness of childlike longing and trust. The verbal style of these religious writings shows the delight in words common to all Elizabethans, a proof of their appreciation of a form of life so intangible that we, unhappily, have lost much of their delicate sensitiveness to its existence.

The pastoral of the sixteenth century was in perfect accord with three of the leading tendencies of the age, 1. The inherent English love of nature and simplicity. 2. The healthy liking for the marvellous, fastened by the great events of the age. 3. The keen interest in human nature that was to find its highest development in the drama. Breton's pastoral was regarded as proceeding from love of nature combined with close study of human nature. The interest taken by Elizabeth in his first pastoral, *Phillido and Corydon*, was explained by its possible connection with the Earl of Leicester's entertainment given to the Queen in 1578. The pastoral and erotic verse of Breton was compared with that of Sannazaro, Googe, Surrey, Wyatt, Turbervile, Spenser, Lyly, Sidney, and Gascoigne. His association with Gascoigne was treated as being probably more intimate than is generally supposed.

Breton's independence of character and his intellectual modesty were next discussed. His popularity with the same audience that admired far greater poets was ascribed, aside from his literary merits, 1. to his following the literary lines of least resistance, 2. to his power to please an unusually varied audience, resulting from his ability to combine in each kind of verse qualities that most writers would have found inharmonious.

The paper closed with a *resumé* of the literary criticism which Breton has received during the past three hundred years.

Professor A. R. Marsh of Harvard University, who was to have read a paper upon "The discussion of Conduct in the Middle Ages," was, it is to be regretted, kept at home by illness. Dr. Tappan was, therefore, followed by Professor Richard Hochdörfer of Wittenberg College, who read a paper upon "Luther's 'Teufel' and Goethe's 'Mephistopheles.'"

Professor Hochdörfer based his investigations upon the Erlangen-Frankfurt edition of

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Luther's works in sixty-eight volumes, and upon Goethe's *Faust*, referring especially to the editions of G. von Loeper, K. J. Schröer, and Calvin Thomas. Comparing the definitions that Luther has given of his 'Teufel' with those that Goethe puts into the mouth of his Mephistopheles, the writer pointed out their common characteristics. Both Luther's 'Teufel' and Goethe's 'Mephistopheles,' were shown to be conceived as authors of sin and death, being prompted by hatred and envy which is chiefly directed against God's creatures; both are pictured as man's accuser and reviler before God. After tracing these common characteristics in their literary prototypes, the writer reached the following conclusions: 1. that the first figure in literature which exhibits the constitutional elements of this two-fold Luther-Goethean conception is the devil of the apocryphal book of Wisdom; 2. that Luther's 'Teufel' is this devil as developed first by the Bible narratives of Christ's temptation and of Job's trial, secondly by theology, folklore and literature; 3. that all the biblical, mythological, theological, and legendary ingredients of Goethe's Mephistopheles are found in Luther's many-sided creation.

In the paper which followed, "Notes on some Elizabethan poems," by Professor John B. Henneman, of the University of Tennessee, two of the best-known Elizabethan poems were analyzed, Barnefield's ode, "As it fell upon a day," and Marlowe's smooth song, 'Come live with me and be my love." Both of these poems, as usually given, Professor Henneman believed to be composite, and to indicate the process of development and growth that many poems of the Elizabethan era have gone through. The first part of the Barnefield ode has the true note of the lyrics, expressing the pathos of a ruined woman's heart. The second part is completely changed in spirit. It is didactic and singularly unpoetic in contrast with the preceding. Evidently a bi-section of the poem is warranted. There is just a possibility that the claims of both Shakespeare and Barnefield can be satisfied by giving the truer lyric to Shakespeare, and the addition with the didactic application found in Barnefield to Barnefield. At any rate, whoever the author or authors, the composite character of the poem is very evident. If further Barnefield's ode can be considered as a pendant and contrast to

> "On a day, alack the day!
> Love whose month is ever May,"

inasmuch as this latter (contained in *Love's Labour's Lost*) was written as early as 1590 or thereabouts, the former cannot be much later, and thus a date distinctly earlier than 1598 (when it appears in Barnefield with the addition) must be set for it. This view would increase the probability of the Shakespearian authorship of the truer original poem.

Similarly, Marlowe's poem appears in three forms, one with four stanzas in the *Passionate Pilgrim;* another with six stanzas, in *England's Helicon;* a third in seven stanzas, in Walton's *Compleat Angler*. The form with seven stanzas clearly results from a later addition. It is thought, too, that the form with four stanzas shows the true first form of a poem popular enough to be frequently copied and imitated, and thus added to.

Professor Henneman's paper was followed by a paper on "The relation of Drama to Literature" by Professor Brander Matthews of Columbia University. Professor Matthews protested against the tendency to judge plays too exclusively from the literary standpoint. There is a general tendency, he said, to judge other arts by the principles that govern literature, owing to the influence given to the art of writing by the invention of printing and the extension of writing. The printers have finally succeeded in their protest against a judgment of their work in accordance with the principles of another art. The orator and dramatist may well contend that an orator or a drama shall not be judged as literature only, but in accordance with the principles of its own art. Both are bound by the same inexorable condition; each must please an immediate audience. Their adaptation to that end must be considered first. Upon that, their prime virtue, their merit depends: their literary value, while it is obviously the condition upon which their immortality depends, is secondary. This adaptation to an immediate audience is an art in itself, and one not *per se* within the province of the literary critic, or at least one which he is bound to consider before rendering judgment. The fact that this art is necessary is an explanation of the shortcomings of the closet-drama.

"There is no more patent absurdity than the play that is not intended to be played. . . . . A rough and tumble farce, hastily knocked

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together by a variety-show performer, to satirize rudely some folly of the moment, is of more importance in the development of the drama than can be any string of soliloquies and dialogues, however poetic or polished these may be.... Nobody disputes that dramatic literature must be literature, although there are not a few who do not insist that it must be dramatic. The great dramatists have accepted the double obligation; and they have always recognized that the stage of the theatre, and not the desk of the library, is the true proving room. This double obligation it is that makes the drama so difficult an art,—perhaps, indeed, the most difficult of all the arts."

The last paper of the morning by Dr. T. S. Baker of Johns Hopkins University upon "The influence of Lawrence Sterne on German Literature" was read by title.

At the opening of the afternoon session, the Committee of Twelve, appointed a year ago to consider the question of entrance examinations in French and German, presented its report through its chairman, Professor Calvin Thomas of Columbia University. The committee had agreed upon a resolution to the effect that there is no reason for differentiating the amount of modern languages taught in the preparatory schools to students who enter college and to those who do not enter college. The chairman further announced the appointment of several working sub-committees, and recommended the appropriation of three hundred dollars of the Association's funds for the purpose of prosecuting the work in hand, which was approved by the Convention.

On the recommendation of the committee on the selection of a place of meeting for next year, the invitation of the University of Virginia was accepted.

The Secretary of the Association then read a memorial sent to the Convention by Senator Cullom of Illinois asking that it pass a resolution expressing its approval of the anti-ticket-scalping bill, now before Congress. A motion to lay the memorial upon the table was lost, and upon motion of Professor Cohn, the Secretary was instructed to return the memorial to Senator Cullom, with the statement that it was not within the province of the Association to deal with political matters.

The following officers were then elected for the ensuing year: President, Professor Alcée Fortier, Tulane University; Secretary, Professor James W. Bright, Johns Hopkins University; Treasurer, Professor Herbert E. Greene, Johns Hopkins University.

Executive Council—Professor C. T. Winchester, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn.; Professor Albert S. Cook, Yale University; Professor R. Hochdörfer, Wittenberg College; Professor A. R. Hohlfeld, Vanderbilt University; Professor Bliss Perry, Princeton University; Professor Gustav Karsten, University of Indiana; Professor Charles M. Gayley, University of California; Professor J. A. Harrison, University of Virginia; Professor W. S. Currell, Washington and Lee University.

Phonetic Section—President, Professor A. Melville Bell, Washington, D. C.; Secretary, Professor George Hempl, University of Michigan.

Pedagogical Section—President, Professor F. N. Scott, University of Michigan; Secretary, Professor W. E. Mead, Wesleyan University.

Editorial Committee—Professor C. H. Grandgent, Harvard University; Prof. H. Schmidt-Wartenberg, University of Chicago.

Illness having prevented the attendance of Dr. P. B. Marcou of Harvard University, whose subject was to have been "Are French poets poetical?," the first paper of the afternoon was read by Professor W. E. Mead of Wesleyan University, upon "Color in Old English poetry."

The paper aimed to show in the first place what slight attention had been given in general to the use of color in poetry, and, in particular, pointed out that no systematic investigation of color in Old English poetry had ever been made. The following topics were then discussed: the great number of possible colors, and the lack of names for them; the indefiniteness of O. E. color words; the small number of O. E. color words; results of comparison with the mediæval romancers, Chaucer and Shakespeare.

The comparative lack of color in O. E. poetry does not necessarily imply a poor quality of poetry. In contrast with the small number of color words, the great number of terms in O. E. poetry may be noted expressing light and darkness. Over three hundred words may be found expressing light or brightness; over two hundred expressing darkness or shadow, or blackness. The ground being thus cleared, groups were made of the genuine color words,

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—white, black, gray, brown, red, yellow, green, and numerous passages cited under each. Blue occurs but once. Red is not common, and with five exceptions, occurs only in the religious poems. It is not once found in *Béowulf* or in any of the other heroic poems, or in the lyrics. Green is, on the whole, the favorite color in O. E. poetry, yet, like red, it is not used. A comparison with Old High German and Old Saxon poetry followed, which showed that O. E. poetry held its own in comparison. A further comparison was then made with Old Celtic poetry as found in the *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, and with the Icelandic poems in vol. i of the *Corpus Poeticum Boreale*. Several notable facts came out in this comparison—the greater richness and definiteness of the colors in the Celtic and Icelandic poems being most remarkable. The most common Icelandic color is red, and one of the least notable is green. In conclusion, the remark was was made that the color-sense in the O. E. poets was comparatively feeble, and that conventionality played a large part in the passages where color was used at all.

The paper which followed was by Professor Adolphe Cohn, of Columbia College, on "Professor Schultz-Gora and the *Testament de Rousseau*."

The object of this paper was the discussion of the claim to authenticity of a short work attributed to Jean Jacques Rousseau, and recently published by Professor Schultz-Gora, privat-docent in the University of Berlin. The title of the work, which is only twenty pages long, is *Testament de Jean Jacques Rousseau*. It is a reprint of a small pamphlet dated 1771, of which only one copy seems to be in existence, in the public library of Berlin. Schultz-Gora believes it to be authentic, his arguments being mainly, that the style is unmistakably Rousseau's own; that the ideas, which are in some parts very ably and clearly set forth, are also Rousseau's, and that the spelling is the same as that of Rousseau's own letters. In regard to the similarity of the style with that of Rousseau's, this is an argument which may be easily misleading, as it is entirely a question of personal appreciation upon which one may well differ from Schultz-Gora's judgment. We find, for instance, expressions in the testament, such as, "rompre ma plume," "le peuple comique," meaning the comedians, which we think Rousseau never used in his own works; but there are other arguments against the authenticity of the testament. First, we have here a book purporting to be published in 1771, and to give an account, or a defence, of all Rousseau's works, and yet it does not mention the *Confessions*, from which Rousseau began to give readings in Paris in the summer of 1770. Then in Rousseau's *Dialogues*, which were written a few years later, and in which the philosopher, then in a suspicious mood which almost amounted to insanity, defends all his life, acts and utterances, no mention whatever is made of the testament, or of the purloining of the manuscript of the same. Another argument is found in the Latin motto which is printed on the title page of the Testament "Qui notus nimis omnibus, ignotus moritur sibi." Schultz-Gora finds it very difficult to explain this motto, and the explanation he gives of it is very far from clear. The references to the passages in the testament induces us to believe that the author of the Testament himself did not understand it. That he was a very poor Latinist is shown by the fact that he fails to understand the meaning of Rousseau's works, "Vitam impendere vero," which he considers as meaning that Rousseau was ready to undergo martyrdom for the sake of the truth, while its meaning is simply that Rousseau wished to devote his life to the spreading of the truth. As Rousseau, though not a great, was a very accurate scholar, this alone would convince us that he is not the author of the Testament. There are, however, passages enough in the Testament which read very much like Rousseau's to account for Schultz-Gora's error, possibly they are reproductions of some of Rousseau's conversations. There are also some ironical passages directed against the inhabitants of the northern bank of the Lake of Geneva, which lead us to believe that the pamphlet is the work of some inhabitant of that district who was acquainted with Rousseau until the time of the latter's departure for England, and who found it convenient to hide his own identity under the shelter of the name of his great countryman.

In the third paper of the morning, "Recent Work in Celtic," Dr. F. N. Robinson, of Harvard University, gave a survey of the work done in Celtic philology in the past ten or

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twelve years, taking as a point of departure a similar report prepared by Dr. Thurneysen in 1886 and incorporated in the address of Professor Skeat as President of the English Philological Society. (See *Transactions of the Phil. Soc'y.* 1885–6. pp. 385 ff.) He began with the Continental Celtic, and gave some account of recent investigations by both philologists and archæologists in the Gaulish languages, antiquities, and religion, taking up then in order the insular Celtic races, and showing what advance had been made during the past decade in the publication of texts, in grammatical and lexicographical work, and in the study of mythology, folklore, and literary history. Special attention was called to some methods of investigation which promise to yield important results: to Strachan's *Studies in Irish Historical Grammar;* to Zimmer's discussions of the cycles of St. Brandan and of Finn; and to the comparisons between Welsh and Irish literature, made by Rhys in his *Hibbert Lectures*, and by both Rhys and Meyer in a number of articles in the *Transactions of the Cymrudorion*, the *Revue Celtique*, and *Archaeologia Cambrensis.*

Dr. Robinson was followed by Professor William H. Hulme of Adelbert College, who spoke on "The relation of the Old English version of the *Gospel of Nicodemus* to the Latin original." The chief topics considered were as follows. 1. A brief history of the *Acta Pilati* in early Christian literature with special reference to (a.) their origin, (b.) significance and importance. 2. A short review of recent criticism of the Gospel of Nicodemus: (a.) Relation of Greek and Latin versions, (b.) Origin of title 'Gospel of Nicodemus,' (c.) Earliest editions of Greek and Latin versions, (d.) Tischendorf's (1853) 'final' edition, his theories relative to origin of Greek and Latin texts, and Lipsius's refutation of same in his *Die Pilatus-Akten kritischuntersucht* (Kiel 1871; second ed. 1886). 3. The Nicodemus legend in the early Latin literature of England, and its first appearance in Old English poetry. 4. The description and history of the existing Mss. of the Old English prose version of the Gospel of Nicodemus, and a word for word comparison of this version with the Latin original. 5. The use of *þ* and *ð* in the Cambridge Ms. of the *Gospel of Nicodemus: þ* consistently used initially; *ð* occurring throughout the Ms. medially and finally, except in words preceded by monosyllables beginning with *þ* and ending in a vowel, or preceded by *þ* (*þæt*), *ð* in such cases being regularly used in the initial position.

The last two papers of the session, "The French literature of Louisiana from 1894 to 1897," by Professor Alcée Fortier, Tulane University, and "The rhythm of proper names in Old English verse," by Professor James W. Bright, Johns Hopkins University, were read by title.

During the afternoon, the American Dialect Society held its annual meeting. At this meeting Professor O. F. Emerson of Western Reserve University was elected president; Professor John P. Fruit of Georgetown, Ky., formerly of Bethel College, vice-president; Professor E. H. Babbitt of Columbia University, secretary; and Professor Lewis F. Mott of the College of the City of New York, treasurer.

In the evening the members of the Association enjoyed a delightful reception tendered them by Provost and Mrs. C. C. Harrison.

The first paper of the session the following morning was by Dr. Frederick H. Wilkens of Baltimore, Md., upon the "Early influence of German literature in America."

The second paper was by Professor Edward Fulton, of Wells College, "On translating Anglo-Saxon poetry." The question has often arisen, What verse should be used in translating Angio-Saxon poetry? but despite frequent discussion has not been definitely settled. The tendency seems to be decidedly in favor of imitating the original metre; but some still argue in favor of blank verse, on the ground that it is our natural "epic expression," and therefore the only fit medium in which to render such a poem as *Bēowulf*, for instance. This argument, however, rests on the assumption that one so-called "epic expression" is essentially the same thing as another—which is, of course, absurd. Blank verse is not adapted to the style of A. S. poetry.

The *manner* of poetry—that is to say, the peculiar phrases, turns of expression, rhythmical movement, etc.—is just as essential an element of it as its matter, and in any translation that attempts to give an adequate idea of the original must be reproduced, if possible, as well as the *matter*. To give anything like

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a true representation of the *Bëowulf*, for instance, we must seek to reproduce its imagery and its rhythmical movement, as well as its ideas, just as in copying the Venus of Milo we must try to reproduce the pose of the head and the expression of the face. To the objection often urged that the A. S. meter is radically different from English verse, and therefore impossible of reproduction, the answer is, the fact is otherwise, for seventy five out of one hundred lines have rhythmical movements for which exact parallels may be found in modern English four-accent verse. As Schipper, in his *Grundriss der englischen Metrik*, has shown, the English irregular four-accent measure has strong affinities with the A. S. verse. Moreover, it is capable of modification so as to resemble the A. S. line still more stongly. Taking all this into account, it would seem that this measure—or rather a modification of it sufficiently like the A. S. to suggest it at once and inevitably, yet not so unlike the English line as to sound strange to the modern ear—was the proper one to use in translating A. S. poetry into English verse. An adaptation like this has been tried at various times, and notably by Dr. John Leslie Hall in his translation of *Bëowulf*, but his translation, though the best of its kind, still leaves much to be desired.

Miss Elizabeth Woodbridge of Yale University, then read a paper upon "Boccaccio's Defense of Poetry; as contained in the fourteenth book of the *De Genealogia Deorum*." The fourteenth chapter of the *De Genealogia Deorum*, Miss Woodbridge said, is significant as being the earliest elaboration of the art-theory of the New Humanism. In it Boccaccio replies to the enemies of poetry; namely, the jurists, the doctors, and the theologians,—quoting and answering all their objections one by one. Thus the treatise furnishes a fair exposition of the way poetry was regarded by its enemies and by its friends.

Boccaccio's definition of poetry, which is in essential agreement with that of Dante and Petrarch, emphasizes, as regards its form, the careful ordering and disposition of words; as regards its content, the existence of a hidden meaning, an allegorical significance. The accusations against poetry, as summarized by him, are chiefly these: that it is a mere nullity, not worth serious attention; that it is a collection of lies; that it is either mere foolishness or it is morally baneful; that it is too obscure to be intelligible; that at best the poets are only "apes of the philosophers;" that we cannot disregard the authority of Jerome and Boethius, who condemned poetry, and of Plato, who would have had poets banished from his republic.

In reply, Boccaccio maintains that poetry is deeply serious by reason of the spiritual meanings hidden beneath its "veil of fable;" that it does not lie, since it does not try to pass for truth; that while some poetry is indeed morally hurtful, all truly great poetry elevates the mind and incites it to virtue; that the obscurity of poetry is commendable, since this enhances the value of the hidden truths, while it always yields them up to the earnest seeker; that the poets are not "apes of the philosophers," although their writings are consonant with those of philosophy,—rather, they are themselves philosophers; finally, that Jerome and Boethius and Plato have been misunderstood, for they meant to condemn only the bad poets, not such divine spirits as Homer, Virgil, Dante, or Petrarch.

One of Boccaccio's most telling arguments, and the one most frequently and most eagerly pressed, is the argument from Biblical writing. A large part of the Old and the New Testament falls under his definition of poetry; if, therefore, we condemn the "fables" of poets, we must also condemn the visions of Isaiah, Ezekiel, and John, and the parables of Christ himself.

In his attitude towards poetry Boccaccio was in no sense a pioneer; most of his ideas are found, expressed or implied, in the writings of Dante and Petrarch. But neither Dante nor Petrarch gave to their views so complete and so elaborate an expression. Moreover, Boccaccio emphasized rather more strongly and more deliberately than they had done, two points which especially characterized the thought of the times: the acceptance of poetry as a legitimate part of life, and the acknowledgment of it as independent of philosophy on the one hand, and religion on the other. Thus Boccaccio's treatise makes one in the series which begins with Plato and Aristotle, and comes down to Sidney and Shelley.

The fourth paper of the morning was by Dr. Kenneth McKenzie of Union College, on "A

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sonnet ascribed to Chiaro Davanzati and its place in fable literature." Davanzati, a Florentine poet of the thirteenth century, was shown to be the probable author of the sonnet in question (Cod. Vat. 3793, no. 682). The words *corniglia* and *splai*, properly not Italian, are due to Provençal influence. The sonnet, a version of the familiar fable of the bird in borrowed feathers, was sent as an accusation of plagiarism to the poet Bonagiunta da Lucca; this fact accords with what Dante says of him. In fable literature this sonnet is important, because it does not follow the versions which were so common in the Middle Ages, descending from Phædrus, but belongs to a type older than Phædrus, and indicates the existence of a mass of fable literature in popular tradition; it is also important as being almost the only version of a fable given by an Italian poet of the time.

The paper which followed was by Dr. C. G. Child of the University of Pennsylvania, upon "Seventeenth Century Conceits." The Seventeenth Century Conceit proper was defined as a kind of perverted metaphor, displaying in particular perverse ingenuity of invention—over-elaboration, extravagance or even grotesque unfitness, counting for nothing beside novelty and a certain specious picturesqueness. The aim of the paper was to show upon the basis of an examination of one hundred and eight works printed before 1500, beginning with Tottel's *Miscellany*, and of all the notable authors after that date to Dryden and Milton, that (1.) under the influence of Petrarch and the Marinists, in the sonnet cycles beginning with Sidney's (and incidentally in the *Arcadia*), in some measure owing to the use of extravagant hyperbole, the inventional conceit was developed, its use becoming independant of the sonnet about 1596–1598, and that (2.) in the seventeenth century, active disposition to the origination of novel inventional conceits was almost entirely confined to the poets of Cambridge, other poets, where they use conceit, employing conventionalized conceits derived from the sonneteers.

The subject of the next paper by Professor F. N. Scott of the University of Michigan, was "Verbal taboos, their nature and origin." In certain books that have appeared within the last quarter of a century, Professor Scott said, attempts have been made to place a ban or prohibition upon the use of certain well-known and much-used English words and phrases. These prohibitions, which may be termed verbal taboos, from their resemblance to the taboos of aboriginal tribes, are the outcome of antipathies which are formed in early years while the individual is acquiring command of speech. Such antipathies are common to all persons, being due to the associations which naturally occur in the formation of the speech-habit; but in the case of most persons they are checked or repressed by a sense of deference to the feelings of others in the community. There are some few persons, however, in each generation, who are unusually self-assertive in matters of language. Such persons look upon their personal antipathies as universal, and do not hesitate to impose them upon their neighbors. It is from these persons that verbal taboos proceed. The character and origin of these antipathies was illustrated by a number of examples, in part derived from a special examination in regard to the meanings of selected words.

The final paper, by Dr. C. R. Miller of Lehigh University upon "Prepositions in the works of Hans Sachs," was read by title.

During the day the Joint Committee on Entrance Requirements in English held a meeting to receive reports from two sub-committees, one on interpretation of the requirements, and the other on a list of books for general reading in the secondary schools.

Before adjourning to meet next December, at the University of Virginia, a resolution was adopted by the Association expressing its thanks to Provost Harrison and to the Local Committee.[1]

CLARENCE G. CHILD.
University of Pennsylvania.

THE THIRD ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE CENTRAL DIVISION OF THE MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA.

THE third annual meeting of the Central Division of the Modern Language Association of America was held at Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill., on Thursday, Friday

1 The writer desires to express his indebtedness to those who have furnished him with abstracts of their papers.

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and Saturday, December 30 and 31, 1897, and January 1, 1898. The convention was called to order Thursday evening in the Assembly Hall of the Orrington Lunt Library Building. The guests were welcomed on behalf of the Trustees and Faculty of Northwestern University by Professor G. A. Coe, representing President Henry Wade Rogers, who was unexpectedly detained in New York. The Hon. William A. Dyche, Mayor of Evanston, spoke words of welcome on behalf of the citizens. Professor W. H. Carruth (University of Kansas), President of the Central Division, made an appropriate response to these cordial greetings. At the request of President Carruth himself, the President's annual address was omitted. Secretary H. Schmidt-Wartenberg (University of Chicago) read communications from the Evanston Club and the Country Club extending their privileges to the members of the association, and made other announcements. After listening to a paper by Professor J. Scott Clark (Northwestern University), of which mention will be made later, the meeting adjourned to the Guild rooms in the same building, where an informal reception was given by the University Guild. On New Year's Eve another reception was tendered by the Northwestern University at the home of the Country Club. Throughout the three days of the convention the members had an opportunity to inspect the German library that had recently arrived from Leipzig as a gift to the Northwestern University from Chicago Germans.

There were five regular sessions. President Carruth presided, but on two or three occasions called to the chair the second Vice-President, Professor C. W. Benton (University of Minnesota). Under the head of reports Professor George Hempl (University of Michigan) made an interesting report for the committee on phonetics, and urged the importance of dialect study, and Professor Starr W. Cutting (University of Chicago) reported progress for the committee on college entrance requirements. There were seventeen papers on the programme, distributed as follows: English six, German four, Romance Languages three, Scandinavian Languages three, and General Philology one.

The first paper of the convention was presented by Professor J. Scott Clark (Northwestern University) on "Methods of Studying English Masterpieces." In justice to Professor Clark it should be said that he spoke not as a teacher of literature, but from the standpoint of a teacher of the practical art of English composition. He discussed at some length the two methods that have been most widely followed, the hand-book method and the annotated edition method, and pointed out the faults in each. The basis for the principal criticism on the first method was the fact that the hand-book tells what some one has said about the masterpiece, while the student has no opportunity to study the masterpiece itself. In the case of the second method the work of annotating has been overdone; every sentence has been placed under a microscope, and allusions, references, and rhetorical figures have been interpreted to cover ground never dreamed of by the original author. Professor Clark then described a method that, in his own experience, had been found more fruitful, and therefore more satisfactory. He called it a laboratory method. He approached the exposition inductively by inquiring first, what results a student ought fairly to expect and to obtain. These results will be sufficiently indicated by the nature of the instructions to the student that follow. The method aims at a study of the masterpieces themselves, and is aided by binding together in one volume long selections from the representative writers, say forty pages from each author, making enough of these composite volumes to put one into the hands of each member of the class. To defray the original cost, each student is charged a small amount for the use of the books which remain the property of the department. Suppose now, for example, that the class is to study Bacon. To each student are assigned the forty pages of Bacon that happen to be contained in the volume in his hands, and he is required to make a report in his note-book on the subjects indicated by the following instructions: 1. Jot down every word you meet not in ordinary, conversational use and from the total select ten; 2. observe every word used with especial accuracy or delicacy, and record best five cases; 3. record approximate percentage of Anglo-Saxon words; 4. observe every clear case of English idiom and record five cases; 5. observe and mentally define every rhetorical figure found and index best five cases; 6. observe every case of suspense or of loose construction and index

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pages; 7. observe and index best five cases of epigram, balance or point; 8. index best cases of smoothness in the connection of paragraphs; 9. index best illustrations of simplicity; and 10. index best examples of rhythm.

Professor Clarke's method was discussed by Professors A. H. Tolman, J. D. Bruner, and S. W. Cutting (University of Chicago), Professor J. S. Nollen (Iowa College) and the author. The consensus of opinion seemed to be that the merits of the method consist in the fact that it gives the student something definite to do.

Professor Ernst Voss (University of Wisconsin) read the next paper, "Thomas Murner's Prose Writings of the year 1520." By way of introduction he spoke of Grimm's "antagonistic" attitude towards Modern High German and his fondness for old forms, and gave a résumé of the work in early Modern High German since Grimm. It is natural, he said, that Luther should get the lion's share in any work on the sixteenth century, but Brant, Hutten, and Murner ought to be studied with just as much zeal and interest from the standpoint of language and literature. Then followed a review of the work about Murner, including 1. Text editions; 2. Murner's relation to Brant, Geiler and Luther; 3. Murner Grammar; and 4. Biographies. Professor Voss spoke of the character of Murner's satirical writings and stated that all are now available, while his prose writings, with one or two exceptions, have never been printed since their first appearance. A list of Murner's prose writings of the year 1520 was then given, with comments on each one, and the importance of these works to the student of theology, history, literature and philology was shown. Murner's position can not be accurately defined without a consideration of his prose writings, especially those of 1520. Professor Voss urged that Murner's works ought to be re-edited, his biography re-written, and his place in German literature re-adjusted, and closed his paper with the announcement that he is about to reprint, in Braune's *Neudrucke deutscher Litteraturwerke des xvi. und xvii. Jahrhunderts*, one of the most important prose writings of 1520. Professor Starr W. Cutting (University of Chicago) made remarks upon this paper, and stated that we have misunderstood Murner because we have studied him through the prejudiced writings of his contemporaries.

"The Autobiographical Elements in William Langland's Piers the Plowman" was the subject of a paper read by Professor A. E. Jack (Lake Forest University). The name of the author of this poem is a matter of some doubt and few facts are known concerning his life. The opinions of Skeat and Morley were reviewed. Skeat believes the author gives his own life in the poem; Morley maintains the same view and accepts the name William Langley. The writer of the paper attempted to show that the usual method of interpreting the poem literally is wrong and that the poem is not a real autobiographical picture, but an ideal picture. He pointed out among others these facts; namely, that in a large number of cases a definite time is stated when evidently merely a long time is meant; that also in the case of distance and numbers definite measures are given for indefinite; that the poet mentions no real personages excepting two friars; that dreams and visions compose nearly the whole poem (there are eleven visions), and that it seems very patent that the poet is relating not real but imaginary dreams. The conclusion is that the dreams are certainly a literary device and that, on the whole, the poem contains very little autobiographical material. Professor F. A. Blackburn (University of Chicago) made a few remarks on the paper, and stated that he would go even farther and refuse to see anything at all autobiographical in the poem. Professor C. W. Pearson (Northwestern University) thought the poem contained the inner life of the poet, but not the outer life.

Professor F. A. Wood (Cornell College) read extracts from one of the most scholarly papers of the convention; it was entitled "The Development of Roots and their Meanings." The paper was a long one as it traced the history of seven roots, but Professor Wood spent the half hour allotted to him in presenting one root. Difference in meaning is no bar to connecting words, was the thesis the author attempted to prove. Phonetic equivalents, that is, words or roots which phonetically coincide when reduced to their Indo-European form, are presumably cognate, however widely separated in meaning. This difference is the result of divergent development. Two or more meanings, though apparently having nothing in common, and inexplicable if we attempt to derive one from the other, are often

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easily explained when referred to the radiating center. For example, 'please' and 'distress' are diametrically opposed, yet both may come from the figurative use of *strike*. Hence of the meanings *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, we should not assume that any one is the original, but should find from what common source *a*, *b*, *c*, *d* are derivable. In illustration many examples were given to show the logical connection in meaning between phonetically identical roots which, on account of their difference, are regarded as etymologically distinct.

"The Inflectional Types of the Qualifying Adjective in German" was the title of a paper read by Professor G. O. Curme (Northwestern University). The different types of adjective inflection were discussed in the light of past conditions and present tendencies. A brief history of the uninflected form, the weak, and the strong declensions was given. The so-called uninflected form was originally a strong form corresponding to the strong form of the substantive. The ending in the case of the nominative masculine and neuter singular had in both nouns and adjectives been lost in accordance with general phonetic laws. In the case of the adjective, pronominal forms in *-er* and *-es* later often took the place of the strong nominative masculine and neuter, which had lost their case endings. There were then, Professor Curme continued, two strong forms for the nominative singular. In the O. H. G. these two strong forms,—the so-called uninflected and the strong form,—had the same functions, both being used either attributively or predicatively. Later differentiation set in. A detailed statement of the present usage of these forms was given by the author, which was followed by a similar statement concerning the weak form. The earlier individualizing force of the weak adjective was noted, and all the remaining constructions which still show this individualizing force were mentioned. Attention was also called to the most recent development in the conception of the force of the weak adjective, namely, its use to show a closer logical relation to the governing substantive, as in *ein Mann von grossem juristischen Wissen.*

The paper was discussed by Professors S. W. Cutting, H. Schmidt-Wartenberg and Dr. P. O. Kern (University of Chicago), and the author. Professor Schmidt-Wartenberg stated that what had been considered an inflectional ending in the case of predicate adjectives in certain Swiss dialects, was not an inflection but the remnant of a suffix and that *jemanden* for *jemandem* was due to regular phonetic development.

The subject of a contribution presented by Mr. E. P. Morton (Indiana University) was "One Phase of Keats's Treatment of Nature." The essentials of the study are: There is such a thing as ascription of sentiency to insentient objects without personification. This ascription of sentiency, called vivification by Mr. Morton, is a mode of expression, essentially a metaphor, and is used for vivid expression. In addition to proving that there is such a thing as vivification, he showed that Keats uses it so often in his poetry that any correct statement of this poet's attitude towards nature requires its recognition. In this attitude Keats is entirely different from his fellow Romanticists. In one thousand lines of Keats it was found that there were three hundred and fifty-seven cases of vivification and one hundred and eighty-seven cases of personification, while Coleridge used vivification only two-thirds as often. Ruskin's Chapter on the Pathetic Fallacy seems at first sight to offer both a name and an explanation, but Mr. Morton showed that what Ruskin says applies only to subjective treatment of nature. This paper called out remarks from Professors A. H. Tolman and C. von Klenze and Mr. Karl D. Jessen (University of Chicago). Professor Tolman suggested in place of vivification 'personal metaphor,' a name used in Abbot's Shakespearean Grammar. Professor von Klenze said that he understood by vivification what is meant in German by *Beseelung*, and then made comments on Ruskin, Keats and Heine, which led him into a very interesting comparison of Heine's treatment of nature with that of the English poet.

The next paper on the programme was by Professor Raymond Weeks (University of Missouri) on "The Component Elements of Aliscans," but on account of the unavoidable absence of Professor Weeks it was read by title.

"The Gender of English Loan-Words in Danish" was the title of a paper by Professor D. K. Dodge (University of Illinois), which, owing to the absence of the author, was read

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by Professor L. A. Rhoades of the same institution. The present system of gender in Danish is a compromise between strict grammatical gender and natural gender. About the time of the Reformation the distinction between the masculine and the feminine passed out of sight and the common gender was developed, which is a kind of neuter gender. Some English words were introduced into Danish in the eighteenth century, but nearly all have been introduced during the last twenty-five years. Many of these words are connected with sports, while many others have been adopted through contact with English-speaking people. The paper treated of the susceptibility of the Scandinavians to corruption of vocabulary. Professor Dodge collected the materials for his study from dictionaries, Copenhagen newspapers and Cavling's *Fra Amerika*, and has found about two hundred English loan-words, but the list is not exhaustive. Of the neuters twenty-one are names of materials; the majority of the others have Danish synonyms of neuter gender. Only *settlement* and *stock-jobbery* appear to have a gender determined by the ending; several others have the ending *-ing*, a regular common ending. In words of common gender there are several classes, as names of vehicles, articles of food, of dress, etc. Some few seem to be determined by ending, as *boycotting*, *elevator*, etc. *Baby* is of the common gender. The main results of Professor Dodge's investigations may be stated under five heads: 1. Only sixteen per cent of the English words in Danish are neuter, a disproportion similar to that of native words. 2. Many words may be divided into classes according to meaning. 3. The majority of the other English words are influenced by Danish synonyms. 4. Terminations seem to play a subordinate part. 5. No tendency to uncertainty or change of gender was noticed, such as exists in native words. The conclusions of Professor Dodge's study were accepted without discussion.

Professor A. E. Egge (Washington Agricultural College) had prepared an excellent paper on "The Scandinavian Element in English," but as he was unable to be present it was read by Professor A. H. Tolman (University of Chicago). It began by giving a brief sketch of the Scandinavian settlements in the British Isles, more particularly in England, and then traced in outline the Scandinavian influence on the English language.

The first mention of northern pirates touching the coast of England, said the writer, is found in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* for the year 787 (corrected to 789). At various times after this raids and incursions were made into the English territory, and in 866 came the great army of Vikings that seemed to have for their object the conquest of all England. They were finally able to control all the country to the north and east of a line running from London to Chester. The Danes for a long time ruled parts of this district independently and introduced their own laws and institutions. It was, therefore, called the Danelaw (Danelagh). Norse and English were spoken side by side, Norse predominating in some localities, and English in others. As far as the investigation of the Scandinavian element in English is concerned, it is of little importance to know from which of the Scandinavian countries the various bands of invaders came, as up to the year 1000 Danes, Norwegians and Swedes spoke one language, in Professor Egge's paper called Norse or Scandinavian. The effect of the Norman Conquest, and with it the introduction of Latin and later of French into the churches and courts of justice, was to deprive the Old English of its use as the literary medium of the nation, but the Norman speech, being a totally foreign tongue, did not have at once any organic or direct influence on English. There was no temptation to imitate French inflections, the writer stated. Old Norse and Old English were, indeed, two different languages; yet they were both purely Teutonic and closely related. The vocabulary was essentially the same, the main difference consisting in the inflections, and even this difference was in most cases comparatively slight. Englishmen and Norsemen of that day could doubtless understand each other without much difficulty. Professor Egge continued on the assumption that languages closely related will influence each other more than languages distantly or not related at all, and stated that this would explain why the influence of Danish and Low German on each other has deprived these languages of nearly all inflections of case, also why English of the

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North, owing to the presence there of the closely related Norse, was deprived of its inflections before this change took place in the South. That this really happened is seen in the early disappearance of nearly all case-endings, so that already in the *Ormulum* (written about 1200) we meet with a specimen of English almost as uninflected as that of the present day. In the South, however, where one would suppose the Norman-French influence to have been the strongest, we find quite a different state of things. Many French words have indeed been adopted; but the grammatical structure shows no other signs of change than those of internal growth and decay, and the dialect remains rich in inflections to a late period. The *Ayenbite of Inwyt*, for example, though composed in 1340, is much harder to understand than the *Ormulum*, written in the North almost two hundred years earlier. In the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* there appears, from the year 871, a large Scandinavian element. While there are very few Norse words in *Robert of Gloucester*, *Chaucer* and other literature of the South, their number in *Havelock the Dane*, and the later Northumbrian and Scotch monuments, is very large, as well as in North-English and Scotch dialects down to this day. Of Norse words still used in Scotch a few are such as *big*, (build), *carl* (man), *cleg* (gad-fly), *hoast* (cough), *ken* (know), *lift* (sky). The literary English of to-day, which dates from the fourteenth century and has for its basis the dialect of London and the Universities, contains a much smaller element than the spoken language of the North and of Scotland, and yet altogether it is considerable. Professor Skeat in his Etymological Dictionary mentions nearly seven hundred words of Scandinavian origin.

Some of the Scandinavian influences, as shown in Professor Egge's paper, may be summed up by the following statements: a. Some of the borrowed words crowded out the original, as *are* for *bēoth* or *sind*; *tāke* only for *niman*; *them* for *hem*,—*hem* survives in the modern provincial English *'em*, as in *I hear 'em laugh*. b. In the case of other words the meaning was changed, for example, *dwell* and *earl*, of which the present meanings are due to Scandinavian influence. c. Change in the form of many words, for example, seventh, ninth, tenth, eleventh (by analogy), thirteenth to nineteenth. In Old English these ordinals are formed without *n*; in the Scandinavian languages they are all, except eleventh, formed with *n*. d. A similar and more wide-reaching change is seen in words, which in Old English had the vowel *ā* and in Norse the diphthong *ei*. In all such words the regular change of sound in Southern English was from *ā* to *ō*,—thus *āc*, *bān*, *hām*, *stān*, became *oak*, *bone*, *home*, *stone*. In the most northern English, however, this change has not yet taken place, the Scotch still saying *aik*, *bane*, *hame*, *stane*.

The discussion of this paper was opened by Professor George Hempl (University of Michigan), who considered the loss of the inflections important, but believed the Scandinavian influence on English was often overestimated, and who said further that whenever Professor Skeat found any difficulty with an English word he turned it over to Scandinavian influence.

Professor Julius Goebel (Leland Stanford Jr. University) had written a paper on "Heine's Relation to Wolfgang Menzel" which was read, owing to the absence of Professor Goebel, by Dr. P. O. Kern (University of Chicago). Little has been done thus far, said the writer, for the investigation of the origin and growth of the literary movement which we are accustomed to call "Young Germany;" the works that have been published on this movement were largely written from the standpoint of the partisan, and it is, therefore, extremely difficult to obtain a true historical picture of the chief figures of that period. Just as we looked at Gottsched for a long time in the way in which he had appeared to Lessing, and for many years our conception of the literary character of Nicolai was that of Herder, Goethe, and Schiller, so also of Wolfgang Menzel we possess mainly only the caricature produced by the malice and hatred of Heine, Börne, and the rest of the "Young Germans." It is the duty of an impartial history of literature to give justice to Menzel, in whom we must see the original leader of "Young Germany." His *Deutsche Litteratur*, published in 1828, gave expression for the first time to the dissatisfaction and longings of the talented young minds of that period. Professor Goebel submitted quotations from Gutzkow, Heine, and Mundt to prove that Menzel was considered the original leader of these young writers, the main

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object of the paper being to prove that Heine was deeply influenced by Menzel's book on German literature,—a fact which Heine himself in later years tried to conceal. It was shown that Heine in his review of Menzel's work bore witness to the change which his views had undergone by the study of the book, and that he then adopted from Menzel the idea of a closer union between life and literature. But he later ridiculed his own review of the book by saying, "I was at that time a little boy and my greatest sport consisted in placing a flea under a microscope and showing the people its magnitude." The author went on to show that Heine's desertion of the literary principles of Romanticism began with the study of Menzel's *Deutsche Litteratur*, and that this book became the model which he imitated and copied in his own work, *Die Romantische Schule;* of course he did not copy directly, but made free use of Menzel's thoughts, it was claimed, frequently giving them a witty turn. The essayist then quoted parallel passages from Menzel and Heine to show the latter's mode of procedure.

Professor Goebel claimed further that Heine had shared Menzel's unfavorable opinion of Goethe up to the time of that poet's death. This last point, as well as the main thesis of the paper, met with considerable opposition in the discussion which was opened by Professor J. T. Hatfield (Northwestern University). It seemed to be the general feeling, as brought out by the discussion, that Menzel's influence on Heine was not so far-reaching, as maintained by Professor Goebel, and that Heine had by no means fully shared Menzel's dislike for Goethe.

The University of Minnesota was represented on the programme by Professor C. F. McClumpha with a "Comparison of Greene's *Alcida* with Lyly's *Love's Metamorphosis*. The introduction contained a survey of Greene's *Euphues*, published in 1587, and his *Menaphon*, published in 1589, and an outline of Greene's borrowings from Lyly. Lyly's style known as Euphuism was imitated by Greene in his earliest works, who looked chiefly to him for inspiration. Blount's edition of Lyly in 1632, in which six plays were published, omitted three: *The Woman in the Moone*, *The Maides Metamorphosis* and *Love's Metamorphosis*. This last play, *Love's Metamorphosis*, was printed in 1601, and if Lyly was "buried" in 1606, it is the last play published before his death. Professor McClumpha stated that as yet we are not able to fix the date of the writing of this play. There is no reasonable doubt of Lyly's authorship. Blount can not be taken as an authority, for he omitted *The Woman in the Moone* and this is Lyly's first play. Greene's *Alcida* was entered at the Stationers' Hall, December 9, 1588. The earliest known edition of it is that of 1617. An admirer of Greene mentions it in his *Greene's Funerals*, published in London in 1594. This novel, then, was published earlier than this edition of 1617, and there is no reason to doubt that the year 1588 was its year of publication. Professor McClumpha then gave an outline of the two stories, showing the main correspondences and differences. The stories are essentially the same, namely the metamorphosis of the three maids into the stone, the bird and the rose-tree. In conclusion Professor McClumpha claimed these three points: 1. The likeness of the two stories which is self-evident, but which has hitherto been unnoticed by all reviewers, so far as he has had access to works upon these writers. 2. He would place Lyly's *Love's Metamorphosis* among his earlier works. His *Woman in the Moone* was not printed till 1597, yet in the prologue Lyly distinctly states that it is his earliest work. From a comparison of Lyly's plays it was found that *Love's Metamorphosis* has many qualities in common with this first play. It certainly has not the wit, the plot, the vivacity of his so-called later plays. Critics have ascribed these failings to its being a play of his old age, but Professor McClumpha prefers to call them the failings of youth and would place the date about 1584. 3. Passages, which agree in substance, style and phraseology, were quoted to show the interdependence of Lyly's *Love's Metamorphosis* and Greene's *Alcida*, placing such a relation beyond doubt, and the belief was expressed that Greene took his story from Lyly. Professor Martha Foote Crow (University of Chicago), in her discussion of the paper, complimented Professor McClumpha's extensive acquaintance with the authors compared, and suggested a study of the sentence-structure and the plot-structure in order to settle this question.

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The next paper on the programme was entitled "The Unity of Place in the Cid." Owing to the absence of the writer, Professor J. E. Matzke (Leland Stanford Jr. University), it was presented by Professor C. W. Benton of the University of Minnesota. The introduction stated that it is usually conceded that the unity of place is not observed in Corneille's *Cid*, that its non-observance was one of the points criticised by Scudéry, and that this criticism, together with the Academy's sanction of it, was one of the many causes working together towards the final establishment of the law of the strict observance of the unity of place in the French theatre.

The author claimed that there can be no longer any question that the *Cid* was written for and played with the so-called multiplex decoration, which may be looked upon as an in-door adaptation of the old mystery stage. This new stage-setting brought with it important changes in the manner of acting, the most important being that actors would step forward from their particular 'mansions' to the front of the stage, and by general consent the central portion of the stage was then accepted as that particular locality where the actors in reality ought to be. A similar method of playing, according to Rigal, was utilized in the early representations of the *Cid* to give the appearance of a certain fictitious unity of place. Professor Warren (MOD. LANG. NOTES, vol. x, col. 1 ff.) accepts the explanation, and advances the idea of a compromise for the unity of place,—"a compromise between the requirements of the purists and the freedom of Hardy's scenery,"—and interprets the strictures of Scudéry and of the Academy on this basis, but the arguments brought forward in support of this explanation are, however, not convincing, Professor Matzke claims, nor do they seem to bring out the true meaning of Scudéry's criticism. The author proceeded to show that an attempt on the part of Corneille to introduce a compromise for the unity of place in the *Cid* in 1636 would place him far ahead of his time. It was then made evident by a detailed examination of the action of the play that Scudéry could not criticise Corneille for non-observance of the unity of place, but that his criticism was directed against another supposed weakness of the play, the technique or handling of the multiplex decoration, which is open to serious criticism. Professor Matzke's conclusions agree in general with the statement of Lotheissen, in his *Geschichte der französischen Litteratur im xvii. Jahrhundert.*

An animated discussion followed this paper, which was opened by Dr. T. L. Neff (University of Chicago) and continued by Professor E. P. Baillot (Northwestern University), Dr. R. de Poyen-Bellisle (University of Chicago), and Professor J. S. Nollen (Iowa College). Dr. Neff made a slight criticism on the paper for introducing considerable matter not bearing on the main purpose, but admitted that Professor Matzke had sufficiently proved his point against the claim that Corneille was trying to establish a new and compromise substitute for the unity of place. Professor Matzke's purpose was to explain the object of Scudéry's criticism, which was to show Corneille's imperfect conception of the technique of the multiplex decoration. Dr. Neff thought Professor Matzke had pretty clearly attained his purpose, as just stated, but criticised the importance which he attached to the last two scenes of Act v in his claim that these were the most important blunder in the manipulation of the piece, as the spectators could have little idea where the actors were. There were, to be sure, some obstacles, Dr. Neff said, in in the way of clearness, as the presence of Chimène indicated continuity of scene, between scenes five, six and seven; also the fact that in one breath she addresses Don Sanche in her own home, and in the next she addresses the king. But, after all, the appearance of the king and his suite from the king's mansion—this sort of appearance all through the play is used to indicate change of location—ought to show with some definiteness change of location from the house of Chimène to that of the king. Professor Baillot thought Professor Matzke was attacking not Scudéry but Professor Warren. Dr. de Poyen-Bellisle claimed that the question at issue was not important, and in his remarks argued, among other things, that a Frenchman is always logical, but Professor Nollen, evidently failing to see the logical Frenchman, expressed the belief that Dr. de Poyen-Bellisle had confused the development of the drama with the development of the stage.

The third paper on a Scandinavian subject was that of Professor Gisle Bothne (Luther College, Ia.) with the title "The Language of

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Modern Norway." The author gave a brief account of the history of the language conditions in Norway, mentioning the various efforts that have been made towards the development of a Norwegian language, and pointing out the fact that Norway is essentially a peasant country, and claimed that the Danish language puts obstacles in the way of the peasant. Ibsen, who is more conservative than Björnson, ridicules the idea of a Norwegian language, and still no Dane would accept Ibsen's own language as Danish, for it contains many Norwegianisms. The author then spoke of the two reformatory movements that are at work at the present time,—the one in the interest of the *Landsmaal* inspired by the late Aasen, and that of Knudsen for the Dano-Norwegian side. The *Landsmaal* is based on: 1. the western dialects in Norway (namely, those, as Professor Bothne claims, that have best preserved the forms of the parent speech, Norwegian-Icelandic); and 2. an artificial language,—an attempt to write all the dialects of Norway in a common way. There are in Norway, according to the author of the paper, two hundred young people's societies in which this new language is used, and an effort is being made to establish a Gymnasium where Danish will be refused admittance and the *Landsmaal* used exclusively, but there is strong opposition among the friends of Dano-Norwegian. The principles underlying the Dano-Norwegian. movement are: 1. the Danish language must, in Norway, be written the way it is spoken by the Norwegians of culture,—and the difference between Norwegian and Danish pronunciation is very great; and 2. for the many foreign,—and in Danish are to be found numerous German words particularly,—must be substituted purely Norwegian words from Norwegian dialects. In the Dano-Norwegian, commonly called Norwegian, there are seven thousand words not found in Danish. Professor S. W. Cutting (University of Chicago) made a few remarks upon this paper.

Dr. Karl Pietsch (University of Chicago) presented a paper that gave evidence of much original research; it had for its subject "Notes on Romance Syntax." The topics considered were: 1. Italian *cui*, nominative. 2. Old-Spanish *nadi*, subject, with the plural of the verb. 3. Statement composed of noun and relative clause. 4. Italian *chi* with an antecedent. 5. Old-French *quels*, possessive.

English claimed the next paper, "The Relation of the *Knightes Tale* to *Palamon and Arcite*," by Professor George Hempl (University of Michigan). It dealt in detail with one of the 'counts' made by the same writer in a paper read at the meeting in New Haven in 1895. It was shown that Chaucer's *Palamon and Arcite* is no longer the mystical thing we have supposed it to be, inasmuch as the larger part of it is the larger part of the *Knightes Tale* as we have it. Chaucer long ago wrote a story of *Palamon and Arcite*, based upon Boccaccio, which he rewrote for the *Knightes Tale;* we have no copy of the original, only an Italian version. The revised portions make up only about twenty-eight per cent, the inferior parts being those which Chaucer allowed to stand. The first twenty-six lines, for example, are unrevised. The *Knightes Tale* is generally considered Chaucer's best production, still the larger part of it is the work of the poet in his immaturity.

Professor Hatfield (Northwestern University) then read a spirited paper on the "Earliest Poems of Wilhelm Müller," the substance of which was about as follows: Müller's first published poems occurred in the collection *Bundesblüthen*, a joint volume of poems issued in 1815 by Blankensee, Kalckreuth, Studnitz, Hensel and himself. The volume is exceedingly rare, and was entered under a wrong title in the Royal Library in Berlin, as Professor Hatfield accidentally discovered. The only other copy the author of the paper has been able to find is in the British Museum. Müller's contribution includes twenty titles, the last number being a group of eighteen short epigrams. The poems were considered somewhat in detail, and the influence of Gleim, Bürger, Goethe and Schiller noted. At this point and later Professor Hatfield read several selections. The epigrams, which, with one exception are in the elegiac metre, show a different treatment from that which Müller adopted later, after having himself edited Logau. One of them, Professor Hatfield said, confirms the interpretation of a later epigram "Bav und Mav" as meaning 'Bavius und Maevius,'—two inferior Latin poets, enemies of Virgil and Horace. Five "Romanzen"

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show Müller's early effort at writing in the style of popular poetry. The chief new light which the collection sheds upon Müller, Professor Hatfield continued, is that it puts him, for the first time, among the poets of the War of Liberation, His themes and style are very close to Körner, Rückert and Arndt. The "Bardismus" of the eighteenth century is also plainly perceptible. Some light is shed upon Müller's personality by the subject-matter of these poems, which must be often taken as autobiographical; some of the allusions are very hard to interpret. We see also much influence of the Romantic School and of the *Minnelied*, but still more the strong influence of the *Volkslied*. The prevailing note, as in Uhland's earlier lyrics, is overwrought melancholy and pensive sentimentality. Müller candidly expresses all sides of his nature, and from this candor is to be explained the fact that he was able gradually to eliminate the weaker elements and develop the better ones.

In opening the discussion of this well-received paper, Dr. P. S. Allen (University of Chicago) paid a high tribute to Professor Hatfield's knowledge of Müller. The discussion was continued by Professor von Klenze of the same institution and the author, Professor von Klenze arguing that Müller did not understand the spirit of the *Volkslied*, and that its influence on him was overestimated.

It was regretted that Professor Ewald Fluegel (Leland Stanford Jr. University), the author of the last paper announced on the programme, "Bacon's Historia Literaria," was absent, and as the paper itself did not arrive in time to be presented, the present writer is unable to give a synopsis of it.

The officers elected for 1898 are:—

For President: C. Alphonso Smith (University of Louisiana).

For Secretary-Treasurer: H. Schmidt-Wartenberg (University of Chicago).

For First Vice-Pres.: Ewald Fluegel (Leland Stanford Jr. University).

For Second Vice-Pres.: Gustaf E. Karsten (University of Indiana).

For Third Vice-Pres.: Raymond Weeks (University of Missouri).

For Members of Council:
James T. Hatfield (Northwestern University);
Albert E. Jack (Lake Forest University);
James D. Bruner (University of Chicago);
Charles Bundy Wilson (State University of Iowa).

For Executive Committee:
The Secretary;
Raymond Weeks (University of Missouri).
Ewald Fluegel (Leland Stanford Jr. University).

Of the other business accomplished the following is of general interest. A resolution was adopted to the effect that it is the sense of the Central Division that a joint meeting of the two sections of the Modern Language Association of America should be held once in four years.

The Secretary was requested to provide for a pedagogical and phonetic session at the next meeting.

For the next annual meeting invitations were received and read from five institutions. The question of place of meeting in 1898 was referred to the Executive Committee.

Before adjournment a resolution of thanks to the officers of Northwestern University, the University Guild, the Evanston Club, the Country Club, and the local committee, for their very kind and generous hospitality, was unanimously adopted by a rising vote.

CHARLES BUNDY WILSON.
State University of Iowa.

SPANISH PUBLICATIONS.

Lingua e letteratura spagnuola delle origini. By EGIDIO GORRA. Milano: Ulrico Hoepli, 1898, 8o, pp. xvii+430.

FOR many years scholars have felt the need of a suitable text book for the study of Old Spanish language and literature, and it is gratifying to see that at last the work of compiling such a book has been undertaken by a man whose name is well known in the field of Romance studies. The little manual of Monaci and D'Ovidio, as well as the later *Testi* of Monaci, have been practically inaccessible for several years, while Lemcke's *Spanische Literaturgeschichte* and Keller's *Altspanisches Lesebuch*, in spite of their several excellent qualities, fail to meet the requirements of the present time. Consequently, Gorra, feeling the need of a suitable handbook for Italian students of Spanish, has prepared the treatise

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which forms the basis of the present review.

The author appreciates so fully the needs of the time and is, withal, so modest in regard to the aims of his own publication, that it will be well to quote his own words. After speaking of the excellent work for other Romance languages by Monaci, Bartsch, Meyer, Crescini, Appel, Foerster and Paris, he remarks:

"Allo scopo di supplire in parte a tale mancanza io misi insieme questo libro, il quale non aspira ad essere se non un tentativo ed un incitamento ad altri a far meglio. Poichè non mi dissimulai le difficoltà dell' impresa. Manca degli antichi testi spagnuoli una edizione critica; manca della lingua arcaica un vocabolario, e, se si toglie lo studio eccellente ma troppo sommario del Baist, manca una vera e propria grammatica scientifica."

The book is divided into three parts: Introduzione Grammaticale, pp. 1–174; Testi, pp. 175–365; Glossario pp. 367–426. The first part is a study of Phonology and Morphology, the second part contains selections of texts arranged in chronological order and extending from the earliest monuments to the end of the fourteenth century, and the third part is devoted to a vocabulary which the author intends to be "abondante anzichè no."

The book proper opens with an "elenco alfabetico delle principali publicazioni linguistiche intorno allo spagnuolo arcaico," and though the list does not pretend to be exhaustive, we are struck by several important omissions: Diez' *Wörterbuch* is mentioned, but we look in vain for Körting's *Lateinisch-romanisches Wörterbuch;* Gessner's study on the "Personal Pronouns" is found but his studies on "Possessive, Demonstrative, Interrogative and Relative Pronouns"[1] are missing. If Mugica's *Gramática del Castellano Antiguo* is considered worthy of mention, we should cerainly expect to find such works as Cuervo's *Diccionario de Construccion y Regimen* and Gröber's *Vulgärlateinische Substrate in Romanischen Wörten.*[2] Finally, no bibliography can be complete without Viñaza's *Biblioteca Histórica de la Filolgía Castellana.*

To call the linguistic study an "Introduzione Grammaticale" gives no fair idea of the scope and value of this part of the book, for it consists of a very complete and well-arranged treatise on phonology and morphology. The author tells us that his aim has been "raccogliere e vagliare i risultati che si sono finora ottenuti," and as a result, we have a treatise of inestimable value to the student of Spanish philology. Certain chapters, to be sure, are not as thorough as one would like to have them, and this is especially true for the treatment of "Personal" and "Possessive Pronouns," while in the pages devoted to the "Verb" many important forms have been omitted. In at least two cases the arrangement of material seems somewhat illogical; in the first place, the remarks on the "accent" in verbs occur in the chapter "Il Presente," though the remarks are by no means confined to the present tense; in the second place, the treatment of "consonants (labial, dental, guttural and liquid)+ *l*" should have formed a separate chapter instead of being wedged into the chapter on "Gutturals." The "Introduzione Grammaticale" does not include a study of 'Syntax,' and as the footnotes to the texts fail to treat this subject, the student is often at a loss to solve many difficulties.

Bearing in mind that the book is intended for beginners, it seems advisable to call attention to some few points which may cause confusion or misunderstanding. The chapter on the "Alfabeto e Pronunzia" is conservative; nevertheless, it is by no means certain that "Le vocali atone sono sempre brevi e chiuse" (p. 3). *H* is said to have been pronounced "più o men fortemente nello spagnuolo antico" (p. 8), which statement is rather too restricted since some sort of aspiration was used in the sixteenth century. "*S* è sempre sordo o aspro nello spagnuolo moderno" (p. 9), but in reality *s* is voiced when followed by a voiced consonant.

In regard to the phonology and morphology the following are noted:

P. 13, note, 2: Substantives in *-ágine* are classed with the cases where *a* shows attraction with *i* of the following syllable, from which it would seem that Gorra's development is *ferráginem>ferraigne>ferren.* It is more probable, however, that *g* disappeared before the fall of the post-tonic vowel, otherwise, we must suppose that *gn>ñ>n*, which is improbable. The proper explanation is given p. 60. P. 14, note 3: Judging from the remark on Meyer-Lübke's theory concerning the ter-

[1] *Zts. für Rom. Phil.*, xvii, pp. 329-352; xviii, pp. 449-498.

[2] *Archiv. für Lat. Lex.*, Vols. i-vi.

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mination *-menta*, Gorra has overlooked Baist's statement on the same subject.[3] In treating tonic *e*, some mention should be made of such verb forms as *sirvo*, *pido*, etc., inasmuch as no explanation is given in the "Morphology." P. 16, § 23: The Old Spanish forms *cree*, *vee*, *fee* should be noted in connection with *credit*, *vidit*, *fidem*. P. 17, note 1: *libro* is omitted from the list of learned words which preserve Latin *i*. P. 17, l. 13: Gassner explains *nieve* (*nĭvem*) as being influenced by *hielo* which explanation is better than that of Baist and Foerster, and more exact than that of Meyer-Lübke. P. 19, § 28: The law for reduction of *ue* to *e*, which according to Gorra is "non ancora ben determinate," has been partially formulated by the present writer.[4] The form *pes* (*pues*) is curious and is possibly a misprint in the document from which it is taken. P. 21, l. 16: *Deluvio* and *estudio* are learned and do not illustrate the law o+vok.+i>u. P. 36, § 57, speaks of post-tonic *a*, *e*, *o*, *i* and adds "le due prime tendono a permanere, mentre l'ultima di regola si dilegua." The examples cited to prove this statement deal only with *a*, *o*, *i* and the author doubtless intends the remark to refer to *a*, *e*, *o* since i>e and $\bar{i}$ does not occur as post-tonic. P. 40: *Fuelle* and *muelle* are exceptions to the rule that *e* falls after *ll*. It should also be noted that forms like *anoch*, *nuef*, *off* are confined to a rather limited sphere in O. S. P. 48: Under "Initial *f*," there should be some mention of exceptional forms like *fé*, *fenchir*, *fiesta*, *fut*, instead of dismissing all exceptions as "learned or due to dialect influence." Furthermore, if *f* in compounds is "trattato come all' iniziale," we should expect *confuerto* instead of *conhuerto*. P. 50, note 1: *Arch* is cited as an example of *t*>*ch*. This word is probably taken from the *Poema del Cid*, where it is doubtless a scribal error for *arth* or *art*. P. 50, § 76: *Hastio* (<*fastidium*) and *porfiar* (<*perfidia*), are rather examples of $d\bar{i}$>*y* than of fall of intervocalic *d*. The same paragraph cites Lat. *pĕdem*, to illustrate both the rule that intervocalic *d* remains in post-tonic syllable, and the rule that *d* falls in the termination *-ede*. P. 51, l. 28, suggests **codula* as the etymon of *cola*; now the development of *codula* would have been *codula*>*codla*>*colda*. Furthermore, Portuguese has *coda*, *coa*, and Spanish the diminutive *codilla*. Is it not probable that *cola* shows a remodelling by influence of *culo* (<*cūlum*)? P. 58, note 2: The author seems to reject Horning's theory that final *z* was voiceless in O.S., and we should have liked to see his reasons for supposing the opposite. P. 60, § 90: *Guerrear* is cited as an example of fall of intervocalic *g*. P. 67, § 99: *Ya* (<*yam*) is an exception to the rule that final *m*>*n* in monosyllables. P. 67, note 2: The forms *bueña*, *bueños*, *oñores*, *leño* and *laña* are mentioned as occurring in the *Poema del Cid*. In the first three we see a scribal error or simply a variant having the value of single *n*, while in the last two the *n* is palatal and the simple explanation of this phenomenon would not have been amiss. P. 69, § 104 states that in Andaluzia "$\tilde{l}$ (<*ll*) procede sino a *y*." Evidently the author has never lived in Spain, otherwise he would know that *y* is in much more general use. P. 72, l. 15: The development of *motilum* into *mocho*, represents metathesis similar to *retina*>*rienda*, cf. p. 85 note. P. 75, § 105: The rule that "il *l* cade dopo vocale atona" is illustrated by only one example *insiemo* (<*insimul*), and there is no mention of such exceptions as *facil*, *trebol*, *arbol*, *marmol*, etc. P. 92, § 124: *Sanies*, *materies*, *dies* are classed under Latin third declension instead of Latin fifth. P. 106: *Mi*, *ti*, *si* occur in the table of atonic pronouns with no comment or explanation. P. 111, l. 17: *Sas* as fem. plural of *sa* is probably a misprint for *sues*. P. 164, l. 20: Between the preterit forms *vido* and *vió* there existed an intermediate stage *vío*, and a confusion of the forms *vío* and *vió* is met with in many cases in the texts.

As mentioned above, the texts are arranged in chronological order, and the period of transition from Popular Latin into Spanish is illustrated by several dated documents of the eight, ninth, tenth and eleventh centuries. The selections from Old Spanish poetry represent all the works contained in Janer's *Poetas Castellanos anteriores al Siglo XV*, except the *Revelaçion de un Hermitano*, *Tratado de la Doctrina*, *Proverbios Morales del Rabbi don Sem Tob*, and the *Vida de San Ildefonso*, but the author has based his texts on Janer only when better editions were not

3 *Kritische Jahresberichte*, i, p. 533.

4 *Phonol. of the Span. Dial. of Mex. City*, p. 20.

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in existence. The other poetic selections represent the *Crónica Rimada*, *Misterio de los Reyes Magos* and *Romance de Bernardo del Carpio*. The passages in prose are *De los Diez Mandamientos*, *Anales Toledanos*, *Fuero Juzgo*, *Estoria de los Godos*, *La Gran Conquista del Ultramar*, and several selections from the works of Alfonso el Sabio and Juan Manuel. The choice of texts in both prose and verse is well made, and the passages are of sufficient length to give a fair idea of the literary and linguistic value of the originals.

Each selection is preceded by an introduction which mentions the date of composition and the various editions of the work, stating definitely from which edition the extract is taken. Furthermore, there is a short critical estimate and bibliography, and in several cases a brief *résumé* of the contents of the original. As a rule, Gorra has used the best and most reliable editions for texts, but in several instances this is not the case. The selections from the *Crónica General* are based on the edition of Valladolid, 1604, instead of on that of Zamora 1541, and the Gregorio Lopez edition of the *Siete Partidas* (Valladolid, 1587) is used instead of the Academy of History edition, Madrid, 1807. In both instances, however, the author is familiar with the better text, and is compelled by force of circumstances to use the less reliable one.

In still other cases the best editions are not used and here it is apparently due to the author's ignorance concerning their existence; for example, Baist's paleographic edition of the *Misterio de los Reyes Magos*[5] is neither used nor mentioned, and a much more serious mistake is made in the *Estoria de los Godos*, where the selections are taken from Rios' *Literatura*, vol. iii, pp. 424-426. As might be expected from the source, the latter selections contain numerous errors, all of which could have been corrected had Gorra used the edition (and reprint of the same ms.) by Paz y Melia,[6] in which work will be found a mention of an earlier edition by Lidforss. Gorra apparently accepts Rios' conclusion that the author was Jimenez de Rada himself, but Paz y Melia has reached the opposite conclusion. Before dismissing the *Estoria de los Godos*, it should be noted that "CAP. xxxvii, *De los bienes de Espanna*" should read "CAP. xxxvi. *De los reyes godos, Egica*;" "*Cap.* xciv, *Commo uençieron xriptianos*," should read "CAP. xcv, *Los golpes*;" and the first selection, p. 285, while properly numbered "CAP.L." should have as its title "*Commo legaron paganos*," instead of "*Del Rey don Alfonso.*" Gorra evidently took the chapter headings from the *Ilustracion* in Rios, vol. iii, p. 665.

It is rather a curious fact that at no place in his book does the author mention Menendez-Pelayo, *Antología de Poetas Líricos Castellanos*,[7] the first two volumes of which contain the complete text of *Romance de Lope de Moros*, and the *Danza General de la Muerte*, together with several of Gorra's selections from Berceo and the Arcipreste de Fita. Menendez' work is also interesting in the present connection on account of its sympathetic study of the above mentioned poets, as well as for its critical remarks on Old Spanish poetry in general.

The remarks on the *Poema del Cid* fail to mention the editions of both Bello[8] and Lidforss,[9] and while speaking of the Cid it seems pertinent to ask: Why is it that scholars so frequently refer to the one manuscript of the *Poema* and fail to mention the sixteenth century copy of this manuscript? The older document is absolutely illegible in many places which fact makes the copy of inestimable value.[10] Let it also be noted in passing that the only extant manuscript of the *Crónica Rimada* is by no means as bad as editors and commentators would have us believe, for the document is legibly, even carefully written.

The introduction to the *Poema de Fernan Gonzalez* contains no mention of Gallardo's edition, and states that the poem

"fu per la primera volte publicato a Parigi nel 1876 dal Janer, che lo reprodusse poscia nel più volte citato volume 57° della *Biblioteca de auctores españoles.*"

The date 1876 is clearly a misprint, and the above passage is probably based on Monaci,

5 *Das Dreikönigspiel, Abdruck der Handschrift*, Erlangen, 1887.

6 *Doc. Ined. para la Hist. de Esp.*, vol. lxxxviii.

7 Six volumes have appeared, Madrid, 1890–1896.

8 An accesible edition is vol. ii. of the *Obras completas*, Santiago de Chile, 1881.

9 The text of the poem appeared in *Acta Universitatis Lundensis*, vol. xxxi, 1895, and the Introduction and Notes, *ibid.*, vol. xxxii, 1896.

10 The copy is now in the Biblioteca Nacional at Madrid, under the number 'R. 200.'

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who gives the date as 1856. Furthermore, though Janer may have published the first complete text of the Escurial manuscript, large portions of the same manuscript were published by the Spanish translators of Bouterwek in 1804, and by Revilla in 1842, to say nothing of extracts from another lost manuscript published by Argote de Molina 1575, and Prudencio de Sandoval 1615.

The selection entitled *Romance de Lope de Moros* is the lyric *Poeme d'Amour* published by Morel-Fatio.[11] Gorra follows Monaci in supposing that this and the *Débat du vin et de l'eau*[12] constitute a single poem, and the title is taken from the closing verse of the latter: "Lupus me fecit de Moros." The discussion of the *Crónica General* fails to comment on the important relation which this prose work bears to the Old Spanish romances. Likewise the bibliography contains no mention of Menendez Pidal, *Leyenda de los Infantes de Lara*, and without this great work there can be no satisfactory study of Alfonso's Cronicle.

We come now to a consideration of the texts themselves and of the method employed by Gorra in editing them for class use. The method (or lack of method) is clearly set forth in the Preface:

"E per quel che riguarda la pubblicazione dei testi io mi proposi di riprodurre fedelmente la lezione seguita nelle edizioni dalle quali essi prevengono, dal che deriva quella varietà o, direi, incoerenza nella grafia e nell' uso degli accenti alla quale è bene che l'alunno si avvezzi sin dapprincipio."

Now in regard to such a system as that set forth above, only one criticism can be made; namely, that it cannot be too severely condemned. To be sure, such a system saves a vast amount of labor on the part of the editor, but considering the crude state of our knowledge of Old Spanish and the dearth of satisfactory editions, time is far from being wasted when occupied in preparing satisfactory texts or, at least, texts as satisfactory as circumstances will permit. When an editor can make use of such editions as those of Morel-Fatio, Gräfenberg, Baist, etc., he may be justified in reproducing the material as he finds it. But is there any excuse for reproducing the careless orthography and accentuation of Janer and Gayangos, together with their many vicious readings and mistakes? And is it proper to utilize the older printed editions without making some effort to correct or comment on the most obvious misprints?

In the matter of orthography and accent, Gorra is far from adhering to his system of faithfully reproducing the original text. To mention in detail the numerous inconsistencies would be useless—a few general remarks must suffice. *U* is often represented by *v* and the inverse process is quite as frequent; the cedilla is omitted with *c;* verbs, adverbs, etc., are found without the accent which occurs in the original, while, on the other hand, accents occur of which no trace can be found in the edition from which the extract is taken. The selections from the *De los Diez Mandamientos* and *Crónica General*, in which no accents should occur, contain such forms as *avrás*, *matarás*, *dirás*, *mató*, and *fué*, *pobló*, *tomó*, *allá*, *assí*, *después*. But even here the author has not consistently violated his own rule, cf., *juraras*, p. 224, l. 5, and *fue*, p. 296, l. 11, *despues*, p. 295, l. 15. The above remarks will suffice to give an idea of the carelessness which characterizes the book from beginning to end.

In some few cases the footnotes contain emendations to the texts; for example, *cuerda* for *cuerta*, p. 196, l. 7; *riso* for *viso*, p. 242 end; *nado* for *naçido*, p. 345, l. 16. In other cases appropriate corrections are made without comment; for example, *mucho* for *muchó*, p. 247, l. 30; *una* for *un* p. 250, l. 8; *priso* for *prisó*, p. 255, l. 18. Finally, a number of text-emendations are suggested in the "Vocabulary," and in nearly all such cases the reference to the passage in question is given. Here again, however, we notice an unpardonable lack of method. If *nacido* is changed to *nado* (p. 345, l. 16), for the rhyme, why not make the same change, p. 268, l. 32? Why should *señor* (p. 297, l. 5), *avades* (p. 297, l. 28), *llemástesme* (p. 365, l. 5), stand uncorrected in the texts, and without comment in the vocabulary? Why should *Poema de Yusuf*, copla 60, read *se era* and *anda mi es cativo*, when the author was acquainted with Morf's edition, and thus might have emended to *si era* and *ante es mi cativo*?

[11] *Romania*, Vol. xvi, pp. 368–374.

[12] *Ibid.* pp. 375–379.

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The following are a few more of the many cases where an emendation seems desirable: p. 213, l. 22, for *ma ho* read *mal o*; p. 214, l. 5. read *(de) dellos;* p. 232, l. 1, the metre demands *deçirte* (=*deçir te hé*) for *deçirt*. In the selection from the *Crónica General*, p. 299 end, we read: "E dizen algunos que cató por agüeros e que ovo conseja a diestra de Burgos e que la ovo a siniestra." This obscure passage should be corrected in the light of the *Poema del Cid*, lines 11–12, (p. 188). The *Poema de Yusuf*, copla 58d, (p. 304) reads: "De piedras preciosas muy bien lo agastonaron." Janer's variant *afeitaron* is preferable when we compare copla 91 c (p. 307): "E de piedras preciosas muy lo afeitaron," and the same comparison would naturally lead us to supply *bien* in the last mentioned verse. P. 253, l. 19, metre and syntax demand *los* in "Besso al rey manos."

In the *Poema de Fernan Gonzalez*, p. 268 l. 27, for *quero* read *quiero;* p. 269, l. 24, for *lo quero* read *lo quinto;* p. 269, l. 14, for *no* read *non;* p. 271, l. 10, for *ay* read *oy*,—all of which readings are found in Gallardo's edition. Likewise Paz y Melia's edition of the *Estoria de los Godos* makes the following improvement on Gorra's text: p. 284. l. 16. for *quis* read *quiso;* p. 284 l. 19. for *pud* read *pudo;* p. 284, l. 19, for *coibdo* read *cuido;* p. 285. l. 18, for *foé* read *fué*.

"Chiude il volume un glossario che volli fosse abbondante anzichè no, sia perchè i dizionarii della lingua moderna non bastano all' intelligenza di un testo antico, e sia perchè volli che in certa guisaesso riuscisse un compimento e una conferma della introduzione grammaticale per quelle forme che non vi trovarono posto, o che per le loro varietà grafiche sono peculiari ai singoli testi. E qui credetti mio dovere di essere il più possibilmente completo e di segnare sinceramente con un punto interrogativo quei vocaboli che mi riuscirono oscuri o di dubbio significato, rimando in tal caso alla pagina in cui essi si leggono . . . . ."

The vocabulary consists of fifty-nine double column pages, and from the passage just quoted it seems probable that it was the author's intention to give a complete list of all words occurring in the texts. This opinion is strengthened when we find in the vocabularly such modern words as *abrir*, *ahora*, *alabar*, *amargur*a, etc.; numerous inflected forms of regular as well as irregular verbs (for example, *entrar*, *entrara*, *entrare*, *entró*, *escuchar*, *escuchásedes*, *escuchó*, etc.); feminine and plural forms of nouns and adjectives; and variant spellings in b-v, c-ç-s-z, etc. But if such was the intention of the vocabulary, it by no means accomplishes its aim, since fully one third of the words are omitted to say nothing of proper names which the author does not pretend to include in the list. Furthermore, the different 'parts of speech' are not designated, and even the homonyms are treated under a single heading; for example, "*a* a, con; ha."—"*so* suo; loro; sotto; io sono." As may be supposed, such a system presents difficulties especially when applied to the inflected forms of verbs; for example, the future subjunctive, which has no counterpart in Italian, is sometimes translated by the present subjunctive, sometimes by the imperfect subjunctive; the similarity of certain forms of the Italian present indicative and imperative not infrequently cause the definitions to be obscure; finally, the infinitive as a rule, is not mentioned at all unless this form actually occurs in the texts.

The following are some of the cases where the definitions are incorrect or incomplete: *acomienço* is not a single word 'principio' but is equivalent to *(h)a comienço* (Appol. 183, c.); *Aletanis* is not a 'nome propio' but is Lat. *adletaneus*, Span. *aledaño* meaning 'limiting' or 'bounding' (p. 183, lines 25, 30); *aquel* 'colui,' but p. 355, l. 15, it is feminine and equivalent to *á aquel; auie* (p. 284, l. 10) is not mentioned as an impersonal verb; *calle* is given as pres. subj. 3, but p. 352, l. 34, which is probably the only occurrence of the form, it is in the first person; *case* is not 'che si acassi' in *Cid*, l. 282, while in many other passages in the book the verb is not reflexive; *coyta* (p. 229, l. 30) is 'grief, pain, affliction,' not 'pensiero, animo'; *departimiento* (p. 352, l. 22) does not mean 'departure' but 'talk, conversation' and even 'wrangling'; *el* is mentioned as definite article and pronoun, but there is no mention of it as a contraction for *en el:* "o si mató nino chiquielo el vientre de se madre,' p. 224, l. 28; *emiente* is not a verb form, but is equivalent to *en miente: vengase te emiente*, p. 224, l. 10; *a la larga* (p. 353, l. 27) should be mentioned in connection with *larga; morir*

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has also the meaning 'to kill' (269, l. 8); *partiemos* is not pres. ind., *Cid*, l. 1116; under *pecado* should be mentioned the meaning 'devil, satan,' and also the exclamation *mal pecado; pecador* is not necessarily feminine (p. 224, l. 9); *pud* is not a contraction for *pudo* but for *pude* (p. 284, l. 19); *seguye* p. 265, l. 1, is imperfect indicative, not present indicative; The only meaning given for *sellar* is 'sigilare,' in face of which it would be somewhat difficult to translate p. 354, l. 12: 'la mula tienen sellada'; *tablado* 'palco' which is rather a meagre and unsatisfactory definition for this characteristic word, *visquiéredes* is translated as a fut. ind; *conio*, *Poema del Cid* l. 293, which has been the subject of so much previous comment, is emended to *comió* though this meaning is hardly acceptable when considered in connection with the preceding and following verses of the poem, and a somewhat similar criticism may be made to *livianas*, *Libro de Alexandre*, copla 1611; *tocas*, *Romance de Lope de Moros*, l. 18, is imp. subj. 3, and there is ellipsis of the conjunction 'que':

Cubierto era de tal mesura
No lo tocas la calentura.

To attempt to give a complete list of the words omitted in the vocabulary would exceed the scope of the present review, consequently mention will be made only of such forms as might cause difficulty to the beginner.

Verbs: aforzar, anduvieron, annadir, ardrá, apresso, aví, aves (avedes), colpar, combater, conquistó, creder, credió, demoremos, diç, diçien, dist, do, dieu, erades, esponer, estant, faces, façedes, fasientes, fazet, feçieron, fiades, foe, foron, fura, havie, hedes, hobieron, hovo, morrá, morrán, ode, ouier, ouiemos, ouieron, poden, podió, pregar, posiesse, quisies, salló, sedía, sois, tenrrfe, terrá, tien, tolgamos, trovar, valler, vehíen, veniera, vioron, viron, yt; also such contractions as darte, decirt(e), diol, etc., (for darte hé, etc). Other important omissions are: ad, adó, alia (=otra), alquantos, apresso, apuesto, ardit(adj.) avant, aveniment, ben, blanqua, cascuna, colpe, çient, deque, dies don (=doña), duc, ducá, dulz, dotri, empues, fame, franc, fuert, gent(adj.), garzon, gientes, huna, labielos, li, lis, maestre, magar, mesmo, morte, nengun, novel, oram(=orame), olhos, otri, paraulas, piedes, plus, prinçep, prosa qua, res, ren, se(=su), sue(=su), se(=si), sen(=se en), senor(=señora), tot, yol.

The misprints in the book are many in number, and without attempting to correct those cases where *u* and *v* have been interchanged, and accents and cedillas omitted, the following have been noted:

P. 15, l. 20, has sei for seis; p. 16, l. 4, soberbia for soberbio; p. 20, note 1, gueco, guey for güeco, güey; p. 24, l. 19, 'œ è trattato come e' for 'come ē'; p. 27, l. 8, '42, ŏ, ŭ,' for '42, ō, ŏ, ŭ'; p. 33, l. 14, cobdigia for cobdicia; p. 47, note 1, enoraguena for enoragüena and fabüeña for fabueña; p. 54, l. 1, veija for vejica; p. 83, note 2, diaresis omitted in gue-, guevo, guerto, gueste, also -guela l. 13; p. 108, l. 1, autel for antel, p. 132, l. 21, omit accent in cerrámos cerráis; p. 138, l. 16, -ábatis for -ábais; p. 146, last line, eslit for estit; p. 148, l. 16, meti for metió; p. 159, l. 16, estedieron for estidieron; p. 159, l. 9, trujstes for trujistes; p. 189, l. 16, fuerças for fuerça; p. 198, l. 18, quierren for querren; p. 218, l. 9, donas for duenas; p. 219, l. 11, en en for en; p. 220, l. 9, ben for bien; p. 220, l. 16, De for D[e]; p. 220, l. 32, ben for b[i]en; p. 221, l. 28, commingo for commigo; p. 222, l. 22, per for por; p. 222, l. 25, nieu for niev[e]; p. 223, l. 1, fuente for fuent; p. 223, l. 6, vino for v[i]no; l. 13, des for de; p. 223, l. 24, lo for los; p. 224, l. 6, esto for este, perjuros for perjurios; p. 222 l. 31, forni[ca]cion for fornicio; p. 225, l. 8, desto for destos; p. 225, l. 11, ocisior, for oc[c]isor; p. 226, l. 10, guarda for guarde; p. 228, l. 24, apriso for apresso or aprisa; p. 229, l. 17, milagros for miraglos; p. 229, l. 19, par for por; p. 232, l. 23, duraré for durare;[13] p. 233, l. 5, lo for los; p. 233, l. 28, comno for commo; p. 238, l. 6, juico for juiçio; p. 238, l. 19, verrá for verá; p. 240, l. 10, espanteredes for espantaredes; p. 242, l. 25, tota for toda; p. 244, l. 7, qua for que; p. 245, l. 6, 318 for 317; p. 248, l. 31, fijo for Fijo; p. 254, l. 26, vihuela for vihuella; p. 256, l. 4, el for al; p. 259, l. 38, Gonçale for Gonçalo; p. 259, l. 39, San for Sant; p. 264, l, 5, cumo for como; p. 268, l. 5, ny' for ay; p. 272, l. 19, Dic for Diç; p. 279, l. 30, lós for los; p. 280, l. 4, prencipe for principe; p. 280, l. 17, omit sea last word; p. 281, l. 5, antiguos for antigos; p. 281, l. 13, between the

[13] Future Subjunctive 3.

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words 'comandamientos' and 'onde' about twelve lines of text have been omitted. p. 282, l. 25, envizado for enrizado; p. 184, l. 29, come for como; p. 290, l. 11, Alonso for Alfonso;[14] p. 291, l. 13, vivan for buian; p. 291, l. 17, passar for pasar; p. 291, l. 9, add., 'e los escolares'; p. 291, l. 29, omit las; p. 292, l. 4, omo for ome; p. 292, l. 11, levante for leuanta; p. 292, l. 19, establecer for establescer; p. 292, l. 22, quo for que; p. 292, l. 30, establecidos for establescidos; p. 293, l. 4, juzees for juezes' p. 293, l. 14, Ma for Mas; p. 293, l. 20, sobredichos for sobredicho; p. 294, l. 26, les for las; p. 294, l. 30, pos and quelquier for por and qualquier; p. 296, l. 6, Reys for Rey; p. 296, l. 14, da for de; p. 296, l. 31, carta for cartas; p. 297, l. 9, recebir for recebir; p. 298, l. 25, poc for pocas; p. 300, l. 17 fincharlas for finchirlas; p. 301, l. 12, sobro for sobre; p. 301, l. 24, semos for sennos; p. 301, l. 25, piedres for piedras; p. 302, l. 13, guisar omitted before donna; p. 302, l. 17, totas for todas; p. 302, l. 32, litter. for liter.; p. 305, l. 4, alombrada for alombraba; p. 308, l. next to last line, vol. clxiii for vol. xliii; p. 310, l. 13, mançana for maçana; p. 310 last line, dásperas for ásperas; p. 311, l. 8, de for del; p. 311, l. 25, Tun for tan; p. 313, l. 32, compana for compaña; p. 313, l. 34, acerca for la cerca; p. 316, l. 9, Hierusalem for Hierusalen; p. 316, l. 23, quisiesse for quisiese; p. 321, l. 11, quisiéstelas for quesiesteslas; p. 321, l. 30, omit su; p. 323, l. 19, faxer for facer; p. 323, l. 33, lxv capítulo, for lxvi capítulo; p. 324, l. 8, paren for parece; p. 324, l. 17, Ma for Mas; p. 355, l. 37, flajamente for flojamente; p. 325, l. 30, quo for que; p. 327, l. 19, samejasen for semejasen; p. 329, l. 4, per for por; p. 332, l. 4, mil and tresçientos for mill and treçientos; p. 332 third line from end vol. li for vol. lvii; p. 334, l. 10, fáseslo for faseslos; p. 335, l. 18, ligere for ligero; p. 337, l. 32, De for Do; p. 338, l. 9, 588 for 593; p. 338, l. 21, pena for penas; p. 339, l. 28, 1592 for 1591; p. 346, three lines from end, estes for estas; p. 348, l. 2, se for es; p. 350, l. 19, Gran for Grant; p. 352, l. 24, tant and vento for tan and viento; p. 353, l. 14, fabláre for fablaré; p. 353, l. 31, per for por; p. 356, l. 10, 72 for 71; p. 359, l. 19, Ja for Ya; p. 361, l. 3, gran for grand; p. 362, l. 12, Fl for El; p. 362, three lines from end, 'Madrid, 1855' for 'Madrid, 1859, 1861'; p. 363, l. 10, 134 for 434; p. 363, l. 26, los for les; p. 363, l. 33, commigo for conmigo; p. 365, l. 2, omit et. In addition it may be said that Agustin Duran's name is systematically written 'Durand' and the *Crónica General* regularly appears as *Crónica Géneral*.

The following misprints are noted in the 'Glossario': boque for boqua; 'cabando p. 338' for 'cabando p. 339'; 'çienes p. 151' for 'cienes p. 251'; ancomendados for encomendados; 'forrendo p. 167' for 'forrendo p. 267'; a mis guisa for a mi guisa; maravielledes for maravelledes; partiemo for partiemos; royente for rroyente; sentenciato for sentenciado. We must probably regard also as misprints the forms ase, cruce, nuose, reale, rede, vese, veze, voze, which are given as the singular forms of ases, cruces, nuoses, redes, etc. The following, previously mentioned as occurring in the texts, are repeated in the vocabulary: cumo for como, juzees for juezes, quelquier for qualquier, faxer for façer, finchar for finchir, flajamente for flojamente, ligere for ligero, and semos for sennos.

As a closing remark on the typographic inaccuracies of the book, Gorra has used the Italian syllabification not only for Spanish words, but for French and German as well. The result is particularly striking for Spanish where we see *ll* and *rr* divided, and syllables beginning with impossible combinations of two and three consonants.

Finally, to quote the closing lines of the Preface:

"So che avrei potuto rendere più maneggevole il libro munendone le pagine di titoli correnti, numerandone le linee, rimando per ogni vocabolo al passo in cui esso recorre, ma io mi stimerei troppo fortunato se le mende fossero soltanto tipografiche, e se potessi in qualche modo contribuire a diffondere nel nostro paese la conoscenza di una letteratura verso la quale hanno incominciato a volgere lo sguardo gli studiosi italiani, perchè la sua storia, in certa età, strettamente si connette colla storia delle lettere nostre."

In the light of the facts presented in the foregoing review, what is our estimate of Gorra's book? Judging it in comparison with the author's previous publications, it falls far below

[14] Pp. 290–294 contains the text of the *Siete Partidas* and the corrections are made from the Gregorio Lopez edition of Madrid, 1789, instead of that of Valladolid, 1587. Cf. *supra*, col. 175.

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what we had a right to expect of him. The work, to be sure, shows evident traces of haste in its preparation, but, in addition to this, there are many instances where the author has not shown a proper grasp on his subject, while in some cases his method of work is open to serious objections. On the other hand, considering merely what has been done in the same field, the book represents a decided advance, and is certainly destined to be of great service to the student of Spanish philology. The 'Introduzione Grammaticale' forms a well digested treatise, while the texts and vocabulary, in spite of their many defects, contain a mass of information not readily accessible to the beginner.

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ANGLO-SAXON INTRODUCTION.

First Steps in Anglo-Saxon. By HENRY SWEET, M. A., Ph. D., LL. D. Oxford, At the Clarendon Press. 1897. 8vo, pp. xii, 108. 2s. 6d.

WE have long been familiar with Sweet's method of issuing several books in succession on the same subject, for different classes of students or for students in different stages of development; but the present book has probably come as a great surprise to many Anglo-Saxon scholars. Sweet's *Anglo-Saxon Primer* was brought out (in 1882) to serve as a preparation for his *Anglo-Saxon Reader*. It was expressly intended to be "the easiest possible introduction to the study of Old-English." Some students must have complained of the *Primer* even as being too hard; palpable evidence is afforded by Mr. A. J. Wyatt's *Notabilia of Anglo-Saxon Grammar* (The University Tutorial Series, London, 1889), a book embodying explanatory notes and directions with regard to the practical study of the *Primer*. In the Preface to this little volume Mr. Wyatt said:

"Students who have already reached the *A.-S. Reader* are able to walk alone; we have, therefore, with few exceptions, not travelled beyond the *Primer*."

Now the author of the *Primer* himself has come to the aid of the tyro whose faltering steps need the guidance of a master. *First Steps* is written as an introduction to the *Primer*, and in particular for the benefit of those

"for whom a rigorous grammar-and-glossary method is too abstract, and whose memories will not bear the strain of having to master a grammar of some length before proceeding to the texts."

It is confessedly "a purely practical introduction to the language."

From the Grammar (25 pages), Phonology and Derivation are entirely excluded. The most important syntactical phenomena are mentioned along with the inflectional forms,—a great advantage from the practical point of view. The inflections are not presented in the ordinary 'scientific' arrangement; only the absolutely indispensable paradigms are given, and the principal deviations from the normal scheme are briefly remarked upon. But the grammatical part appears altogether subordinate to the Texts. The learner may almost immediately begin with the reading. Though there is no Glossary, the author has taken pains to explain nearly all words in the Notes, and, besides, by an elaborate system of cross-references has enabled the student to find out for himself all he really needs.

The chief interest of the book centers decidedly in the three groups of Texts. The first contains select sentences from the Old English treatise on astronomy; the second includes Ælfric's *Colloquy* (practically complete). Both have been handled very freely; they are rigidly normalized and otherwise 'improved,' so as to represent 'idiomatic' Old English prose. The third group embraces a lengthy prose paraphrase (twenty-nine pages), by Sweet himself, of the first part of *Bēowulf*, entitled "Bēowulfes sīþ." The student has thus the rare pleasure of reading the story of Bēowulf's fights with Grendel and with his mother in strictly 'correct' Old English prose. We have seen, before this, sentences in Old English made up for the purpose of exercises; we have witnessed the translation of an Old English poem (*Judith*) into its original Northumbrian dialect; but no Old English scholar has ever had the courage for such a novel undertaking. The author himself says of his

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version: "In this very difficult task I have been more successful than I expected, although I cannot hope entirely to have escaped errors."

A few passages call for a remark.

It is surprising to read that the head of Grendel's mother, together with that of Grendel, is carried triumphantly into Hrōþgār's hall:

"*þā cōm Bēowulf inn-gān on þā healle, and grētte þone cyning. þā wearþ Grendles hēafod be feaxe inn-boren and þære mōdor samod, þæm mannum tō wæfersīene. Ealle wundrodon þære seldcūþan ġesihþe.*" (§ 224.)

We can hardly account for this statement, unless *þāre idese* (l. 1649) in the original is interpreted as referring to Grendel's mother, which is of course inadmissible. One must also question Sweet's rendering of *ēagena bearhtm* by 'the evil eye' (§234):

Nū is þinre ġeogoþe blǣd tō lȳtelre hwīle; sōna hit biþ þæt þē ādl oþþe ieldo þines mæġnes benimþ, oþþe wǣpnes ecg, oþþe ȝyres fenġ, oþþe flōdes wielm, oþþe ēagena bearhtm: ne miht þū dēaþ for·flēon! Cf. *Bēowulf*, 1761 ff.

It may be noted that for *twelf* (so in the *A.-S. Reader* and the *A.-S. Primer*), Sweet writes *twelf* (so also in the *Student's Dictionary*); instead of *se drync* (*drinc*), we find *se drynce* (§§71; 87).—Misprints: *hierloom*, §135 Note; the macron is wanting in *Ānne*, §23; *māra*, §9 Note; *ānra-ġehwelc*, §74 Note; *cynestōl*, §109 Note.

Who will use this book? There may be students who like a wholly empirical method of learning the elements of the Old English language. This may be especially the case with those who lack the privilege of oral instruction,—and such learners the author seems to have had primarily in view. But there are unquestionably many who prefer by far a more systematic treatment. It is, indeed, difficult to see what advantage there is in withholding from the beginner the classification of the Ablaut verbs and enumerating, instead, in the Notes the stem forms of the verbs, as they occur in the texts, without any attempt at grouping the isolated forms in a system. It is also to be feared that students will get tired of the continual references and cross-references.

There can be no question about the excellence of this book measured by the requirements of scholarship. Every student of Old English can learn a good deal from it. Sincere thanks are due to Dr. Sweet for his indefatigable zeal in providing manuals for the scientific study of the English language. It is only to be questioned whether this elementary Primer will be appreciated by those for whom it is written. It is for the future to determine its place among text-books.

FREDERICK KLAEBER.

University of Minnesota.

WALLENSTEIN'S LAGER.

TO THE EDITORS OF MOD. LANG. NOTES,

SIRS:—S. W. Cutting's interpretation of *Wallenstein's Lager* 1096 (see NOTES, June 1897),

Seine Ruhe lässt er an keinem Ort

is scarcely satisfactory. He would construe *seine* with *Ort*="He leaves no place in undisturbed possession of the peace that belongs to it." In this sense would not German syntax require the dative without *an*? Besides, is not Schiller's thought throughout the entire passage that of the Reiter's restlessness? He has no peace of mind, consequently he can neither impart nor bequeath peace. Carruth's suggestion, quoted by Cutting, seems to me the correct one: "He leaves peace (his peace, like 'My peace I give unto you') nowhere." Only Carruth, in his desire to be concise, said too little. He should have consulted his German bible, and quoted John xiv, 27: "*Den Frieden lasse ich euch;* meinen Frieden gebe ich euch." The poet is drawing an ironical contrast between the trooper and the Paraclete.

J. M. HART.

Cornell University.

WALLENSTEIN'S LAGER, l. 1096.

TO THE EDITORS OF MOD. LANG. NOTES,

SIRS:—Through your courtesy I have read Professor Hart's objection to my interpretation of Schiller's words:

Seine Ruhe lässt er an keinem Ort,

and call attention, by way of reply, to the following considerations:

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1. The German version of John xiv, 27, quoted by Professor Hart, contains the dative without *an*. Schiller's line contains *an*+the dative. I fail, therefore, to detect the appositeness of the quotation, as a means of emphasizing the disparity between Schiller's syntax and my proposed interpretation. Granting a moment, for the sake of argument, that my rendering would call for the dative without *an*, what shall we say of a proposed improvement enforced by quoting a construction equally at variance with that of Schiller?

2. Before publishing my note, I weighed and rejected what seems to me the only serious objection that can be urged against the proposed interpretation. It is this: The possessive pronouns usually refer to nearer, and *dessen*, *deren*, to more remote substantive elements of the German sentence. Hence we might expect to read as a prose equivalent of Schiller's line, if my conjecture as to the meaning be correct: *Er lässt an keinem Orte dessen Ruhe* (since *sein* would refer strictly to *Er*. Cf. Andresen: *Sprachgebrauch und Sprachrichtigkeit im Deutschen*, 7. Aufl., p. 407, and Matthias: *Sprachleben und Sprachschäden*, p. 66 (footnote). While, however, this is true of carefully written prose, the examples quoted by Andresen and Matthias show that even here the possessive pronoun is often used ambiguously instead of *dessen*, *deren*. In poetry this distinction is observed still less sharply. Cf. Schiller's *Wallenstein*, *Prolog*, l. 31, *Tod* iii, 21, l. 47 etc.

3. Now, it is certainly good German to say: *Er läszt etwas an einem Orte* [*bleiben*] (cf. Sanders: *Wörterbuch d. d. Sp.* ii, p. 33, b, oben), in which case the thing left was by implication there already. Equally idiomatic is the expression applied to boisterous children in a room: *Sie haben nichts an seinem* [*rechten*] *Orte gelassen=sie haben alles kunterbunt durcheinander geworfen.* Such reflections leave me still convinced that Schiller's *Seine Ruhe* refers to the peace, the quiet that naturally belongs to a place and remains there, until removed by some disturbing agent, in this case the trooper.

STARR WILLARD CUTTING.

University of Chicago.

CORRESPONDANCE INTERNATIONALE.

TO THE EDITORS OF MOD. LANG. NOTES,

SIRS:—A System of correspondence between students of French in England and America, and students of English in France, has been inaugurated within the past two years by Professor Mieille, now of the Lycée of Tarbes, Hautes Pyrennées. Several thousand students in England and France are already engaged in it, a few in Canada, and a very few in the United States. So far as known, the only institutions which have entered upon this method of instruction in our own country are Vanderbilt University in Nashville, Tenessee, and Swarthmore College, in Pennsylvania. It has been found upon trial to be very inspiring to students of modern languages, and I most cordially commend it to my fellow teachers of French throughout the country. Teachers of German could apply it with equal advantage, and the system is already in operation between France and Germany, but not, so far as I am aware, between Germany and English speaking nations. I have now about thirty of my more advanced students in French engaged in this correspondence. The method pursued may be briefly described as follows:—The first letter is written in the native tongue of the writer, the next in the foreign tongue, and thus indefinitely in alternation. Each letter received that is written in the language of the receiver, is corrected with care and returned to the writer. All letters received are read and made subject of comment in class, that all may receive the benefit of the entire correspondence. By the constant alternation of the letters from the writer's own language to the foreign tongue, correct modes of expression, and usual forms of address, are made familiar to all, and the study of a language is changed from a dry and distasteful form to a living reality. It is indeed a species of foreign travel, inexpensive, efficient and delightful. An incidental, but not unimportant, advantage is the becoming acquainted with various residents in foreign lands, which acquaintance may ripen into intimacy, and become a real advantage and delight when, in later life, the young people thus introduced

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cross the ocean, as they are quite sure to do in these days of easy intercommunication.

Teachers wishing to enter upon this delightful department of the labor of teaching a foreign language, if wishing to arrange for French correspondents, will address, for younger students, Messrs. Armand Colin et Cie, 5 rue de Mézières, Paris; and for older students, or for teachers or others of mature age, Prof. Mouchet, Hachette et Cie, Boulevard Saint Germain, 79, Paris. In all cases send both the names and ages of those who wish correspondents, and these well-known firms will promptly attend to the applications.

EDWARD H. MAGILL.

Swarthmore College.

EUGENIE GRANDET.

TO THE EDITORS OF MOD. LANG. NOTES,

SIRS:—My attention has just been drawn to a paragraph of an article on *Eugénie Grandet* in MOD. LANG. NOTES, for June, vol. xii, 1897. The paragraph in question is upon these words: "Ne m'en parle plus, sinon je t'envoie à l'abbaye de Noyers, avec Nanon, voir si j'y suis." The writer of the article, after saying that "the dictionaries seem to afford no help in the matter," adds that "a full explanation of the expression would be interesting."

This calls to mind an anecdote from Tarver's *Life and Letters of Flaubert*, which may have some bearing upon the phrase. It runs as follows:

"The same child who could perceive the absurdities of his father's friends and propose at the age of nine to turn them to literary uses, was easily taken in by the simplest trick. 'Go and see if I am in the kitchen' an old servant would say who found his company inconvenient; and the child would gravely march to the kitchen and repeat, to the mystification of the cook, 'Peter sent me to see if he is here.'"

May not the expression "envoyer voir si j'y suis" be simply an equivalent of our "sending upon a fool's errand," "a wild goose chase?"

MARY K. CHAPIN.

West Philadelphia.

FANGS MEANING TALONS.

TO THE EDITORS OF MOD. LANG. NOTES,

SIRS:—In the *NED.*, Bradley states that the noun *fang*, 'a claw or talon,' seems to rest solely on the authority of the dictionaries, whereupon he cites three dictionaries, the last being Johnson's. Webster's *International* does not refer to this meaning at all. But the word has the meaning of *claw* or *talon*, as appears from the following passage from Seward's *Irrepressible Conflict* speech, delivered at Rochester, October 25, 1858:

"It [the Democratic party] magnifies itself for conquests in foreign lands; but it sends the national eagle forth always with chains, and not the olive branch, in his *fangs*."

Seward probably had the phrase *within one's fangs=within one's clutches* in view, and so applied the former to an eagle as he might have applied the latter. Or else he connected it with the Germanic word *fangen*, as I have heard German-American boys do frequently.

J. H. OTT.

Northwestern University (Wis.).

FRIEDERIKE VON SESENHEIM.

TO THE EDITORS OF MOD. LANG. NOTES,

SIRS:—In his excellent edition of Goethe's *Faust*, Intr., p. xxxiii, Professor Calvin Thomas places the age of Friederike Brion at sixteen. This must be an error; P. F. Lucius, pastor at Sesenheim, in his book *Friederike Brion*, 1877, pp. 49 ff., argues at length from data available that she must have been more than eighteen years old when Goethe met her. Düntzer, in his *Goethe's Leben*, 2, 1883, p. 113, says she was in her nineteenth or twentieth year, and Düntzer is usually reliable in such matters. Goethe was then over twenty-one. It is to be hoped that in a future edition Professor Thomas will make the correction; it renders that idyl among Goethe's love affairs less objectionable. In Germany a girl of sixteen is considered still as a child.

VAL. BUCHNER.

Stanford University.

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(CONTINUED ON PAGE 8.)

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MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES.

Baltimore, April, 1898.

AMERICA AND AMERICAN.

THE people of the United States call the United States America, and call themselves distinctively Americans. There is a notion in the minds of some, and probably in the minds of many, that the prevalence of this usage is more or less recent, and that the usage itself is an outcome of our national arrogance,—a concentrated extract of the bitter principle of the Monroe Doctrine.

It is the purpose of this paper to show that the use of *America* and of *American* stated above is not restricted to the people of the United States, and that a similar use of *America* and of *American* was current here, and in England, before our national independence.

I.

English literature abounds in examples; indeed, the use is so common, both in English speech and in English writing, that one would say it is just as prevalent in England as in the United States, if the true-born Englishman were not in the habit of venting his spleen in *Yankee*, *Yankeeland*, *Yankeedom* and *Yankee-doodledom*.

"Naturaliy enough, the flurry of excitement over the Cameron resolution at Washington has led to talk about the relative naval strength of Spain and the United States. . . In mere number of keels afloat Spain is indeed far ahead, for she counts fifty-eight as against America's forty-two, but the superiority is wholly fictitious."—*Saturday Review*, December 26, 1896, p. 661.

"The people of America are still of the opinion which Albert Gallatin expressed when he assured the French Minister in 1809 that 'if Cuba were offered as a gift we would not accept it.' "—*Ibid.*, p. 664.

"The Spaniards are not satisfied with alliance, and it is doubtful if Cubans are prepared to give them more. Their leaders, especially those resident in America, who still hope for independence, say that if the Executive remains Spanish, it will remain tyrannical."—*Spectator*, January 2, 1897, p. 5.

". . . the American Republic was not established and saved at the cost of a million lives and a thousand million sterling in order that it might produce Vanderbilts in crops."—*Ibid.*, October 31, 1896, p. 579.

"In Australia and Canada the hotels are very similar to those of America."—Earl of Meath, "A Britisher's Impressions of America and Australia," in *Nineteenth Century*, March, 1893.

"Canadian Jingoism—safe, as it believes, under the ægis of Great Britain—holds language to the Americans very different from the language which is held in England, and upon every occurrence of friction lets them know that Great Britain has her ironclads ready to bombard New York."—Goldwin Smith, "American Anglophobia," in *Saturday Review*, February 22, 1896, p. 191.

"But though the [Venezuelan] boundary question is in itself of no very great importance, the same cannot be said of the episode of American intervention, ..."—Sidney Low, "The Olney Doctrine and America's New Foreign Policy," in *Nineteenth Century*, December, 1896, p. 850.

"If we have recognized the American claim to determine this dispute, without the invitation of one disputant, and over the head of the other, it is an admission of the political hegemony of the United States in the two Americas."—*Ibid.*, pp. 854-5.

There is a reminder here of the several senses in which America is used: 1. *the Continent*, 2. either *North* or *South America*, 3. *The United States*. In the next quotation, the transition from *American* in one sense to *American* in another sense is quite familiar.

"Altogether, the outlook in the United States is discouraging; and, naturally, European investors are keeping aloof from the American department. In the South American department there is also little doing," in *Speaker*, London, April 4, 1896, p. 361. "Finance."

"The more the Americans commit the selection of their everyday judges to popular suffrage, the more they cling to the paramount authority, dignity, and independence of the Supreme Court."—G. W. Steevens, "The Presidential Election as I saw it," in *Blackwood's Magazine*, December, 1896.

"The Americans, when they choose a President or Secretary of State, or any functionary from whom they require wise action, do not select these famous speechmakers."—James Anthony Froude, *The English in the West Indies*, New York, 1888, p. 15.

". . . he was accustomed to attribute his want of a liberal education to the social ruin brought upon his family by the American Civil

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War, . . . "—Anthony Hope, *A Man of Mark*, ch. i.

"The officers of the Aureataland Army were a very mixed lot—two or three Spanish Americans, three or four Brazilians, and the balance Americans of the type their countrymen are least proud of."—*Ibid.*, ch. iv.

"The American war, by its interference with the supply of cotton, reduced Lancashire to distress; while the fitting out of piratical cruisers in English harbours in the name of the Southern Confederation gave America just grounds for an irritation which was only allayed at a far later time."—J. R. Green, *A Short History of the English People*, London, 1894, vol. iv., p. 1847.

"So I have gone to the Rocky Mountains for the New World Murdstone, . . . I have not assailed, in the least, the civilization of America in those northern, middle, and southwestern states, to which Americans have a right to refer us when we seek to know their civilization, . . ."—Matthew Arnold, "A Word about America," in *Civilization in the United States*, Boston, DeWolfe, Fiske & Co., p. 98.

There is the same use of *America* and *American* as the foregoing in the English colonies and among the English residents of foreign lands.

"The feeling of America towards England, in its cordiality as in its resentment, strongly resembles that between close relations. It passes easily and quickly from one mood to another, with the suggestion always that the feeling of goodwill is the permanent and underlying one. The fact that, just after the fulminations against England contained in President Cleveland's message applying the Monroe doctrine, the American Government appealed to England to protect the interests of American citizens in the Transvaal, tended to suggest that the Presidential menace was not nearly so serious as it at first appeared."—*Sydney* [Australia] *Morning Herald*, June 4, 1897.

"Miss Brusard's pronounced American accent altogether detracted from her performance."—*Natal Critic*, March 27, 1897, pp. 153–4.

"American Book Store, 361 West Street, Durban.—Look out for Carroll's grand May drawing.—Furniture, Jewelry, Bicycles.—Five thousand Tickets at 2s. 6d. each,—One hundred prizes, none under £ 1 value."—Advertisement, *ibid.*, p. 1.

"The British and American general Arbitration treaty will be signed at Washington today."—*Weekly Press*, Pretoria, South-African Republic, January 16, 1897.

"Kid McCoy seems to have arrived in Yankeeland surrounded by a halo of glory. This is mainly because his countrymen now look to him as their sole remaining hope to bring back the championship to America, and that is where Corbett's bad luck has done McCoy a big good turn. I think there were very few of us here who sufficiently appreciated the young American pugilist's merits when he was a stranger within our gates."—*Standard and Diggers' News*, Johannesburg, Transvaal, South Africa, May 29, 1897, p. 12.

"A feature of the business on the [London] Stock Exchange on Wednesday was the buoyancy of Home Railways, several stocks closing from one to two points better. Americans and Canadians were inactive, and Foreign Government Bonds moved irregularly."—*Ibid.*, 1897 (London Telegram), p. 19.

Stalwart Canadians do not dislike at all a distinction between *Canadians* and *Americans*.

"The attitude of Canadians toward their neighbours is not that of suppliants, but of people who are jointly interested with Americans in the settlement of controversies which interfere with the general progress of civilization."—*Globe*, Toronto, November 11, 1897.

"It [the Tenth Battalion of Royal Grenadiers of Canada] . . . did excellent service in the Fenian Raid of 1866, besides furnishing two companies for frontier duty to prevent raids by Southern sympathisers during the American Civil War."—*Canadian Magazine*, Toronto, July, 1897, pp. 225–6.

"American visitors to this Colony [St. John's, Newfoundland] during last summer were soon struck with the magnificent prospects which this offered of minimising the time occupied in crossing the "herringpond."—*Ibid*, June, 1897, p. 121.

"American and Canadian railways."—*Ibid.*, p. 122.

II.

A similar use of the words corresponding to *America* and *American* is well established in French.

"Et ce Japonais, par parenthèse, n'était pas la moindre curiosité de l'endroit. Appartenant à une excellente famille, fort instruit, parfaitement bien élevé, il était venu à New York s'occuper d'études historiques et trouvait tout simple de partager son temps entre les jouissances du travail intellectuel et le devoir de gagner sa vie. Contraste frappant, en pleine démocratie, avec la répugnance qu'ont les Américains les plus pauvres pour l'état de domesticité, lequel, somme toute, n'est bas que si l'on y apporte des sentimens vils et ressemble beaucoup à celui de tout autre fonctionnaire."—Th. Bentzon, "Un Loti Américain—Charles Warren Stoddard," in *Revue des Deux Mondes*, December 1, 1896.

"Il [le général Braddock] exigea en outre

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que tous les officiers américains reprissent leur rang de simples soldats chaque fois qu'un officier anglais serait présent à la tête des troupes."—Pierre de Coubertin, "La Formation des États-Unis," in *Nouvelle Revue*, January 1, 1897.

"Les coloniaux se préparèrent à attaquer Louisbourg, le *Gibraltar américain*. La forteresse était située dans l'île du Cap-Breton.... A la paix d'Aix-la-Chapelle, Louisbourg fut rendu à la France; ... La reddition de Louisbourg fut vivement ressentie en Amérique..." —*Ibid.*

It is noticeable that in the quotation above *américain* is used in a sense inconsistent with that of *Amérique*.

"Durant la guerre de sécession, la jurisprudence américaine admit plus d'une fois que l'interposition d'un port neutre entre le port de partance et celui de destination finale ne peut être prise en considération, quand il est certain que cette destination est réservée à l'ennemi."—*Revue de Droit International*, Bruxelles, Tome xxix, No. 1, p. 66.

"En fait, le gouvernement américain est déja intervenu mais d'une façon tout officeuse. Le message de M. Cleveland nous apprend que les États-Unis ont insisté auprès du cabinet de Madrid pour que celui-ci accorde une certaine autonomie aux Antilles,..."—"Revue Politique," in *Indépendance Belge*, December 9, 1896.

"D'Amérique l'auteur fait un retour sur l'Europe. Ici, dit-il, on comprend le Homestead non comme un préservatif en temps de crise, maise comme un moyen de fixer le paysan sur le sol, ce qui n'entre pas dans l'esprit américain, parcequ'il n'y a pas à proprement parler de paysans aux États-Unis."—E. Levasseur, *L'Agriculture aux États-Unis*, Paris, 1894, p. 467.

"Mon but en visitant les États-Unis et en y faisant un long séjour, était d'étudier attentivement les institutions américaines, ..."—Auguste Carlier, *Histoire du Peuple Américain—États-Unis—et de ses Rapports avec les Indiens*, Paris, 1864, Tome i., p. 1.

"Il [John Harris] tenait ses cartes d'un air passablement distrait, bâillait de temps en temps avec la candeur américaine, ou sifflait Yankee Doodle, sans respect pour la compagnie."—Edmond About, *La Roi des Montagnes*, Paris, 1859, p. 38.

"Le personnage le plus intéressant de notre colonie était sans contredit John Harris, l'oncle maternel du petit Lobster. La première fois que j'ai dîné avec cet étrange garçon, j'ai compris l'Amérique. John est né à Vandâlia, dans l'Illinois... Ce qui est certain, c'est qu'à vingt-sept ans il ne compte que sur soi, ne s'attend qu'à soi, ne s'etonne de rien, ne croit rien impossible, ..." *Ibid.*, pp. 16–17.

"Le hazard, le vrai, cette fois, m'avait placé entre Suzanne et un Américain dont je ne ferais pas mention ... si le Yankee n'avait eu à l'aile droite sa femme—un ange! ... Ne t'es-tu pas demandé vingt fois comment ces Américaines trouvent le temps d'apprendre tout ce qu'elles savent? ... On dirait que toute leur vie s'est passée à voyager, à monter à cheval, à valser, à patiner, à flirter, car elles n'ont pas de rivales dans tous ces sports. Et puis, si l'on vient à causer sérieusement, voilà qu'elles découvrent une instruction effrayante: l'histoire, la littérature, la musique, la philosophie, quatre ou cinq langues."—L. de Tinseau, "La Belle Mme Kennedy de Baltimore," in *Courrier des États-Unis*, July 26, 1896.

Most interesting is the usage of the French Canadians, as noted in Mr. Sylva Clapin's *Dictionnaire Canadien-Française*, Montreal and Boston, 1894:

"AMÉRIQUE, *s. géog.*, on désigne encore de ce nom, surtout dans nos campagnes, les États-Unis, de même qu'il est entendu qu'un Yankee doit necessairement s'appeler un "Américain." Le peuple n'admet pas, en quelque sorte, que le Canada soit situé en Amérique, et l'on dirait, en vérité, que notre longue sujétion coloniale a eu pour effet direct de nous amener à considerer le Canadien comme un intrus, ne possédant aucun droit dans la distribution de l'héritage de cet immense continent.—Aller en Amérique:—Emigrer, passer aux États-Unis.

"CANNUCK, *s. m.*, pron. *canoque*.—Nom dérisoire donné par les Américains aux Canadiens en général, et en particulier aux Canadiens français. Les Canadiens anglais font aussi fréquemment usage de ce surnom, en parlant de leur 'frères' d'origine française." *Ibid.*

III.

In Italian there is a similar usage.

"Il signor MacKinley ha diretto un messaggio al Senato, e gli propone di stanziare in bilancio la somma di cinquantamila dollari, per venire in aiuto dei cittadini americani residenti a Cuba, che soffrono la fame in seguito alle ruine dell' ultima insurrezione... A Madrid hanno veduto la cosa di mal occhio e se ne sono lagnati col ministro d'America."—"Rassegna Politica," in *Nuova Antologia*, Rome, June 1, 1897, p. 551.

"Il più rigido protezionismo impera oggi nella Republica, e ne sono danneggiate principalmente l'Inghilterra, la Germania e l'Italia. Ma contro questo malanno non v'è davvero difesa alcuna, giacchè la sola che si potrebbe adottare, quella d'una tariffa comune europea altissima contro i prodotti americani, non può condurre a nulla, poco importando agli Stati

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Uniti di esportare i loro prodotti in Europa. Gli Americani sono convinti che il loro è il primo paese del mondo, che non ha bisogno di alcuno, e che tutti hanno bisogno di esso."—"Rassegna Politica," in *Nuova Antologia*, Rome, April 16, 1897.

". . . invano i giornali finanziari americani tentano di ribattere le ragioni e di fugare i timori dei loro confratelli inglesi, asseverando che l'agitazione degli argentisti è quasi del tutto caduto, che le condizioni del Tesoro son buone e che l'esportazioni d'oro son piccole e cesseranno presto. . ."—*Riforma Sociale*, Turin, 1895, pp. 398-9.

". . . corrispondenza . . . scambiatasi fra quest' ultimo [Segretario di Stato Olney], il Governo Venezuelano e il ministro americano nel Venezuele. . ."—*Progresso*, July 16, 1896.

"I tanti stimoli che ha l' operaio americano a escogitare nuovi processi industriali giovarono alla divisione del lavoro, che agli Stati Uniti ha fatto progressi ancora più importanti che in Inghilterra, e fu, si può dire, grandemente agevolata dal discritto sistema delle patenti."—Egisto Rossi, *Gli Stati Uniti e la Concorrenza Americana*, Florence, 1884, pp. 721-2.

'Grazie a questo fatto e agli elementi nazionali più che diversi, eterogenei, che compongono la Repubblica, la corruzione politica in America, per quanto grande fosse, si potrebbe sempre spiegare e scusare, ma ciò che non si spiega, nè si scusa, è che in Europa colle sue tradizioni cavalleresche ci sieno alcune nazioni non meno politicamente corrotte di quella americana."—*Ibid.*, p. xvii.

IV.

In Spanish, naturally, usage is unsettled and inconsistent; but there is a tendency to conform to the practice of other nations. In the older and what, I suppose, would still be called the better sense, *América* was that part of the new world that Spaniards had colonized; *americano* pertained to those regions collectively, or was a person of Spanish stock who lived in any of them. Such uses of *América* and *americano* would not be inconsistent with distinctive names for certain parts of the colonized regions and for the colonists in them, nor with the occasional use of *América* in a wider sense. Were Spaniards, and not Englishmen, the chief commercial people of the world and the most excursive of its inhabitants, the words corresponding in other languages to *America* and *American* would now have, in most parts of the world, the senses of *América* and *americano*. But fate ruled otherwise, and these corresponding words in other languages became distinctive of a nation and people whose speech and institutions were mainly English. Some evidences of a tendency in Spanish regions to employ *América* and *americano* as we employ *America* and *American*, are given below.

"España no pide cosa ninguna de América; pide tan sólo que la dejen por completo en paz, y no ayuden las expediciones piratas ó filibusteras que manchan los mares con las sombras de sus crímenes, y alimentan de infames combustibles extranjeros una insurrección parricida."—Emilio Castelar, "Crónica Internacional," in *España Moderna*, Madrid, January, 1897.

"Hablé con lisura el mes pasado de mi juicio favorable sobre documento de un interés tan grande como el discurso presidencial americano."—Emilio Castelar. "Crónica Internacional," in *España Moderna*, Madrid, May, 1897.

"Madrid, 19 de Julio.—El Duque de Tetuán, Ministro de Estado, declara que no ha recibido noticia alguna acerca de las gestiones que se dice hará el nuevo Ministro americano Mr. Woodford para obtener una indemnización por la muerte del dentista Ricardo Ruiz, ciudadano americano fallecido en la cárcel de Guanabacoa."—*Las Novedades*, Edicion Semanal, New York, July 22, 1897.

"Carta de Madrid.—Madrid, 20 de Mayo de 1896. Aunque las Cámaras . . . no se han constituido definitivamente todavía, empiezan á revelar la molestia que les produce la conducta incalificable de los cuerpos colegisladores americanos. . ."—*Ibid.*, June 4, 1896.

In the long letter from which some extracts are given below, *americano* is used interchangeably with the much commoner *norteamericano*.

"Caracas, 30 de diciembre de 1895."

". . . Hoy Cleveland es el hombre más popular en Venezuela, y su nombre suena en los labios del pueblo y en las columnas de los periódicos, al lado de los de Bolívar, Wáshington, Franklin y Monroe, apareciendo como rodeado de nimbo de gloria, que adoran reverentes los hijos de esta nación. Ser norteamericano hoy aquí, es tener abiertas las puertas de todos los corazones, como lo probarán varios incidentes relatados en el transcurso de esta carta. . . .—El Ministro americano recibió con mucha benevolencia á las setecientas ú ochocientas personas que pudieron hallar cabida en la Legación, contestando con frases sencillas de agradecimiento un discurso que le dirigió en inglés el Sr. don Francisco Becerra, y haciendo alto elogio del progreso de Venezuela. . .—Tambien es digna del mérito la ovación de que fué objeto á su

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llegada á la Guaira y Caracas el nuevo Secretario de la Legación Americana . . ."—*Ibid.*, January 16, 1896.

But by far the most important from every point of view are the examples cited below from a message by President Diaz, April 1, 1896, to the Mexican Congress. *Americano* is employed in this passage, officially, by the head of the most powerful of the Spanish-American nations, in the same specific senses in which *American* is employed by the people of the United States.

"Mensaje del Presidente Diaz."

". . . El Gobierno Americano preguntó si el de México estaba dispuesto á declarar que los ciudadanos de aquel país gozan en la República, en materia de propiedad literaria, derechos semejantes á los que tienen los mexicanos; y habiéndosele contestado que, en ese particular, con arreglo á nuestro Código Civil, los extranjeros están identificados con los nacionales, el Presidente de aquel país, tomando en consideración que existe la reciprocidad exigida por la ley de los Estados Unidos, expidió un decreto, fechado el 27 de Febrero, poniendo á los mexicanos en la misma condición de los americanos para el goce de tales derechos."—*Ibid.*, Edicion Diaria, April 9, 1896.

One would get a wrong impression, however, if he thought that these quotations were typical of Spanish and Spanish-American usage. They are not, but they show a tendency towards a concession. The honor of describing us and ours is shared mostly by *norte-americano*, *anglo-americano* and *yankee*. Mr. Castelar (previously quoted), in a long rhapsody on *pan-iberismo* printed in *El Monitor Republicano* of Mexico, uses *América* and *americano* in various senses:

". . . Importa poco, muy poco, que se hayan roto gran parte de los lazos políticos, de los lazos materiales que nos unian con América. Los españoles, en el mero hecho de ser españoles, somos esencialmente americanos; y los americanos, en el mero hecho de ser americanos, son esencialmente españoles.

". . . la lengua, esa forma de la idea, ese verbo del alma: y todo esto es y será, y no puede menos de ser eternamente español en América.

". . . Al mirar las Antillas, decia para mí: ¡cómo estas islas van apartándose del continente americano y van propendiendo hacia el continente europeo! ¿Por qué? Porque estas islas son mediadoras necesarias, indispensables, entre el genio de Europa y el genio de América. Pero esto no pueden serlo sino con una condición esencial, con la condición de ser españolas perpetuamente. . . Todas las naciones que principalmente han contribuído á la transformación de América, tienen islas en el mar de las Antillas, testigos de pasados esfuerzos, bases de futuras elaboraciones en el trabajo de la civilización.

". . . Ciego estará quien hoy no columbre una grande competencia de razas en América, una competencia secular entre la familia sajona y la familia hispánica de los americanos. Algunos publicistas hispano-americanos, poco previsores, cantan regocijados himnos al siniestro lema de América para los americanos, creyendo que comprenden los yankees en tal concepto á todos los nacidos en el nuevo mundo. Pues no hay tal. Esa corruptela introducida en las lenguas humanas de llamar á los yankees americanos por excelencia, indica bien claramente que cuando dicen América para los americanos, quieren decir América para ellos.

". . . Y hay que recordar cómo no se limita el ataque de los americanos únicamente á los territorios vecinos. Bajo su proteccion manifiesta, con su complicidad indudable, llevando reclutas de aquel suelo y hasta poniendo el pabellón estrellado en el tope de sus naves piratas, los filibusteros ensangrentaron muchas veces nuestras naciones de Centro-América, y cometieron piraterías semejantes á las más descaradas y más violentas conquistas.

". . . La gente panamericana tiene aspiraciones en el nuevo mundo parecidas á la que tiene la gente panslavista en el viejo. Y como la gente moscovita cree que no podrá ejercer su anhelada universal dominación sobre nosotros, sino después de haber entrado en Constantinopla, la gente panamericana cree que no podrá ejercer su anhelada dominación sobre los hispanoamericanos sino después de haber entrado en Cuba.

V.

Passing now to the time of the American Revolution and to the troublous decade that preceded the outbreak of hostilities, we find *America* and *American* used in England and in the English colonies here in senses similar to those in which they are used now; and it is especially noteworthy that the usage, at the very beginning of this period, on both sides of the ocean, is full-blown.

"Parliaments run wild with loyalty, when America is to be enslaved or butchered. They rebel when their country is to be set free!"—Horace Walpole, Letter to Dr. Gem, April, 4, 1776.—*The Letters of Horace Walpole, Earl of Orford*, edited by Peter Cunningham, London, 1857–9, vol. iv, p. 322.

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"We were alarmed on Sunday with an account of Bristol being in flames, and of several attempts to fire that city and Portsmouth. It turns out almost nothing at all, and not above the pitch of insurers. There was a silly story of two new invented engines for firing being found in the lodgings of the supposed incendiary, together with an account of the St. Barthelemi and Dr. Price's pamphlet for the Americans."—Horace Walpole, Letter to Sir Horace Mann. January 24, 1777.—*Ibid.*, vol. vi. p. 408.

Note to the same by Wright: "This celebrated pamphlet was entitled 'Observations on the Nature of Civil Liberty, the Principles of Government, and the Justice and Policy of the War with America.' It was circulated with profusion, and, for writing it, the Common Council of London voted the Doctor their thanks, and presented him with the freedom of the City in a gold box. . . . It was repeatedly quoted in both Houses."

[November] "the 23 [1775] . . . we had not ben a bed long when our captain came to us and ordered us all to Lye upon our arms by order of General Washington Lesemo of the American Army incampt at cambridg and roxbury and other places."—Saml Haws, *Journal.—The Military Journals of two Private Soldiers*, Poughkeepsie, 1855, p. 82.

"At night some of our brave heroick Americans went Past the Enemys Brest Work at Bunker hill . . ."—*Ibid.*, [January] the 8th [1776], p. 87.

"Extracts from the Votes and Proceedings of the American Continental Congress, Held at Philadelphia on the 5th of September, 1774. Containing The Bill of Rights, a List of Grievances, Occasional Resolves, the *Association*, an Address to the People of Great Britain, and a Memorial to the Inhabitants of the British American Colonies.—Published by order of the Congress. Philadelphia. Printed by William and Thomas Bradford, October 27th, 1774."—Title Page.

"Friday, October 14, 1774.—The Congress came into the following Resolutions.—

"Whereas, since the close of the last war, the British parliament claiming a power of right to bind the people of America, by statute in all cases whatsoever" [etc.].—*Ibid.*, p. 1.

"All which statutes are impolitic, unjust, and cruel, as well as unconstitutional, and most dangerous and destructive of American rights."—*Ibid.*, p. 2.

". . . The several acts . . . are subversive of American rights."—*Ibid.*, p. 7.

The barring out of Canada from *America* in the next passage is startling.

"Statutes have been passed . . . for erecting in a neighbouring Province, acquired by the joint Arms of Great Britain and America, a Despotism dangerous to our very Existence: and for quartering Soldiers upon the Colonists in Time of Profound Peace."—"The Declaration by the Representatives of the United Colonies of North America, now met in General Congress at Philadelphia, setting forth the Causes and Necessity of taking up Arms."—London, 1775, pp. 4-5.

The colonists, I think, in supporting with arms the Declaration of Independence, understood "the united States of America" to be the States constituting America. That meaning would be consonant with the sense of *of* in such phrases, and with their understanding of *America*.

"In Congress, July 4, 1776. The unanimous Declaration of the Thirteen United States of America."—Title of the Declaration as engrossed.—". . . We therefore the Representatives of the united States of America, in General Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do in the Name and by the authority of the good People of these Colonies," [etc.].—From the photographic reproduction, by Mr. A. G. Gedney, of the original parchment in the Library of the Department of State.—Lenox Library, New York.

"There has been nothing of note in Parliament but one slight day on the American taxes, which, Charles Townshend supporting, received a pretty heavy thump from Barré, who is the present Pitt. . . ."—Horace Walpole, Letter to the Earl of Hertford, Feb'y 12, 1765.—L. c., vol. iv, p. 322.

"The bill laying a stamp duty in America, passed in March, 1765. The following was printed at the time as part of the Debates on the bill: "—"A collection of Interesting, Authentic Papers, relative to the Dispute between Great Britain and America," London, 1777.

"However superior to me, in general knowledge and experience, any one here may be, yet I claim to know more of America, having seen and been more conversant in that country. The people there are as truly loyal, I believe, as any subjects the King has; but a people jealous of their liberties, and who will vindicate them if they should be violated,"—Reply of Colonel Barré to Mr. Grenville, *ibid.*, p. 5.

"That this Kingdom has the sovereign, the supreme legislative power over America, is granted. . . When I proposed to tax America I asked the House if any gentleman would object to the right; I repeatedly asked it, and no man would attempt to deny it. Protection and obedience are reciprocal. Great Britain protects America; America is bound to yield obedience. If not, tell me when the Americans were emancipated."—George Grenville in the same debate on the American Stamp Act, *ibid.*, p. 74.

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"When the resolution was taken in this House to tax America, I was ill in bed."—Pitt on the American Stamp Act, January 14, 1766, *ibid.*, p. 71.

I will conclude these quotations with those words of Pitt that used to be so dear to American school boys who "spoke pieces"—especially to those that selected oratorical prose:

"My Lords you cannot conquer America... If I were an American, as I am an Englishman, while a foreign troop was landed in my country, I never would lay down my arms, never, never, never."—Debate (Nov. 18, 1777) in the Lords.—"Speeches of the Earl of Chatham (London, 1848), pp. 150–1.

The earliest examples of the usage under consideration cited in this paper are from the debates on the American Stamp Act, 1765. But even then the usage, both in England and in the colonies, was as common, relatively, as it is now. How did it originate?—In convenience, I conjecture. It probably began in England. Englishmen, when speaking of the English colonists on the continent of America collectively, would be likely to call them Americans. It would be a natural transition, by and by, to call their region of the world America. Spaniards had a similar way of expressing themselves when they spoke of their colonists and the places where they lived. The usage would probably become common in England before it became common among the English colonists. Some feeling of estrangement from their old home would need to grow up among the colonists before the usage would be prevalent among them,—a sense of common interests and of a common country far from England. And when that sense became distinct, there was no other convenient way in which the colonists, as a people, could express their identity than by calling themselves Americans, and their country America. Perhaps, too, after the acquisition of Canada, America—their America—began to mean by anticipation all North America.

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'MORTE CAVAL' IN THE ENGLISH FAUSTBOOK.

Those who have read the account of Faustus' 'airy' travels through nearly all the countries of the world on Mephisto as a 'flying horse,' will doubtless remember the incidents of the stay of this worthy couple at the Pope's palace in Rome. Various tricks had already been played on the Pope and "his company" by the invisible conjurors "when the latter mess came to the pope's board," and Faustus, by way of *finale*,

"laid hands thereon, saying This is mine, and so he took both dish and meat, and flew into the Capitol or Campadolia, calling his spirit unto him, and said, Come let us be merry, for thou must fetch me some wine, and the cup that the pope drinks out of; and hereupon *morte caval* [the italics are mine], we will make good cheer in spight of the pope and all his fat abbey lubbers."

Thus we read in Thoms, *Early English Prose Romances*, 1858, iii, p. 227. The words *morte caval* have never yet been explained, so far as I am aware.

The German text, much less explicit, runs as follows:

"Als aber die letzte Richten vnd kosten auff desz Bapsts Tisch kamen, vnd jn, D. Faustum, hungert, hub er, Faustus, seine Hand auff, als bald flogen jm Richten vnd Kosten, mit sampt der Schüssel in die hand, vnd verschwand also damit, sampt seinem Geist, auff einen Berg zu Rom, Capitolium genannt, asse also mit Lust. Er schickte auch seinen Geist wider dahin, der must jm nur [read *nun?*] den besten Wein von desz Bapsts Tisch bringen, sampt den silbern Bechern vnd Kanten."

It will be seen on a comparison that the English translator[1] has added the expression, which requires an explanation, for which there is no equivalent in the original. It will also have been noticed that the *oratio indirecta* of the latter has been changed into the *oratio directa*, which gives the translation a much more vivid character.

What can be the meaning of *morte caval?* I had asked myself the question many a time, when, not very long ago, I had an opportunity of comparing the first edition (1592) of the Faustbook in the British Museum. There, on p. 36, I found what will presently turn out to be the true reading, *monte caual.* The following explanation was suggested to me by a friend with whom I had occasion to correspond about

1 Whom I find referred to more than once as a Mr. Gent. Is it not beyond doubt that P. F. Gent stands for P.—F.—, Gentleman?

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this matter, and whom I take this opportunity of thanking for permission to publish the suggestion:

"As to the *Monte caval*," my friend writes, "might it not refer to 'Monte Cavo' the ancient Mount Albanus, fifteen miles out from the city of Rome, in which region Faustus was at that time?"

"While the small initial letters of the two words would seem to argue against this, still the fact that the two words are printed in plain Roman type . . . would signify to me the name of a place; for in nearly every case the names of places are put in plain type rather than the black-letter of the text, while foreign phrases are printed in Italics. Reading 'here upon' as two words (not one, as in Thoms)," —and I add, in two words, as in the edition of 1592,—"and allowing for a misprint in the use of the small *c* in 'caval,' . . . the meaning would seem to be clear: 'Here, upon Monte Cavo [the Capitol], will we make good cheer.'"

I confess that on first reading this explanation I thought it a very plausible one, but very soon doubts set in. What strikes one first is the fact that thus the change of *Cavo* into *caval* is not accounted for; and, moreover, the Monte Cavo is about fifteen miles away from Rome, and, as Faust is expressly said to have 'flown' into the Capitol, it will not do to say, by way of explanation, that Faustus was "in that region." But there *is* a Monte Cavallo in Rome, and this consideration at once suggests the query whether this Monte Cavallo could perhaps be meant. The square before the present palace of the king, the Piazza del Quirinale, was formerly called the Monte Cavallo[2]—and it is even now always called so by the people—owing to the presence of the colossal statues of Castor and Pollux with their horses (*cavalli*).[3] This suggestion might perhaps be thought to deserve attention but for the following objections:

1. Although this *Monte Cavallo* is much nearer the Capitol than the *Monte Cavo*, yet by no stretch of imagination can the two be identified.

2. The two statues were not put in the present place until 1589, under Sixtus V., so that it is hardly likely that the name *Monte Cavallo*, if it existed at all in 1592, should at that time have been introduced into the English translation of the *Spiess-Faustbuch*.[4]

Monte caval, therefore, could only be looked upon as a proper name if we could find it applied to the Capitol ("or Campadolia," as it says in the text,—this is, of course, the Italian Campidoglio).

At the top of the *Cordonata*, an asphalted slope leading to the Capitol, there are also two statues of Castor and Pollux with their horses. (Gsell-Fels, col. 216.) It might be asked if there could perhaps be a confusion between Piazzo del Campidoglio, with its two *Cavalli*, and the Monte Cavallo proper. A confusion—in the mind of an English writer especially, that is, of one who may not have known Rome at all—is, of course, not impossible. But how would such a person know of it at all (for confusion presupposes half-knowledge), and, moreover, what reason could he have had to introduce such a reference into his English text? Is there any reason to suppose that the man should here have deviated from that common canon of the writer, to speak only of such things as the reader knows about, or such as the context allows him to understand at least something of? I must, therefore, conclude that the words *here upon monte caval* do not contain a place-name at all.

Then, what can they mean?

Long before I had ever been led to think of a place-name, the context had seemed to require an exclamation, in keeping with Dr. Faustus' mood when pronouncing these words; he wants to be 'merry' and to make 'good cheer.' 'Fetch me some wine, and then, *vogue la galère*, we'll make good cheer in spite of the pope!' This was also the opinion of one or two friends before whom I had occasion to lay this passage. If my readers will be good enough to look at the passage once more,

[2] All the information following here regarding the topography of Rome, ancient and modern, I owe to the kindness of my esteemed colleague, Professor A. De Ceuleneer, who called my attention to the existence of the Monte Cavallo and to Dr. Gsell-Fels' *Rom*.

[3] See Gsell-Fels, *Rom*, 1895, col. 742. These works were attributed, wrongly it would seem, to Phidias and Praxiteles.

[4] See Gsell-Fels, col. 743. Moreover, I have every reason to believe—but this is a point which I can not here enlarge upon—that the translation dates from 1588. It is true that the words *here upon monte caval* might have been added in 1599.

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and test this suggestion by the context, I quite expect they will see that there can be no *a priori* objection to this interpretation.

Now, what we want is a meaning for our expression which answers the following conditions:

1. It must be a phrase which either has the meaning of 'come in,' 'cheer up,' 'never say die,' or some such expression of encouragement, of self-confidence, or, better still, of exhortation, or which can easily be supposed to bear that construction.

2. It must be so generally known that even if a foreign phrase,—and the fact that it is in 'plain type,' though not in italics (*vid. supra*), points to this,—it may be supposed to have been generally understood as having this exhortative force required.

Dr. Furnivall (or B. N.?) has reprinted in the *Transactions of the New Shakspere Society* for 1880–85 (on p. *86) some extracts from *The Soldiers Accidence* by G (ervase) M (arkham), 1625, which are in the highest degree interesting, and seem to me to offer the true solution of our difficulty.

In the fifth lesson for the Cavalry we find the 'Points of War' enumerated; that is, the Sounds and Commands of the Trumpet. The second of these is *Mounte Cavallo*, or *Mount on horseback*. It seems to me that this interpretation meets every requirement: for the only semasiological condition wanted to make it plausible that an expression originally meaning 'Mount on horseback' should extend its sense into a general exhortative, such as in our text, is that it should be generally known and understood. And this condition, if we could for a moment doubt it, is fulfilled, for 'Mounte Cavallo' is one of those six 'Points of War' which, according to Markham, are "most necessary for the Souldiers knowledge"; that is, they belonged to the Rudiments of their Art. The expression must, therefore, have been a quite common one, and there can be no difficulty, consequently, in looking upon it as exhortative, that is, exclamatory.

Now that attention has been called to this phrase, I think it quite possible that other instances will turn up, where the exclamatory sense may be more or less apparent.

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AMERICAN-FRENCH DIALECT COMPARISON.

Two Acadian-French Dialects compared with "Some Specimens of a Canadian-French Dialect Spoken in Maine."

PAPER No. II.* D.

RESULTS OF THE COMPARISON.

THUS far in the present paper certain facts regarding the popular speech—particularly the phonology—in three localities very far apart from each other have been put on record. In Paper No. I, similar facts in regard to a fourth locality, Sainte Anne de Beaupré, examined by Professor Squair of Toronto University, were brought to light. That certain conclusions be drawn from the results compared is reasonably to be expected. They may not prove at all proportional to the work of investigation, like much scientific research, but the scientist would be the last to disparage such investigation on that account.

Perhaps by any one interested enough to desire to know what the dialects are that are spoken in America, the question may now very naturally be asked at once: Is the dialect examined by Professor Sheldon an Acadian French or a Canadian French dialect? This question presupposes that "Acadian French" is one thing and "Canadian French" another, and if such be the case, the question can be answered by showing to what extent certain forms in the Waterville dialect are Acadian, or Canadian, or something else.

In Paper No. I, I have shown that the same provinces of France furnished contingents for both Acadia and Canada, and that one of these regions was the neighborhood of Paris, which by reason of its political preponderance had in almost every way, as well as linguistically, exerted more influence upon the surrounding regions than any one of them could upon it or *upon each other*. Take, for instance, as a concrete example, the dialect form ź sü=Fr. *je suis*. Because this form belongs to Champagne,[117] or is a common Burgundian[117] one, hardly signifies that its appearance in Canada

* Paper No. I appeared in MOD. LANG. NOTES for December, 1893, January and February, 1894; and part of Paper No. II in December, 1897, January and February, 1898.

117 *Étude sur le langage populaire de Paris*, Ch. Nisard, p. 227.

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is to be directly traced to either of those provinces, for the form is a common one to the region of Paris,—though it may have come there from another province. Just so with a number of widely spread pronunciations. Thus again dialect à=Fr. *e* before *r* plus a pronounced consonant as in vàrt=Fr. *verte;* the French dialect dictionaries show this pronunciation to be the usual one in a number of provinces, and Thurot[118] illustrates repeatedly its use both in the provinces and about Paris from very early times. The same is true of the sound à often called the "Norman *a*," and so characteristic of many French provinces and of perhaps all Acadian or Canadian French. Likewise the forms of the personal pronouns àl or à=Fr. *elle* and of *i* or *iz*=Fr. *il* or *ils* are identical in a number of regions both in France and in the Dominion of Canada. So are the sounds wé or wè representing Fr. *oi* under certain conditions. The pronunciation -à or -æ, representing the Fr. *-ais* as in dialect àvà=Fr. *avais*, movà=Fr. *mauvais*, also so characteristic of Canadian French, mostly in endings, as in the two examples (but which as yet I have not met in Acadian regions), is common to Poitou as well as to the region about Paris.[119] So, too, the pronunciation ór=Fr. *or* final or followed by silent consonants, as in dialect fór=Fr. *fort*, kór=Fr. *corps*, etc., is common to several regions[120] besides that of Paris.[120] Also é=Fr. *è* in words like dialect frér=Fr. *frère*, mér=Fr. *mère* and pér[121]=Fr. *père*. And ü=Fr. *eu*, as in üžèn=Fr. *Eugène*.[122]

One can easily show a similar condition of things to a certain extent to be true of the consonants,—going to show together with the vowel indications, that the French of the region about Paris of two hundred and fifty years ago is the basis of both Acadian and Canadian French.[122 (*bis*)] We come, then, naturally to consider the question of what distinguishes Acadian from Canadian French, and here the similarities in nature and extent are such that an idea of them may perhaps best be obtained by supposing a question somewhat parallel to this to be asked: How does American English differ from the English spoken in England? There might well be quite as many different attempts to characterize the English spoken in England as that spoken in America in making such a discrimination, and hence the difficulty of obtaining sufficiently adequate results. Just so with Acadian and Canadian French. After traveling through French Canada and Acadia and observing carefully the popular speech, the same conclusion can hardly fail to present itself naturally to the observer as after having traveled through England and America,—that is, just as the language heard in the latter two countries is essentially one tongue with more or less variation according to locality, so too the language of Acadia and of Canada is one and the same with like local variations. Owing to the vastness of the region and these local variations throughout the territory, the obstacles to making a general comparison become obvious at once.

As an example of what has been done in a somewhat general way, take the interesting articles that have appeared by the Acadian or Canadian writers[123] themselves in regard to the French of Acadian or Canadian regions in general, in the Dominion of Canada. Undoubtedly their remarks are true for the regions they are familiar with and characterize. But if the impression were received from their observations that such characteristics as they describe were heard either throughout Acadia or Canada, as the case may be, this impression might be found in many localities to fall short realization. M. Pascal Poirier has written an article "La Langue Acadienne"[124] in which "l'idiome que parlent les Acadiens" is portrayed, and there are pointed out among the differences between "la prononciation acadienne et la prononciation canadienne" three

118 Tome I, pp. 4–15. See also note no. 77, Paper No. 1.

119 See note 56, Paper No. I, and also Nisard's *Étude*, pp. 165–6.

120 See Jaubert's *Glossaire*, under, *e;* also Agnel's *Observations*, under *e*, p. 16.

121 *Id.*, p. 12, and the dialect dictionaries.

122 Agnel's *Observations*, p. 11.

122 (*bis*) See Paper No. I, p. 20, last paragraph and Thurot, tome i. pp. 521–2.

123 The names of six well-known writers appear in the list of references to Paper No. I, and the most complete list of those treating the subject that I know of appeared in Part ii of *Dialect Notes*, pp. 53–56, by Professor Chamberlain, of Clark University.

124 *Nouvelles Soirées Acadiennes*, Vol. iii, p. 63.

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characteristic traits; namely, 1. dialect u=Fr. *o* before *m* or *n* not nasal as in um=Fr. *homme;* 2. "Il y a aussi une différence notable entre la prononciation acadienne et la prononciation canadienne des lettres *gu*, *qu*, *di*, *tu* suivies d'une voyelle. Parmi le peuple du Canada la prononciation de ces mots est indécise. Elle prend souvent une forme dure, *cuyau* pour *tuyau*, *le bon Yeu* pour *le bon Dieu*, *ti* pour *qui*, *un yueux* ou quelquechose d'approchant pour *un gueux*. Dans mon pays, la prononciation de ces mots s'adoucit à la manière italienne et romane: *qui* se prononce *tchi* comme le *ci* italien dans *cicerone* et le *ch* anglais *chip*. Le *gu* de *gueux* se prononce comme le *g* anglais dans *gin*.." 3. "De plus les formes *j'ons*[125] et le *j'avons*[125] se sont conservés dans plusieurs centres acadiens."

After reading this article, I visited Tragadiegetche, peopled by Acadians from Tracadie, and now called Carleton.[126] To be sure there is nothing in M. Poirier's article that states that those particular characteristics just mentioned are, or are not, found in any one Acadian region more than in another. But it would not, however, be unnatural, so it seemed to me, to look for them in Tracadiegetche. Yet the result of such a search was that those three particular characteristics were found to be all wanting: for in the first case the dialect and standard French agreed; in the second case the dialect equivalent for Fr. *gu* and *di* before front vowels=*y*, as in dialect yǒ=Fr. *gueux* and yiamæ̃=Fr. *diamant;* Fr. *qu*+a vowel was represented by *ky* as in dialect kyèl=Fr. *quel* and the Fr. *tu*+vowel was identical with French. The third characteristic to be found in several Acadian centres, that is, the forms in *ǒ* or *ǒz*[127] with the first person singular pronoun, was not in popular use, the usage being like that in many Canadian districts where the indefinite dialect pronoun ǒ=(Fr. *on*) is continually used to correspond to the Fr. *nous* with the first person plural.[127] I am very much inclined to believe, to be sure, that the above dialect features such as I found and recorded them in Tracadiegetche are due largely to Canadian influence; yet this is a genuine Acadian settlement.[126] Moreover, by taking notes farther along the north shore of the Baie des Chaleurs, particularly at Bonaventure and at Pasbébiac, I became certain that what I had observed as characteristic of the speech traits of old Tracadiegetche, or Carleton, were common features to a considerable extent in the other localities examined. Yet they all presented dialect differences, and hence the inevitable liability of inaccuracy in endeavoring to make a general statement for the speech of the region as a whole.

After taking observations about the Baie des Chaleurs, I visited the remote and somewhat isolated Acadian settlement in the northwest corner of Cape Breton, Cheticamp; and if, on the north shore of the Baie des Chaleurs, some of my anticipations in regard to dialect features I believed likely to be found there, failed to be realized, in Cheticamp, on the other hand, I was impressed with the accuracy of M. Poirier's observations, each one of which appeared exact for the dialect. Such practical experience with the popular speech may serve to illustrate what I should like particularly to point out in this connection,—something, too, which M. Gaston Paris has dwelt upon in his introduction to *Les Parlers de France*, where, after showing how rarely the speech limits of one locality coincide with those of another, he adds:

"Il suit de là que tout le travail qu'on a dépensé, et ce qu'on appelle des 'Sous-dialectes' est un travail à peu près complètement perdu."[128]

To obtain results as accurate as possible, the region whose linguistic features are to be put on record, must be divided into a multitude of

[125] For xvi. century usage of such forms see Darmesteter and Hatzfeld's xvi. *Siècle en France*, Syntaxe, p. 273, ¶218; for usage about Paris, Agnel's *Observations*, p. 73. Perhaps the best light in brief is thrown by Meyer-Lübke (Tome ii of French translation of the *Grammaire*, p. 109) "... alors, pour obtenir la symétrie entre la I^re^ pers. sing. et la I^re^ pers. plur., *nu* cède la place à *ze*."

[126] In *Soirées Canadiennes* for 1861 is an article: "Journal d'un voyage sur les côtes de la Gaspésie" which gives an idea of Carleton as well as of the other towns about the bay.

[127] Cf. Meyer-Lübke's *Observations* already referred to in note 41; again in speaking of *ze ʒõ̃ǒ; j'allons; j'en soyons*, he goes on to add (bottom of page) .. "et de nos jours il semble régner dans tous les parlers du Nord de la France, le picard seul excepté. Ce dernier présente *ǒ* ou *ǒs*, qui doit s'expliquer par une confusion de *homo cantat* et de *nos cantamus* . . ." p. 109 of tome ii of *Grammaire* (French translation).

[128] July 1893, no. i, p. 4 (bottom).

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small sections, and the phonology and morphology of each carefully examined and noted. For this purpose it is that the *Société des Parlers de France* has been started. It is with similar methods and aims that the *American Dialect Society* is now at work, and it is in this way that the study of the French spoken in Canada must be investigated in order to ensure trustworthy results,—and in order that one may characterize as nearly as possible what such features as Professor Sheldon has brought to light in the Waterville dialect may, or may not, belong to.

Until such work has been done in the separate sections, it will be hazardous to pronounce any one feature of a particular dialect as characterizing the dialect as one thing rather than another,—say Acadian than Canadian. M. Rameau de Saint-Père, who made quite a thorough study of the regions inhabited by the Acadians and of the people themselves, by personal contact with them in traveling through their Country, has divided them with regard to locality into eight distinct groups.[129] As this division seems to me valuable in that it furnishes something tangible for speech investigation and further subdivision, it may not be untimely in this connection and in the interest of dialect research to recall his brief summary:

". . . les Acadiens présentent encore aujourd'hui huit groupes, séparés par des intervalles de 80 à 400 kilomètres. 1°. Les paroisses de la baie Sainte-Marie, et de la baie de Tousquet. 2°. Celle de l'isthme de Shediak. 3°. Le groupe de la baie des Chaleurs et du golfe Saint-Laurent. 4°. Le détroit de Canseau et le sud du cap Breton. 5°. La paroisse isolée mais importante de Chéticamp et quelques dépendances au nord du Cap Breton. 6°. Le petit groupe de Chezetcook près d'Halifax. 7°. L'île du Prince-Edouard, ci-devant île Saint-Jean. 8°. Enfin le pays de Madawaska, au nord-ouest du Nouveau-Brunswick."

According to M. Rameau de Saint-Père's statistics for 1880, the total Acadian population then numbered 108,605.

Of these districts, I have myself examined a part of no. 3 and a part of no. 5. I have also observed on the spot the language in and around Québec, as well as that of some of the rural districts a few miles away, and read whatever I have been able to find in regard to dialect research in Canada.[130] My opinions, if I venture any, must, therefore, necessarily be limited by my data, and in any case can only have the worth of deductions drawn from insufficient data. Such being the conditions, therefore, what may be inferred in regard to the *Specimens* recorded by Professor Sheldon?

1° In the first place, taking up the sound noted by *h* equivalent to Fr. *ẖ*, and which I have written ḥ, Professor Sheldon says: "This aspirate is one of the most characteristic features of the dialect." My notes, as well as the data from other sources on the subject, show the sound to be common to many Canadian as well as Acadian regions. In such works as those of Agnel[130] and Nisard,[130] describing the popular speech of the region about Paris, I do not find such a sound noted. This, however, does not incline me to believe that it is entirely absent in such localities; for Thurot, under the chapter on *h*, says:[131] "L'aspiration permute avec le *c*, le *g*, le *ch*, le *y* et peut-être l'*f*;" then follow the examples with dates and references. The evidence, however, is not sufficient in my judgment, to establish the fact of this sound being a *characteristic* one of Île-de-France French.—As Professor Sheldon says:—"In general the forms point to ordinary French words and may be directly compared with them." He has himself, however, suggested the possibility of this particular feature belonging to the province of Saintonge rather than to the Île-de-France, and the evidence seems to warrant such a conclusion. Therefore, any one particular trait, such as this, not pointing as most of the features do to the old popular Parisian French, is especially interesting, because of the comparative rarity of features indicating any other origin than the standard old popular French of the region about Paris.

2°. Next ts̆=Fr. *k* followed by a front vowel. Here the Waterville and Cheticamp dialects agree, and here again appears to be something which does not indicate Parisian French origin; for such a pronunciation is not spoken of in works such as Thurot's, Nisard's and Agnel's, where if such a pronunciation were at all com-

129 *Une colonie féodale*, tome ii, p. 249.

130 See table of references for full titles, etc.

131 Tome ii, p. 418.

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mon it could hardly escape being put on record. Professor Sheldon himself says: "For tš̆=Fr. *k* followed by a front vowel, the Norman dialects offer many examples;" and besides this statement, as good proof of its provincial origin, the dialect student has but to turn to the words under *Q* in Jónain's dictionary; thus, for example, one finds: *quéqu'in*, voyez *Çheuqu'in; Queque* (Berri), voyez *Cheuque; Quinze*, voyez *Çhinze*, etc. I am inclined to believe this to be an Acadian feature, for I have not heard it as yet in Canadian districts, though it is very possible it may be heard in some localities there, just as in the Waterville district.

3°. tš=Fr. *t* followed by a front vowel. If the French vowel (usually *i*) be followed by another vowel as in Waterville mòtšé and Cheticamp mötš̆é=Fr. *moitié* (see phrase no. 30),—then in such like endings which are frequent, the two dialects agree. This feature is not one of those characteristic of the dialect about Paris[131] (*bis*) and many neighboring provinces,[132] for such testify that Fr. *t* before a vowel (usually *i*)+another vowel is represented by *k* as in dialect šårkyé=Fr. *chartier;* and such is, as is well-known, the pronunciation in many places in Canada,[133]—also the Carleton form for such endings. Just what provinces or localities in France may have tš̆=Fr. *t*+front vowel followed by another vowel as in Fr. *moitié*, I have not as yet been able to find out, but should like to know.[134]

4°. tš̆=Fr. *t* followed by a front vowel which is final as in ptši=Fr. *petit*, or followed by a consonant as in kriàtšür=Fr. *créature*. In this case the Waterville and Cheticamp forms are not alike, for the Cheticamp and modern French forms agree in regard to the pronunciation of the last syllable in such words, while the Waterville form is nearly, if not entirely, identical with what I have noted about Quebec. This peculiarity, like the preceding, does not occur in the French about Paris. It is easy to understand so simple a sound-change arising in any popular dialect, compare the popular pronunciation of English *don't you;* for purposes of comparison it is of interest to know where among French dialects such a pronunciation, if heard, may prevail.

5°. dž=Fr. *y* (consonant). This interesting feature of the Waterville dialect I have not met with either in the dialects of France or in those of the Dominion of Canada that I have examined. Failing to find it noted in Île-de-France French, I can only conclude that the feature, if not developed in this country, must come from some one of the many local provincial dialects of France; and as in the case of the two preceding traits, I should much like to receive some more information about it.

6°. dž=Fr. *g* followed by a front vowel. The cases given by Professor Sheldon džöl=Fr. *gueule* in no. 34, ænédžüidz=Fr. *une aiguille* and džirir and džiri=Fr. *guérir* and *guéri* are all cases of a vowel *plus* consonant. In such case the Waterville and Cheticamp forms are alike as regards the dž. I am interested to know what the dialect forms for Fr. words like *bague* and *naviguer* are where the *g* is a final sound,—for in the Cheticamp dialect the forms were as in French, that is bàg and nàvigé;[135] Cheticamp bàg is interesting as compared with the word heard in the same dialect bàdžèt=Fr. *baguette*. This feature dž=Fr. *g* followed by a front vowel does not seem to me to be taken from old popular Parisian French where I do not find such a pronunciation noted. As is well-known, a pronunciation of frequent occurrence in many localities in Canada is dialect y=Fr. *g* followed by front vowel. This I have noted in Carleton and also around Quebec. Such a pronunciation may well have come

131 (*bis*) Agnel, *Observations*, under *t*, p. 28.

132 Talbert, *Dialecte blaisois*, p. 232.

133 Legendre, *Langue française*, p. 47.

134 In a work like the *Patois Lorrains* by Lucien Adam, investigating more or less the speech of all the towns of the departments of la Meurthe, la Meuse, la Moselle and les Vosges, of which region Nancy might be considered the capital, traces here and there of many speech traits can be found. For instance, I find both in the vocabulary on p. 345 for Fr. *moitié: m.tché* (Laneuvelotte); *m.tché*, (Art-sur-Meurthe), mentioned also on p. 24 under § iv. But from such data I can only infer vaguely, and I think it is to just such work as this that M. Paris alludes in the *Parlers de France* (note 128). Both in phonology and morphology the speech of this northeast region of France lacks that homogeneity which characterizes, as far as I have observed, the French of the Dominion of Canada, and for that reason makes it impracticable to draw conclusions from the territory as a whole.

135 While my notes record *ádžüi* for Fr. *aiguille*, right alongside also for Cheticamp I have *ági*—Fr. *anguille*, which looks irregular compared with *ádžüi*.

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originally from the province of Saintonge, for the statement is made in Jônain: "*gu* s'adoucit en *ye*" and the examples given are: anyille= Fr. *anguille;* yarre=Fr. *guerre* and yetter= Fr. *guetter*.[136]

7°. dž=Fr. *d* followed by *i* (or as in nos. 20 and 52 *u*). To illustrate this but two examples appear of Waterville specimens: mudži (módži)=Fr. *maudit*, where the *d* in French is followed by a final *i*, and in the expressions džü pidži=Fr. *du pays* and džübwâ=Fr. *du bois*, where the Fr. *u* is followed by a consonant. This feature is parallel then with no. 4° above: tš=Fr. *t* followed by final *i* as in ptši=Fr. *petit;* or=Fr. *t*+front vowel+consonant as in kriatšür=Fr. *créature* and like its parallel does not occur in the Cheticamp dialect which is identical with standard French in the pronunciation of such forms, but does occur like its parallel in and around Quebec and likewise, too, does not characterize the popular speech about Paris.[137]

8°. dž=Fr. *d*+front vowel (almost always *i*) +vowel. There is, I think, in the "Specimens," no example of a case of dialect dž=Fr. *d*+*i*+ vowel. It seems not unnatural to suppose, however, that inasmuch as tš=Fr. *ti* before a vowel as shown in 3° above, so dž will represent Fr. *di* before a vowel, more especially, too, because such is the case in the Cheticamp dialect; one might, therefore, divine that the form for Fr. *dieu* in the Waterville dialect is probably džő as in Cheticamp French. While my belief is that such will be found to be the case, there is absolutely no means of *knowing* except by actually recording such examples. Dialect gy=Fr. *di*+a vowel is quite common in the neighborhood of Quebec and at the Falls of Montmorency, where I noted it.[138] Such a pronunciation is current in the popular speech about Paris.[139] Dialect y=Fr. *d* before *i*+ vowel (yâb=Fr. *diable*), I know, too, can be heard in Canadian localities.[138] Corblet, in his *Glossaire du Patois Picard*, gives several other dialect forms for Fr. *dieu*, writing the Savoy form *djeu*;[140] such a pronunciation of Fr. *dieu*, I have not found noted for the region of Paris.

The features of the Waterville dialect as brought out and illustrated by the examples under the three sections into which Professor Sheldon has divided them: I. *h*=Fr. ž; II. tš =Fr. *t* or *k* followed by a front vowel, and III. dž=Fr. *y* (consonant), *g* followed by a front vowel, and *d* followed by *i*, each of which I have just discussed, are, perhaps, phonetically the most interesting ones the dialect contains. All of the eight traits described differ from the great majority of the speech features found throughout Canada, in that they do not point directly back to the French about the region of Paris as their original starting place. And the primary significance of Professor Sheldon's paper is the suggestion contained therein that such may possibly be found to be actually the case with regard to some of the more striking features in the Waterville dialect.

Besides these traits just described, however, there are several other points brought out in the "Specimens" well worthy of more consideration, and which reveal features that as yet I have not met, or am but little acquainted with.

1°. èž for Fr. *je* as in examples 8, 12 and 13. This *è* preceding the consonant ž has the appearance of a glide, something similar to èl for Fr. *le*, as in phrase no. 28. Similar, if not identical, dialect forms given by Corblet for Fr. *je* are *ej* and *euj*.[141] In phrases nos. 83 and 88, it may not be superfluous to remark the omission entirely of a form corresponding to French *je*, though this may possibly be merely such a colloquial feature as Passy has noted for colloquial French; as, for example, tsé pa=Fr. (*Je ne*) *sais pas*.[142]

2°. The form *el*, (*èl*) for the definite article, as in phrase no. 28. As this is the only example among the "Specimens" it appears to me doubtful whether it be a genuine form and used with some regularity for the French masculine definite article as in Picard "el" for Fr. *le*,[143] or merely l=Fr. *le* pronounced with the

136 P. 90, introduction to the *Dictionnaire Saintongeais*.

137 On p. 344 of the *Patois Lorrains* appears, perhaps, an example of Fr. *di*—dialect *dž* in the word *maidji*=Fr. *mardi* (Laneuvelotte).

138 Legendre, *Langue Française au Canada*, p. 47; also note 44, Paper No. I.

139 Nisard, *Langage populaire de Paris*, p. 200.

140 P. 371 under *diu et djiu*.

141 *Glossaire*, p. 103, § iv.

142 *Étude*, p. 123, § 271.

143 Corblet's *Glossaire* § 1, p. 98.

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vowel sound or glide, which will naturally precede the liquids *l* and *r*. Compare èž=Fr. *je* just commented on above.

3°. ma=Fr. *moi*, as in phrases nos. 44, 45 and 95, both in pronunciation and construction is curious.[144] The Canadian form about Quebec is *moè*, as in phrase no. 14, or oftener *moé*, while in the two Acadian dialects it is *mwa*. I have already commented on the syntax of this phrase in note no. 60.

4°. li vü in phrase no. 83="I saw him *and also* I saw her=?" For the omission of a form corresponding to French *je* see under 1°, just above. Apparently li=Fr. *le* and *la*+verb (?), while in phrase no. 43: òli tūt aprèdèné skèdžà="we are giving all, everything=on (lui?) tout après donner ce qu'il y a (?)," it appears to be for Fr. lui+verb (?). As stated in note no. 59, for Carleton the forms *y*, *gui* and *yi* represent the conjunctive Fr. *lui*, and my notes show these forms to be common to many regions. li=Fr. *lui*, or *le*, or *la* I have not as yet recorded. I find, however, in Corblet's dictionary[145] li=Fr. *lui*, and used also for the Fr. reflexive *se*.

5°. vü in phrase no. 83, in livü="I saw him *and also* I saw her=?" This verb-form by way of comparison is extremely interesting, for if identical with the Cheticamp form vü=Fr. *vis*, which I know to be a genuine preterite tense, it shows that the Waterville dialect has a preterite tense. In this respect the Carleton dialect is defective, no preterite tense being found in it. In this connection it is of interest to know whether the Waterville speech possesses a real future tense other than the forms expressing that idea with the verb àlé=Fr. *aller*, as in nos. 8, 9, 20, 44, 45, 46 and 49.

6°. fig, as in nos. 133 and 134, is an exception to Fr. *y*=Waterville dž. Cf. phrase no. 101 and the * note. I noted the same feature once at the Falls of Montmorency, nine miles from Quebec, where Fr. *aiguille* was pronounced édüig (perhaps édzüig or édžüig).[146] I suspect, therefore, more than one form for words like Fr. *fille* and *aiguille*; it would be of interest to find out if there is any particular locality where French *y* is represented regularly in such cases by *g*.

7°. In phrase no. 135, lævyu[147] or lævü, in the expression: mu·ma lævyu dö gró râ="*mamma saw two big rats.*" The *l*[148] in lævyu or lævü looks like a dialect peculiarity. I have noted in Carleton such phrases as ô l làvè vü for Fr. *on l'avait vu* and M. Legendre notes *on l'était* and *on l'aimait mieux*; M. Legendre adds:

"Lorsque l'*l* s'y trouve déjà régulièrement,—soit comme lettre initiale du verb soit comme abréviation du pronom *le* ou *la*, on la double: *on l'l'aimait, on l'louangeait.*"

M. Charles Joret, Commenting on *non'* and *on* in Norman French, goes on to say that *l* develops precisely in the same way and under the same conditions; that is, before *l* followed by a mute *e*, which is elided: nol l di=*on le dit.*[148 (bis)] However, without more examples

144 This *ma* appears to me a genuine dialect form preserved just as at present the same form is heard in the department of Ille-et-Vilaine (Bretagne). In the *Glossaire* of this department by Adolphe Orain are several specimens of the dialect in poetry. On p. 154, second stanza, first line of

"La Cressonnière" J'ly dis comme ça: "La belle,
J'veux pas rester garçon,"

Third stanza: "*Ma*, je veux rester," dit-elle
"Vieill' fille à la maison."

Tenth stanza: J'ly dis, dedans l'oreille,
Veux-tu de *ma*, Marion?

Besides *ma*—Fr. *moi* in these stanzas occurs the form *ly*—Fr. *lui*, which is of interest in connection with the next expression no. 4, *li vü*.

145 *Glossaire*, p. 104, and see *ly* in the stanzas in the preceding note. The following note on this expression I received from Professor Sheldon after writing the above on 4°: "As to my no. 83, *li vü*—I saw him and I saw her (both *him* and *her*, I think most likely were emphatic) my query (—?) means simply that I did not see how to give a word for word translation into literary French. I suspect, as I think I did when I wrote the paper for the *Mod. Lang. Publ.*, that the tense used is really the compound present, though I do not understand the vowel *i*, when *é* would be expected. Cf. also no. 43 *li*, where one looks for pronoun perhaps+*est* (Fr.). For this as a preterite cf. nos. 6, 17, 135."

146 Cf. Clapin's *aiduille* and *aiduillée*, p. xix of the Considérations générales to the *Dictionnaire*.

147 Cf. also note 60 on this expression.

148 This *l* has been noted by Legendre, p. 53 of *La langue française*, and also by Paul de Cazes on p. 126 of his article: *La langue que nous parlons*, section 1, 1887 of the *Mémoires de la société royale du C nada*.

148 (*bis*) *Romania* viii (1879), p. 102; Meyer-Lübke speaking of *nõ* in Normandie (*Grammaire* tome ii, p. 109) says: "Le point de départ de cette forme, étonnante à première vue, doit être *l'on*, surtout les verbes à initiale vocalique; *l-õ-n-ẽmẽ*," etc. This *l* in such expressions as *lævü*, *on l'aimait mieux*, etc., appears to me to be the *l* of Fr. *l'on* transposed by metathesis;—in *mu-ma lævü* analogy of, first, *et l'on avu* then *et on l'a vu*. Further references to Fleury and Behrens are given by Meyer-Lübke on p. 110, who treat of Norman *no*—Fr. *on*.

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both in Waterville and in Norman French, I can at present only suspect the two traits to be parallel.

These last seven dialect features just pointed out appear to be more especially local than the dialect h, ts and dz previously pointed out by Professor Sheldon, and further discussed in the present paper under eight distinct heads. Indeed, as already shown, all the localities thus far examined show individual peculiarities, but both in phonology and morphology there are many common identical traits, so many, too, that are likewise common to popular spoken French, as to leave no reasonable doubt of the common origin of the dialects in the Dominion thus far examined. It seems to me now of use to make a table embracing the phonetical data that have so far been put on record for the French spoken throughout the Dominion of Canada and about the adjacent territory. Of course such a table represents no locality or dialect. It is purely a table of reference and merely indicates the *fact* that the particular sound found in the table has been put on record as belonging to some speech variety that can be heard in Canada, or the neighboring surrounding region. Undoubtedly many of these sounds are common to nearly, if not all, of the speech varieties; for example, I know of no dialect where the French back *a* is not regularly represented by dialect â. Anyone can easily look up a particular sound, the data on the subject not being as yet by any means too unwieldy so to do. Any new sounds that any one may be interested to note and offer will be a welcome addition and will increase proportionately the value and completeness of the table for dialect investigation.

The parenthetical "Acadian regions," "Canadian regions," added to some of the sounds, is not to be taken categorically; it merely implies that the sound *is likely* to be found in the region designated (simply because it already has been in some such region), but does not imply that it may not be found in the other regions. Of the endless variety of linguistic phenomena occurring constantly, as well as sporadically, and due in a great measure, as are the variations in popular French from standard French—which variations to a very great extent are reproduced in these dialects—to well-known phonetical principles (assimilation, dissimilation, metathesis, etc.), or to analogy, no account can here be taken, for the tabular scheme contemplates only those features which typify and are of *regular* occurrence, and because of their regularity give the speech its dialectic or local character. The table does not embrace *quantitative* distinctions; they are purely varieties in *quality* of sound. The Fr. equivalents indicate *sounds*.

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"*SCHALME OF ASSAY.*"

IN a curious list of musical instruments occurring in the Early Scottish poem *The Howlat*, we find enumerated

"The dulset, the dulsacordis, the schalme of assay."

The two former were, almost certainly, obsolete varieties of the dulcimer; but "schalme of assay" is a puzzler. Of course "schalme," is the shawm, a well-known ancient instrument of the recorder (or clarinet) class, of a grave and majestic character. In the *Knight of the Burning Pestle* (Induction) the Citizen asks: "What stately music have you? you have shawms?" But the difficulty here lies in the epithet "of assay."

Mr. F. J. Amours, in his notes to *Scottish Alliterative Poems*, remarks:

"*Of assay* is an indefinite expression susceptible of various meanings: 'of good assay, of good quality,' was probably the idea the poet wished to convey. It may also mean 'the shalm of attack, of battle.'"

In a very similar list in the *Remède de Fortune* of Guillaume de Machault, occurs the line—

"Muse d' aussay, trompe, pipe."

Ausay, Aussai, was the old French name of Alsace (see Froissart), and it appears in *Piers the Plowman* (Prob. 228) as "Oseye:" "white wyn of Oseye." The *schalme of assay* is, therefore, most probably, "the Alsatian pipe."

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CLAUDE BROSSETTE-MAN OF LETTERS. 1671-1743.

THE life and labors of Claude Brossette, who is best known as the correspondent and commentator of Boileau, represent an interesting phase in the development of literary study in France. Brossette had no claim to wonderful originality, but showed unusual ability and proficiency in work which was practically new to his time.

The early national literature had grown without restraint and without much conscious effort, and there were no clearly formulated canons of criticism until after the Revival of Learning. Then a sort of literary criticism appeared, but it was lacking in appreciation, and had nothing but contempt for the poetry of the Middle Ages. The literary movement at this time became more consciously active, and there was a constant effort towards improvement. Each literary generation seemed to decry the work of its predecessors. There was no deep perception of the fact that literature is a continual growth, and that it is impossible for any men, or any age, to fix the literary criterions for all time to come. There was too much dogmatism, too much searching for the absolute, and consequently too little historical perspective.

This state of affairs continued until the close of the seventeenth century. In scholastic circles literary study was directed almost exclusively to the Classic authors, and the rising generations in the schools were left in comparative ignorance of their own national literature. Outside of scholastic circles there was little appreciation of the history and worth of the national literature, inasmuch as there did not exist before this time an intelligent and educated society, capable of forming literary opinions and of preserving literary traditions.

In the hush that came after the great men of the century had passed away, it was evident that the literary world was confronted by a new condition: there were clearly no aspirants for literary reputation who could equal their immediate predecessors. For the first time no one had the audacity to claim that the new generation was up to the level of the old. Here, then, was change without improvement, and this being so, it was natural that minds should revert to the great masters in an effort to discover wherein their greatness really lay. Gradually with this beginning came a conception of the unity of literary development, and the feeling that each step was important when viewed in its relation to the whole. The necessity of the preservation of literary documents of all kinds became more evident, and the foundations for the historical study of literature were laid.

In this field of work just being opened, Claude Brossette holds a place of no mean importance. Accounts of his life are extremely fragmentary, and most of the facts regarding him have been obtained from his letters, which have been fairly well preserved, although scattered in several places. Best known is the correspondence with Boileau,[1] but most rich in information is a collection entitled *Lettres de M. Rousseau sur différents sujets de littérature*, which was published at Geneva in 1750, in five duodecimo volumes, under the supervision of Louis Racine. This collection consists of letters written to Brossette by Jean Baptiste Rousseau, to which Brossette joined his own replies, and covers the period of his greatest activity.

In 1765 Cizeron-Rival edited a curious and interesting little volume entitled *Récréations Littéraires*, containing some information regarding Brossette which is not to be found elsewhere,[2] and mention is also made of him in at least two books[3] relating to the history of Lyons. In addition to these sources of information various articles relating to the man and his work may be found in the *Mémoires de Trévoux*, and in other papers.[4]

Brossette was born at Theizé near Lyons,

1 *Correspondance entre Boileau Despréaux et Brossette*, publiée par Auguste Lavardet. Paris, J. Techener, Libraire, 1808. in-8. 605 pp.

2 This volume gives a list of Brossette's writings in print and in manuscript which it is impossible to verify, as many of the latter have never been printed, and seem to have been lost.

3 *a. L'Histoire Littéraire de Lyon*, par le Père Colonia. Lyon, 1728-1730. 2 vols. in-4. Vol. ii, p. 827.

b. Études sur les Historiens du Lyonnais, par F. Z. Collombet. 1er série, Lyon, Giberton et Brun, 1839. See article entitled *Brossette*.

4 *a. Mémoires de Trévoux*, avril 1713, mai 1717, avril 1734.

b. Le Journal des Sçavans, 22 février, 1717.

c. Le Cabinet de lecture, 29 décembre, 1833.

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November 7, 1671. When quite young he began his studies at the Jesuit college *La Trinité* in Lyons, and on September 1, 1684, when in the *classe de troisième*, received a prize for Greek composition.[5] A natural taste for the Classics was stimulated by the atmosphere in which he lived, and his scholarly instincts at one time led him to believe that a clerical career was the best one for him to enter. With this end in view he began his novitiate with the Jesuit fathers, but before long abandoned it, to take up legal studies. In 1691 he was studying in the office of the sons of Jean Domat,[6] a learned advocate who was a relative and friend of the great Pascal, and to whom Pascal had confided his manuscripts at the time of his death. It is highly probable that the interest taken in Brossette by M. Domat and by his sons, did much to pave the way for the young man's future success.

The details of his youth are unknown, and there is no definite information regarding his family. It has been said of him that *il fut plus recommandé par sa probité et ses talents que par sa naissance;* but still the father must have been a solid *bourgeois* in comfortable circumstances, as the young lawyer seems to have enjoyed all the literary and educational advantages which were within his reach. There is evidence that, when still a young man, he became intensely interested in a study of the French satiric poets, and early planned editions of Regnier[7] and Boileau. Boileau was his favorite modern author, and all that the great law-giver of the French Parnassus sent out from Paris was eagerly read. These interests, however, did not interfere with his special studies, and he spent much time in acquainting himself with the vast literature pertaining to his profession and in going back to the Latin sources of the French legal system. All through his life he showed a remarkable capacity for work, dividing his time as lawyer and man of letters between two careers, and devoting himself to each with almost equal enthusiasm. He was constantly working at some literary task requiring much time and labor, and at the same time devoting himself to the closest professional study, while taking an active part in the public life of Lyons, holding important public trusts, and distinguishing himself for wonderful executive ability and good business sense.

Early in his career he was admitted to practice in the *Parlement de Paris*,[8] and when in his twenty-seventh year visited Paris on legal business connected with the *Hôtel-Dieu*, the hospital at Lyons. During the visit Brossette first became acquainted, personally, with his favorite Boileau. The poet, it appears, had previously invested in some of the bonds issued by the *Hôtel-Dieu* represented by Brossette, and the two men were brought together through this business connection. Their meeting, which occurred October 3, 1698,[9] was the beginning of a long friendship between them. Boileau at this time was sixty-two years old, somewhat feeble in health, and living in comparative retirement out at Auteuil where he had purchased a place in 1687.

Brossette was young, intelligent, and well-informed on literary matters, and had long been one of Boileau's most fervent admirers. So in spite of the great disparity in their ages, upon the common ground of literary interest their friendship was quickly formed, Boileau finding an appreciative listener, Brossette eager to profit by this commerce with so great a man. For several months the two men saw each other almost daily, and in the garden at Auteuil many discussions took place between them regarding current literary topics. Brossette did not neglect such an occasion to question Boileau in regard to the allusions and references in his poems which he had not fully understood. Such information was freely given and Brossette, rich in his knowledge, for he had carefully recorded all that he had been told, resolved to carry out his youthful idea and prepare an edition of Boileau with extensive historical and literary notes.

After some five months[10] he returned to Lyons, having finished his business affairs, and then began the literary correspondence which

5 *Correspondance*, p. 577.

6 See *Œuvres Complètes de Boileau-Despréaux*, Nouvelle édition, publiée par M. Paul Chéron. Paris, Garnier Frères, 1875, gr. in-8, p. 398, note 7.

7 *Lettres de Rousseau*, t. ii, p. 220.

8 *Archives du Rhône*, t. viii, p. 153.

9 *Correspondance*, p. 28.

10 Brossette returned to Lyons in the latter part of February, 1699. *Correspondance*, p. 1.

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was a continuation of their daily conversations. Influenced by the charm of his recent experiences, and exalted by his comradeship with the great satirist, Brossette filled Lyons with the praise of his idol and set up a shrine for his worship. On March 10, 1699, some two weeks after he had left Paris, he wrote to Boileau as follows:[11]

On vient de m'apporter, la bordure que j'ai fait faire au portrait dont vous m'avez fait présent, et vous voilà, placé dans le plus bel endroit de mon cabinet. Je ne doute pas que vous n'en fussiez pas content, si vous pouviez le voir, mais vous le seriez bien davantage si vous étiez temoin de l'empressement qu'ont tous les honnêtes gens, de vous venir rendre visite chez moi: chacun tache de renchérir sur vos louanges; il n'est pas même jusqu'à nos poètes qui n'aient travaillé sur ce sujet: voici quatre vers de la façon d'un de nos amis.

Vous qui voulez savoir, quel est le personnage,
Représenté dans ce tableau,
Approchez-en un sot ouvrage,
Vous connaîtrez que c'est Boileau.

To these lines Boileau makes the following allusion in his reply of March 25:[12]

L'epigramme qu'on a faite pour mettre au bas de ce tableau, est fort jolie. Je doute, pourtant que mon portrait donnât un signe de vie dès qu'on lui présenterait un sot ouvrage; et l'hyperbole est un peu forte.

Soon after Brossette's departure, Boileau became involved in a slight business trouble. The sum which he had invested in the bonds of the Lyons hospital amounted to twelve thousand francs, upon which he was receiving twelve and a-half per cent interest.[13] But the *Conseil de l'Hôtel-Dieu* decided that this rate of interest was too high, and that all bondholders receiving it should be reduced to nine per cent. At this juncture Boileau appealed to Brossette, who prevailed upon the Maréchal de Villeroi, one of the administrators of the hospital, to make an exception in this special case, and pay the interest according to the original agreement.[13] Naturally Boileau was touched by this kindly service, and felt an added interest in his young admirer.

Later in the same year, June 6, 1699, Brossette writes as follows:[14]

J'ai résolu de répondre à toutes les critiques qu'on a faites de vos ouvrages, suivant le plan, la manière, et s'il se peut le style, dont M. Arnauld s'est servi pour défendre votre satire dixième dans sa lettre à M. Perrault. Que direz-vous, Monsieur, de mon entreprise? J'en connais toute la témérité, ou du moins l'inutilité. Je sais que vos ouvrages sont infiniment au-dessus des atteintes que la jalouse ignorance a essayé de leur donner: ils se soutiennent assez par eux-mêmes et vous vous ferez toujours assez admirer sans le secours d'un apologiste tel que moi. Mais, cependant, Monsieur, la matière est si belle, et votre défense est si facile, que je sens bien que j'aurai toutes les peines du monde à résister à une tentation si glorieuse. C'est pour cela, que je ramasse depuis longtemps avec beaucoup de soin, tous les mémoires qui peuvent m'aider pour ce dessein: et les éclaircissements que vous avez eu la bonté de me donner sur vos ouvrages me serviront de principal ornement.

To this Boileau replies self-complacently, July 2, 1699;[15]

Je suis bien aise, qu'un homme comme vous entreprenne mon apologie; mais les livres qu'on a faits contre moi sont si peu connus, qu'en vérité, je ne sais, s'ils méritent aucune réponse. Oserais-je vous dire que le dessein que vous aviez pris de faire des remarques sur mes ouvrages est bien aussi bon, et que ce serait le moyen d'en faire une imperceptible apologie qui vaudrait bien une apologie en forme. Je vous laisse pourtant le maître, de faire tout ce que vous jugerez à propos.

Brossette assents to this suggestion saying:[16]

Vous m'avez tout-à-fait déterminé à ne pas faire une apologie directe de vos ouvrages; et je trouve comme vous, M., que les remarques que j'ai entreprises, me conduiront mieux à ce même dessein qu'une apologie en forme.

As this correspondence progressed, Brossette came more and more in contact with the literary atmosphere of Paris than he had ever done before, and inspired by these new interests he began to collect about him at Lyons a coterie of local men of letters, who could afford him literary companionship.[17] Early in the year 1700 he writes to Boileau that he, and six of his friends, have formed an Academy,[18] and upon the receipt of this letter Boileau expresses himself as follows:[19]

Je suis ravi de l'Académie qui se forme en votre ville. Elle n'aura pas grand'peine à sur-

11 *Correspondance*, p. 2. 12 *Ibid.*, p. 3. 13 *Ibid.*, p. xvi.
14 *Correspondance*, p. 9. 15 *Correspondance*, p. 14. 16 *Ibid.*, p. 15.
17 Chéron's *Boileau*, p. 372. 18 *Correspondance*, p. 40. 19 *Ibid.*, p. 43.

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passer en mérite, celle de Paris, qui n'est maintenant composée à deux ou trois hommes près, que de gens du plus vulgaire mérite et qui ne sont grands que dans leur propre imagination. . . . Ainsi, Monsieur, si dans la vôtre, il y a plusieurs gens de votre force, je suis persuadé que dans peu, ce sera à l'Académie de Lyon qu'on appellera des jugements de l'Académie de Paris.

The new Academy prospered, Brossette was made its first *secrétaire perpetuel*, and it soon became a leader among the other provincial academies which were being organized.

Somewhat later Brossette encroaches upon the literary character of the correspondence by referring to a lottery:[20]

Vous trouverez dans ma lettre un imprimé de la troisième Loterie que notre Grand-Hôpital a ouverte. C'est cette maison qui, l'année passée, s'avisa la première, de faire de ces sortes de Loteries qu'on a imité presque partout, depuis ce temps-là. Au cas que vous ayez intention d'essayer ici, ce que vous peut produire votre bonne étoile, vous pouvez être bien assuré de la fidelité de cette Loterie.

After some delay Boileau replies, declining the proposition:[21]

. . . On ne peut pas vous être plus obligé que je le suis, de toutes vos bontés, et du soin que vous voulez bien prendre de m'enrichir en m'admettant dans votre Loterie; mais qu'ayant mis à plus de cent Loteries depuis que je me connais, et n'ayant jamais vu aucun billet approchant du noir, je ne suis pas d'humeur à acheter des petits morceaux de papier blanc, un Louis d'or la pièce. Ce n'est pas que je me défie de la fidélité de MM. les Directeurs de l'Hôpital de votre illustre ville, qui sont tous, à ce qu'on m'a dit, des gens de la trempe d'Aristide et de Phocion; mais je me défie fort de la fortune qui ne m'a pas jusqu'ici paru bien intentionnée pour les gens de lettres et à qui je demande maintenant, non pas qu'elle me donne, mais qu'elle ne m'ôte rien.

He relents about a week later and writes:[22]

Si vous jugez néanmoins, qu'on souhaite fort à Lyon que je mette à cette Loterie, je suis trop obligé à votre ville pour lui refuser cette satisfaction et vous pouvez y mettre quatre ou cinq pistoles pour moi. . . . . Je les regarderai comme données à Dieu et à l'Hôpital.

And this was their destination, for Brossette is forced to confess as the drawing comes to an end that Boileau has not been successful.[23]

These extracts from their correspondence will convey an idea of the intimacy of the two men, and show what an opportunity Brossette had to know the poet thoroughly and to collect from him a great amount of information regarding his work. Brossette went back to Paris for a short time in 1702, and then wrote an account of all of his conversations with Boileau, extending from October 12 to November 12.[24] The exchange of letters continued with every sign of the warmest friendship, and Boileau sent down to Lyons all of the current literary gossip, while at the same time answering Brossette's numerous questions.

During his later years Boileau wanted the satisfaction of preparing a new edition of his own works, but being forbidden to insert the twelfth satire *sur l'Équivoque*[25] he gave up the task, which was finally terminated after his death in 1711 by Renaudot and Valincourt, the edition appearing in 1713. But the public was not satisfied, the friendship between the poet and Brossette was well known and his edition was eagerly awaited.

It was not possible, however, for Brossette to give his undivided attention to purely literary labors, and so the work progressed slowly. His local and legal duties were quite onerous, and during the greater part of the period when he had been associated with Boileau, he had at the same time been busy with various legal works and with papers for the meetings of his Academy. Various volumes on legal subjects[26] had appeared in 1700, and in 1702 and 1703, and in 1711, not long

20 *Correspondance*, p. 44. 21 *Ibid.*, p. 45. 22 *Ibid.*, p. 48.

23 *Correspondance*, p. 69.

24 This manuscript is now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, catalogued as follows:—Brossette: *Mémoires sur ses relations avec Boileau depuis le 8 oct. jusqu'au 12 novembre.* Fonds français, No. 15275. The greater part of it has been incorporated in the appendix to Lavardet's edition of the *Correspondance*.

25 See *Quérard*, article entitled *Boileau*.

26 *a. Procès-verbal des Conférences tenues par ordre du Roi* entre MM. les Commissaires du Conseil pour l'Examen des articles des ordonnances civiles et criminelles.

Louvain, 1700, in-4.

b. Recueil des Pièces du Procès en faveur du Présidial de Lyon contre le Parlement de Grenoble pour la Jurisdiction de la Guillotière avec l'arrêt de 1701 et les cartes des lieux, par Claude Brossette.

Lyon, 1702, in-4.

c. Les Titres du Droit Civil et du Droit Canonique, rapportés sous les noms français des matières, et suivant l'ordre alphabétique, avec une briève explication des Titres dont la seule lecture ne donne pas une id e suffisante.

Lyon, 1705, in-4.

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after the death of Boileau, he published his *Histoire abrégée, ou Éloge Historique de la Ville de Lyon.*[27]

Confining himself as closely as possible, however, to his important task, we learn from a letter written from Lyons, November 25, 1715, that the work was approaching completion.[28] At this time the quarto edition in two volumes was already printed, and the publishers were at work upon the four volume octavo edition, which was to be issued at the same time. His preface, although written, had not yet gone to the printer, as he said that he wished to allow it to ripen on paper before putting it into type. He adds this interesting particular:—

J'ai appris de Paris que Mnsgr., le Duc d'Orleans, ayant vu quelques feuilles de mon ouvrage, a permis qu'on le lui dédiât. Voilà sans doute une circonstance bien glorieuse pour le livre; mais elle met l'auteur dans une situation bien délicate; car ma préface se trouvera placée entre le nom du duc Régent,[29] et les œuvres de M. Despréaux. Je sens combien la place est difficile à remplir, et combien le pas est dangereux.

Nevertheless the dedication was made and in another letter, June 18, 1716,[30] he says:—

. . . l'impression est entièrement achevée et M. Fabri, Libraire de Génève, qui l'a faite, est parti aujourd'hui de Lyon, pour aller présenter le premier exemplaire à M. le Duc d'Orléans. Je ne doute pas qu'il n'obtienne facilement de son A. R. la permission de faire entrer ce livre en France."

The Duke received the volume with a welcome so favorable that it caused a great stir in literary circles, and the publishers had great hopes of its success. In this they were not mistaken, for Brossette had handled in a very skilful way the abundant material placed at his disposal, and had prepared what was recognized as an authorized edition. Besides indicating the numerous variants, he gave close references to all the Classic authors imitated by Boileau, and wrote copious literary and historical comments, throwing much light upon obscure passages.

Some modern editors[31] have spoken slightingly of Brossette because his work contained errors, and have appeared to greatly underestimate its value. They fail to see that even with its imperfections it was one of the first results of modern critical study, and should be esteemed as such.

For more than one hundred years his edition of Boileau was accepted without comment, and served as a basis for all subsequent editions up to 1830, when Berriat-Saint-Prix undertook another critical edition, reviewing and reëxamining the work, and correcting some of its errors.

After Boileau's death and during the preparation of the edition of 1716, Brossette, through his publishers at Geneva, found another literary correspondent in the poet Jean Baptiste Rousseau. In 1711 Rousseau had left Paris on account of the famous couplets of 1710, which he was unjustly convicted of writing, and April 7, 1712, a decree was registered banishing him from France forever. On quitting Paris, he had gone to Soleure in Switzerland, where he was received by the French ambassador, the Comte de Luc. Here he remained until 1715, when his protector went to the Austrian court and whither Rousseau followed him. It was during this stay in Switzerland that Brossette and Rousseau came into relations with each other. In 1712 Rousseau had printed a volume of his poems[32] at Soleure, which had attracted the attention of Brossette, while at the same time Rousseau wrote to Brossette regarding the edition of Boileau, which was already announced. As one of Boileau's pupils he, Rousseau, felt a great interest in its appearance. The two men never met, although they were nearer together then than at any subsequent time, but interested in the same things it was natural that they should interest each other. Brossette was feeling the need of a correspondent who could, in a way, take the place of Boileau, and Rousseau, exiled from France and much disheartened, was glad to connect himself in as many ways as possible with the literary life which he had been forced to leave. Before Rousseau's departure for Vienna Brossette wrote to him:[33]—

27 Lyon, Girin, in-4.

28 *Lettres de Rousseau*, t. ii, p. 41.

29 The Duc d'Orleans had been appointed Regent after the death of Louis xiv, September 1, 1715.

30 *Lettres de Rousseau*, t. ii, p. 89.

31 Cheron's *Boileau*, pp. xix–xx.

32 *Œuvres diverses du Sieur R.* Soleure, 1712, in-12.

33 24 avril, 1715. *Correspondance*, t. ii, p. 3.

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Votre séjour dans une cour étrangère va vous priver de la plupart des nouvelles littéraires de Paris et du Royaume. J'offrirais de vous informer exactement, si je croyais que les choses que je vous manderais, pussent vous dedommager de l'ennui de lire mes lettres.

To this Rousseau replies on the eve of his departure:[34]—

. . . . Je ne vous ai point encore remercié de l'offre obligeante que vous me faites, de m'apprendre des nouvelles de la République littéraire. Oserais-je abuser de votre civilité, jusqu'à à vous prier de me tenir parole? Je sens tout l'agrément et toute l'utilité d'un commerce comme le vôtre, et je ne pourrai jamais m'empêcher de vous importuner le premier, de mes lettres, lorsque je serai à Vienne. J'ai vécu en ce pays-ci dans une assez grande ignorance de ce qui se passe au Parnasse.

For the first few years the correspondence was continued quite regularly and Rousseau was treated to all the current gossip. But the unsettled state of Rousseau's affairs, his journeyings between Vienna and Brussels, in the vain hope of being appointed historiographer of the Netherlands, and the strained political relations between Austria and France, interrupted the letters from time to time, and although they were continued at intervals until Rousseau's death in 1741, they were never so frequent as during the first few years.

After completing the edition of Boileau, Brossette was asked by many friends to finish the work on Regnier which he had formerly undertaken, following out his early ambition, and this he decided to do. The preparation of such an edition was not without its difficulties as Brossette was well aware. The first edition published at Paris in 1608, in-4,[35] contained numerous mistakes, as did subsequent editions, and up to the time of his death in 1614, Regnier was never willing to supervise any one of them, manifesting in this regard a surprising indifference and carelessness. So the various editions for the next hundred years and more, up to the time of the Brossette edition, were very unreliable.

The thing most difficult for Brossette to do was to establish a text which should be as near perfect as possible under the circumstances. To this end he consulted with the aid of a few friends all of the obtainable editions, making line for line comparisons, and accepting the most probable readings. In addition to this work he was materially aided in all his researches by family papers of various kinds, which had been preserved presumably by some members of the Regnier family, and to which Brossette had free access.[36] The work dragged along slowly, and for a time Brossette allowed himself to be influenced by the friends of Boileau, who desired him to prepare a second edition, making use of the new material which had come to light.[37] Such interruptions were only temporary, however, and each year in his summer vacations when professional work could be neglected the advocate continued the preparation of his manuscript.

From one of Rousseau's letters written from Vienna, January 6, 1722,[38] it is known that the text had finally been established by this date. In the latter part of December, 1724, Brossette gives an account of his work in a letter to Rousseau, and it is interesting as showing the tenacity with which this busy man had clung to his difficult task, and as giving an idea of his method:

Il y a plus de vingt ans que j'avais jetté sur le papier, quelques observations sur les œuvres de ce poète. Comme en le lisant, Je m'apperçus de quelques fautes considérables que je ne pouvais en conscience mettre sur le compte de l'auteur, j'eus recours à d'autres éditions, et je trouvai tant de différences entre les unes et les autres, que je m'engageai à conférer toutes les éditions que je pus recouvrer afin de ritablér au moins le texte, dans toute sa pureté. Nous avons certainement point d'auteur moderne dont les écrits présentent tant de différentes leçons. Comme il contient plusieurs endroits difficiles à entendre, soit pour l'obscurité même de l'expression qui n'est pas toujours fort nette, soit par les changements que l'usage a apportés dans le langage et dans le style: les imprimeurs d'un côté ont défiguré ses vers et en ont rendu plusieurs inintelligibles en substituant des termes connus, mais impropres, à ceux qu'ils n'entendaient pas: et de l'autre, des personnes plus habiles, qui ont pris soin des diverses éditions qu'on en a faites depuis six vingts ans, ont alteré le texte en corrigeant des expressions anciennes et hors d'usage, d'autres, qui sont, à la vérité, plus nouvelles, mais qui ne

34 1 mai, 1715. *Correspondance*, t. ii, p. 11.

35 Consult Quérard.

36 *Lettres de Rousseau*, t. ii, p. 220.

37 *Lettres de Rousseau*, t. ii, p. 303.

38 *Lettres de Rousseau*, t. ii, p. 355.

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sont pas, celles de l'auteur. De sorte que, comme je viens de le dire, nous n'avons peut-être, point d'écrivain français, qui ait autant souffert que celui-ci de l'ignorance des imprimeurs et de l'audace des critiques. Le mot d'audace, me parait trop fort, disons de la fausse délicatesse des critiques, car c'en est une fausse, et une très fausse à mon avis, que de farder ainsi les expressions originales d'un auteur. Mon premier soin a donc été de rétablir le texte de Regnier, et je pense que c'est la partie la plus importante et la plus utile de mon travail : c'a été aussi la plus ennuyeuse et la plus difficile : car pour ce qui est des notes, que j'y ai ajoutées pour l'éclaircir, j'avoue que ce n'a été qu'une espèce d'amusement pour moi.

On ne doit pas s'attendre que je puisse donner des remarques aussi amples, aussi intéressantes, ni aussi historiques que celles que j'ai faites sur Boileau. Avec lui j'ai puisé à la source, il m'a ouvert tous ses trésors, et voilà justement des secours que l'éloignement des temps me refuse du côté de Regnier. On ne laissera pas de trouver ici, plusieurs notes assez curieuses, parceque j'ai pris soin de les enrichir de tous les éclaircissements que la tradition et les écrits des auteurs contemporains de Regnier ont transmis jusqu'à nous. J'ai porté mes recherches jusques dans les poëtes de l'antiquité et de la nouvelle Rome, je veux dire les poëtes latins, et les poëtes italiens, desquels notre auteur a emprunté des pensées, des morceaux considérables, et quelquefois même, des pièces entières. . . . . Il y a plusieurs endroits dans Regnier que je n'entends pas bien, et je crois que c'est ma faute, plutôt que la sienne. Cet aveu est bien mortifiant pour un commentateur à qui il n'est permis d'ignorer la moindre chose.[39]

The work was finally finished in June, 1728,[40] and the manuscript sent to London to the publishing house of Lyon and Woodman. They promised to have the book ready in the fall of the same year, but Brossette had to wait until September, 1729, before it came from the press.[41] He was in Paris again at this time, having spent the whole summer there on legal business, and so it was from Paris that he sent to Rousseau, then in Brussels, a copy of the new book. So popular did it become and so highly was it esteemed, that in the next year, 1730, two reprints were made, one by Humbert at Amsterdam, in quarto, and another, both in quarto and in octavo, which appeared at about the same time in London and in Paris.

39 *Lettres de Rousseau*, t. iii, p. 35. 40 *Ibid.*, t. iii, p. 57.

41 *Les Satyres et autres Œuvres de Regnier, avec des Remarques: à Londres, chez Lyon et Woodman.* 1729. in-4.

After this edition but six others were issued during the course of the next hundred years, all of them depending upon Brossette, and in 1822, in an edition published in Paris, the Brossette notes were revived *in toto*.[42] Modern scholarship has, of course, made discoveries in regard to Regnier as it has in regard to almost everything else, but Brossette saved the already mutilated text of the poet from further destruction, and gathered together a mass of literary and historical comments which possess a real worth, as has been proven by the lapse of time. His comparative studies in Latin and Italian in tracing the source of a number of Regnier's poems deserve more than passing notice, and if we had nothing else to judge by, the care and deliberation with which this author carried on his work might give some indication of its worth.

Shortly after Brossette's return to Lyons, in the fall of 1729, he was elected to an important municipal office, being made an *échevin*, the term of his office to last two years.[43] This election, while honorable in the extreme for M. Brossette, was perhaps unfortunate for posterity, inasmuch as it prevented the publication of a book on Molière, which was known to Cizeron-Rival in manuscript form, and to which he gives the following title: *Eclaircissements Historiques sur les Œuvres de Jean-Baptiste Poquelin de Molière.*

Brossette had long contemplated such an undertaking, and during the days of his intimacy with Boileau the two men had discussed the matter, and Brossette had received much valuable information regarding his subject.[44] Boileau had been, as is well known, one of the friends of Molière, and he promised to go over all the comedies with Brossette, telling him what he could about each. The probabilities are that this project first came to Brossette in 1706, shortly after the appearance of a life of Molière by Grimarest.[45] He wrote to Boileau about this book as follows:[46]

42 *Œuvres complètes de Regnier* avec le Commentaire de Brossette, publié en 1729. Paris, de l'impr. de Didot aîné. E. A. Lequien. 1822. in-8.

43 *Lettres de Rousseau*, t. ii, p. 114. 44 *Ibid.*, p. 128.

45 *Vie de M. de Molière*, par Grimarest. Paris, Lefèvre, 1705, in-12. This volume contains an "Addition à la Vie de M. de Molière contenant une réponse à la critique qu'on en a faite."

46 8 mars, 1706. *Correspondance*, p. 211.

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Nous avons ici, depuis longtemps, *La vie de Molière* par M. Grimarest: cet ouvrage n'est pas trop bien écrit à mon avis, et il y manque bien des choses: d'ailleurs c'est moins la vie de Molière que l'histoire de ses Comédies: une seconde édition, corrigée pour le style et augmentée pour les faits, serait bien agréable. Mais quand la verrons-nous?

To this rather charitable criticism Boileau replied in a very decided tone:[47]

Pour ce qui est de la *Vie de Molière*, franchement, ce n'est pas un ouvrage qui mérite qu'on en parle. Il est fait par un homme qui ne savait rien de la vie de Molière, et il se trompe dans tout, ne sachant pas même, les faits que tout le monde sait.

Doubtless Brossette resolved, after reading this letter, to see if he could not produce something which would be worthy of attention. But whatever his motive, it is certain that from that time on he began to collect a vast amount of material in regard to Molière, while working upon Boileau and Regnier, biding his time for its final arrangement. Soon after the second edition of the Regnier volume, a certain M. Chauvelin, a *maître des requêtes* at Paris, wrote to Brossette,[48] asking him to contribute his notes to an edition of Molière which was being planned by an association of publishers. Brossette had to decline this offer as his municipal duties would not allow him to complete his work,[49] and he was unwilling to intrust this revision to other hands in spite of M. Chauvelin's expressed desire that he should do so, and in spite of the outside influence which Chauvelin tried to bring to bear on him in writing to M. Perrichon, the *Prévôt des Marchands* at Lyons.[50]

Writing to Rousseau about this time regarding the whole matter, Brossette gives the following detailed plan of his investigations.[51]

Mes notes consistent en faits historiques et en imitations. J'ai recueilli les uns et les autres avec grand soin et depuis longtemps: les faits m'ont été indiqués par M. Despréaux, intime ami et grand admirateur de Molière: mais encore par Baron,[52] et par d'autres personnes qui ont vécu singulièrement avec lui, parmi lesquels je pourrai nommer un illustre Maréchal de France[53] que nous avons perdu depuis peu, . . . et qui n'a pas dedaigné d'entrer dans ces détails avec moi: ce qui forme une tradition que je puis appeller orale et vivante. A l'égard des imitations, je ne me suis pas contenté de celles de Plaute et de Terence, connues de tout le monde: j'ai porté mes recherches plus loin, j'ai lu, extrait et comparé toutes les pièces tant imprimées que manuscrites que Molière a imitées en tout ou en partie. Voilà le fonds de mon ouvrage auquel j'ai ajouté les changements faits par Molière lui-même, et ceux que font aujourd'hui, les comediens dans les executions: la musique des ballets, des divertissements, et les airs notés des paroles qui se chantent.

In a later letter to Chauvelin,[54] Brossette says further that, in his search for the sources of Molière's plays, he has consulted many Italian and Spanish comedies both in print and in manuscript. So it would seem that he had neglected nothing to make his work complete.

But unfortunately public affairs, as has been said, prevented the completion of this work when it was asked for, and the edition of M. Chauvelin was published in 1734, with a notice, regarding Molière by Joly, and a life and commentary by M. de la Serre, of whom little is known.[55]

After this time, pressed with business and somewhat enfeebled in health by sickness and advancing years, the notes were never revised, and upon his death no trace of them could be found, so we can only conjecture as to what must have been their great value.

Claude Brossette for the last ten years of his life continued to busy himself with public duties, and gradually gave up literary work as his strength declined. In 1741 he was made *conservateur* of the extensive law library of the advocate Aubert which had been given to the city of Lyons, and in that work his last energy was spent. He died June 13, 1743, and was buried amidst solemn ceremonies, at which were present the members of the consular corps of the city, his comrades of the bar association and of the Academy, and a large number of his fellow citizens.

47 *Correspondance*, p. 214.

48 19 février, 1731. *Lettres de Rousseau*, t. iii, p. 138.

49 *Lettres de Rousseau*, t. iii, p. 139. 50 *Ibid.*, p. 151.

51 *Lettres de Rousseau*, t. iii, p. 143.

52 Michel Baron, the actor (1653-1729).

53 Le Marechal de Villeroi (1644-1730).

54 *Lettres de Rousseau*, t. iii, p. 151.

55 *Les Œuvres de M. Molière.* Nouv. édition précédée d'un avertissement par Joly, éditeur, et de mémoires sur la vie et les ouvrages de Moli.re par de la Serre. Paris, de l'impr. de Pierre Prault. 1734. 6 vol., gr. in-4.

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Leaving aside Brossette's legal attainments, it is with his career as a man of letters that this paper is most concerned. Early the friend and correspondent of Boileau, for many years on familiar terms with J. B. Rousseau, knowing Voltaire and exchanging letters with him, visiting the actor Baron at Paris, and receiving at Lyon, *en passant*, a visit from the early historian of Italian comedy, il Signore Riccoboni, we have in Brossette a man who was peculiarly well-informed regarding the literary matters of his time, and a man whose career must have done much to increase the influence of literary culture. Perhaps the greatest service rendered by him was the example given to other literary workers in the same field. He believed that in literary work, as in legal work, it was necessary to be well supplied with documents before a start could be made. His work upon Boileau and Regnier and what can be learned regarding the proposed work on Molière, prove that he was applying a scientific method to the study of French authors.

From one modern standpoint he may be criticized as over-credulous, as making the quantity of his notes supply their lacking quality, as deficient in judgment and discrimination, and as being the servile type of commentator, too often praising and defending. But from another standpoint more just and more liberal, Brossette should be praised as a pioneer in careful and serious research concerning the history of his own literature.

The creative spirit had reached a high level, but the preservative and scholarly habit was in its early stages. Brossette typified the new movement.

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HOBBY-HORSICAL.

IT would probably prove a disappointing experiment—at least one not invariably satisfactory—if one were to rely, with the confidence once due to "But, O! but, O!," upon William Carew Hazlitt's recent *Confessions of a Collector* to excite a train of associated ideas which are drawn by Hobby-Horse. The author himself may be believed to have had in mind the uncertain character of such an experiment, and, with the wish to remove all chances of failure, to have taken an early occasion in the book to observe, quite incidentally, "There was nothing 'hobby-horsical,' to borrow Coleridge's expression, about the matter" (p. 3). The adjective is sure to accomplish the wished for purpose, but its limitation "Coleridge's," what of that? Has not the professional numismatist at last been 'taken in' by a false superscription and date? Or, has he wished, for some innocent reason, to bring about a temporary disassociation, in the mind of his readers, between his chapters and a famous paragraph which it is difficult to forget? Dear uncle Toby, the distinction between scarp and counterscarp will always be vitally important; you shall not be robbed in your grave, nor shall the memorable reflections of your affectionate nephew Tristram be forgotten, no, not for even a day:

"A man and his Hobby-Horse, though I cannot say that they act and re-act exactly after the same manner in which the soul and body do upon each other, yet, doubtless, there is a communication between them of some kind; and my opinion rather is, that there is something in it more of the manner of electrified bodies;—and that, by means of the heated parts of the rider, which come immediately into contact with the Hobby-Horse,—by long journies, and much friction, it so happens, that the body of the rider is at length filled as full of Hobby-Horsical matter as it can hold;—so that if you are able to give but a clear description of the nature of the one, you may form a pretty exact notion of the genius and character of the other."

J. W. B.

A FRENCH COLONY IN MICHIGAN.

IN 1760 the French settlements in what is now the state of Michigan passed with Canada into the hands of the English. But the transfer of governmental authority brought little change in the life and character of the colonies. British garrisons were stationed at Detroit and at Mackinaw: English traders followed and plied their business under the protection of the British flag, but few permanent English settlers found their way so far west during the period of British rule, and the hardy Norman-French pioneer was left to pursue his own career in the lake region.

Detroit was the commercial, as well as the governmental, capital of the territory. Its pop-

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ulation in 1764 has been estimated at 2500, not including the garrison. There were also small French colonies at Mackinaw and at other points in the north, but with these this paper is in no wise concerned. The Detroit colony was composed of a hardy and thrifty stock, and had been established on a firm basis by Cadillac, a man wise in statecraft. It had never ceased to grow and prosper, notwithstanding the change of authority and the perils of the Indian wars. To the north and to the south, along the great waterway between Lake St. Clair and Lake Erie, farms were cleared, and the soil cultivated systematically and profitably.

In 1780 François Navarre pushed out beyond the limits of the Detroit colony, and settled in an entirely new district to the west of Lake Erie, in what is now Monroe County. This, the southeastern county of Michigan, is traversed from west to east by a stream named by the first residents the *Rivière aux Raisins*, now the River Raisin (never the Raisin River). To the south distant about six miles, and parallel with the River Raisin, flows Otter Creek, and to the north, at almost an equal distance, is Stony Creek. The French pioneers kept close to the waterways, and so good a report did François Navarre make of the valley of the River Raisin and the neighboring streams, that he was soon joined in his new home by his brothers, and other families from Detroit.

In 1795 the sovereignty of the territory of Michigan passed to the United States, and *bona fide* settlers were granted title to six hundred and forty acres of land, or so much of it as they would have staked off by the government surveyor. One hundred and five claimants were allowed title in Monroe County, and almost all of them were French as the names indicate. They had settled on both banks of the River Raisin for a distance of twelve miles from its mouth. Their farms were originally small, and each fronted on the river. In order to get the six hundred and forty acres granted to each one by the government, they were forced to extend the farms in narrow strips back from the river often to the depth of more than two miles. A few similar claims were allowed on Otter and Stony Creeks. The rest of the county was laid off regularly into townships and sections.

Such were the beginnings of the French colony of Monroe County. From 1795 to the present day, it has grown practically only by natural increase. A few immigrants have come from Canada, and a very few from France. During the first half-century of its existence there seems to have been a certain interchange of population between the Monroe settlement and the mother colony of Detroit, but that could have had but little effect upon the Monroe dialect, as the speech of the two colonies was originally the same, and the dialects are today very similar. In Detroit, however, French has within the last twenty-five years almost completely died out.

Notwithstanding the fact that the French settlement of Monroe County has received scarcely any additions from without, it has grown rapidly. In 1812 it could not have numbered more than one thousand souls. Today it is estimated at ten thousand, distributed among the towns or villages of Monroe, Raisinville, Newport, Rockwood, Brest, Strasburg and Erie, and as farmers throughout the entire eastern half of the County.

The first colonists were illiterate. But few could write their own name, as shown by early legal records and the church register, and at no time in the history of the colony has any considerable number been able to read or write their mother tongue At the present day all can speak English, and those who live in the towns and villages speak it without French accent. Many of the older men and women can not read or write any language, but almost all under thirty years of age can read and write English. The children attend and have attended the English public schools, and even in the parish school the instruction is in English. But notwithstanding this, and the fact that the colony has been surrounded by an English-speaking population for a century, French still remains in most of the families the language of the home. It is the language of the church, and is commonly employed in business and social intercourse. There has not been much intermarrying between the two races. For ecclesiastical and social reasons, the French families have been and still remain a people apart.

These conditions have brought about a state

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of things very interesting to the student of speech changes. Here is a speech which has been for more than a century almost wholly uninfluenced by the written language. For almost the same length of time, and in ever-increasing ratio, it has been subject to modification through its contact with another tongue known chiefly in its spoken form. The conditions that existed in Gaul in the sixth and seventh centuries are repeated in this corner of Michigan, except that in the latter case the Teuton invaders instead of being the absorbed are the absorbing element.

As might be expected, the phonology and morphology of this dialect present many interesting features. In beginning my investigations it occurred to me that the conjugation of the regular verbs would be a good starting-point for a study of both the morphology and phonology. This study of the conjugations, which I now offer, is based upon observations made upon a number of persons varying in age from sixteen to sixty, living in various parts of the county and following different occupations. Individual peculiarities have been discarded in the paradigms. In some instances, however, reference has been made to them in the foot-notes. In soliciting the information I always asked the question in English, and in such a form as to call for an entire sentence. None of the persons could read French, except one who was just beginning to do so, but without a teacher; and none, as far as I know, have ever been influenced by other French than that of the colony.

The phonetic alphabet used is that of the *Association Phonétique Internationale*. One additional character, *ɑ*, is used to denote a sound intermediate between *a* and *o*.

PRESENT INDICATIVE, SIMPLE FORM.[1]

3ə[2] pårl	ɔ̃s pårl
ty[3] "	vu[6] pårle[7]
i } [4]	
al } "	i[8] pårl.

1 Simple form is much less used than the progressive.
2 *dʒə* is often heard, also *mwe*.
3 *tʃə* is often heard, also *twe*.
4 *hi* is sometimes heard (under influence of English *he ?*). The *liaison* of *l* in *il* and *s* in *ils* is not uniform. *al*=*elle*.
5 The use of *on* when not including the speaker seems to be foreign to the dialect. *ɔ̃ pårl nus otʂ*, and *nus otʂ pårl* are common variants, but *nu pårlɔ̃* is very rare.
6 The *liaison* of the *s*=*z* of *vous* is far from uniform.
7 The ending *e* is not infrequently omitted, thereby reducing the tense to a single verb-form.
8 Variants: *il pårl, les otʂ pårl*, and *i pårl les otʂ*.

PRESENT INDICATIVE, PROGRESSIVE FORM.

3ə ʃɥit[9] aprai pårle (finir, etc.)	
tɛt " "	
il[10] }	
al } ɛt " "	
ɔ n[11] ɛt " "	
vuz ɛt " "	
i sɔ̃t " "	

IMPERFECT INDICATIVE, SIMPLE FORM.[12]

3ə[13] pårlai[14] (finisai, etc.)	ɔ̃ pårlai (finisai, etc.)
ty "	vu "
i "	i "

IMPERFECT INDICATIVE, PROGRESSIVE FORM.

3etai[15] aprai pårle (finir, etc.).	
tetai " "	
il }	
al } etai " "	
ɔn etai[16] " "	
vu (z) etai[17] aprai pårle.	
il etai[18] " "	

Passé Défini.

This tense as might be expected does not exist in the dialect. Simple past actions, whether recent or remote, are expressed by the use of the *passé indéfini*.

Future.

3ə pårlərа[19] (finira, etc.)	ɔ pårlərа[20] (finira, etc.)
ty "	vu "
i "	i " and
3ə[21] va[22] pårle (finir, etc.)	ɔ̃ va pårle (finir, etc.)
ty " "	vuz ale "
i " "	i vɔ̃[23] "

9 The *t* in *ʃɥit* may be explained by the variable usage of the dialect in the matter of *liaison* of *s*. *Suis* became *sui* before vowels as well as before consonants, and then *t* was added by analogy with the other forms of the tense. The probable explanation of *ʃ* for *s* is as follows: *ʒə sɥit*>*ʒ sɥit*>*ʃɥit*, and then the pronoun was restored; in fact, *ʃɥit* is often heard without the preceding *ʒə*. Another variant is the analogical *ʒət*.
10 Variants: *i, hi* and *lɥi*.
11 Variants: *ɔ̃ l ɛt, ɔn ɛt nus otʂ* and *nus otʂ ɛt*.
12 Much less used than the progressive form.
13 See notes on present indicative, simple form. The same variants for the pronouns are found in all tenses, and therefore no further notes will be given on that subject.
14 The reduction of this tense to a single verb-form is the general usage.
15 Variant *ʒə ʃɥitai*, by analogy with *ʒə ʃɥit*.
16 Rarely *etʃə*.
17 Rarely *etʃe*.
18 Variant: *sɔ̃tai*, by analogy with *sɔ̃t*.
19 Variant: *pårləre*.
20 The plural sometimes has the standard endings, but the tendency to reduce the tense to a single form is very marked. Those who use the standard forms will also use the others.
21 In this form *mwe* is perhaps more common than *ʒə*.
22 Variant: *mɑ̃ va*, but not *tɑ̃ va*, etc.
23 No uniformity of *liaison* of the *t*. For example, I heard both *vɔ̃ ekute* and *vɔ̃t ekute*.

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Conditional.

3ə pârlə ra[24] (finira, etc.) ɔ̃ pârlərа (finira, etc.)
ty " vu "
i " i "

Subjunctive.

To elicit the subjunctive forms, I put questions requiring for their answer the use of the expressions: *il faut, avant que, jusqu'à ce que*, etc. I give, therefore, the forms in connection with *il faut.*

Present.

i fo[25] k 3ə pârl (finis, râd.)
" " " ty "
" " ki "
" " kɔ̃ "
" " k vu pârle.[26]
" " ki pârl.

Past Subjunctive.

As might be expected this tense did not seem to be in common use. The idea was usually expressed by *j'étais obligé à*, etc., with the infinitive. I received, however, such answers as the following: *i(l) a fɔlu* (or *i fɔla*) *kə 3 əlym lə fø jer=il a fallu que j'allume le feu hier:* and *i fɔla k 3ə finis sà jer=il a fallu que je finisse ça hier.*

From my observations I judge, that in so far as this tense exists in the dialect, its forms are the same as those of the present subjunctive. The usage of two persons seemed to indicate that they expressed the idea by forms of *aller* or *venir* followed by the infinitive. That is a point on which I intend to make more extended and accurate investigations.

The conjugation of the verb in the Monroe County dialect shows two marked tendencies: namely, a fondness for the progressive circumlocutions, and a reduction of each tense to a single verb-form. The progressive formula *être après* is not peculiar to this locality, but is in common use in other branches of the Canadian dialect. It will be noticed that by the use of this circumlocution in the present and imperfect, the employment of *aller* in the future, and the exclusive use of a compound tense to express unqualified past time, the indicative mood is narrowed down to two forms, infinitive and past participle. Even in the simple tenses the substitution of *on* for *nous* has eliminated one ending, and in the imperfect and conditional the ending of the second person plural has disappeared.

Practically the conjugation is no longer made by endings, but by auxiliary verbs.

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[24] *pârərə* is a not uncommon variant for the first pers. sing., and one person used the standard forms of the future for the plural of the conditional. These and other observations make me think that the dialect has confounded the conditional with the simple future, using this latter tense almost exclusively for the conditional, and the *3ə (mâ) və finir* form for the future.

[25] As a variant of *i fo* I noticed *i və fulwar=il va falloir.* The expression *être obligé à* with the infinitive is more common than the subjunctive with *il faut.*

[26] In one instance *pârlje* or *pârlə*.

GERMAN LITERATURE.

Poems of Uhland. Selected and edited by WATERMAN T. HEWETT, Ph. D. New York: Macmillan & Company, 1896. 12mo, pp. lviii, 352.

SINCE its publication in the spring of 1896, Professor Hewett's *Poems of Uhland* has met with deserved favor at the hands of critics and, we doubt not, of readers; the time for a regular review of the book, therefore, would seem to be passed. I desire, however, to bring out a few points of somewhat more general interest which have been suggested by this edition.

Prof. Hewett's book is plainly a labor of love. He is a warm, not to say ardent admirer of Uhland and his poetry. Provided that such an attitude of personal sympathy and devotion on the part of an editor rests on patient research and on a thorough knowledge of his subject, and not merely on superficial sentiment, it is likely to add to his work a more intimate charm and a greater power to kindle interest and enthusiasm; an effect not very often produced by a painful striving after nothing but chilling objectivity. There can hardly be any doubt, therefore, that Prof. Hewett's edition, as an exposition of what is best in Uhland's life and poetry, has gained in value and usefulness by the fact that, in the best sense, it appears to be a true labor of love.

On the other hand, we are inclined to believe that jealous care for his author's renown has influenced the editor in restricting the Introduction to an almost purely biographical narrative; while it must be admitted that in Uhland's best poems, his *Lieder* and *Balladen*

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und Romanzen, the reflection of direct personal experience is not very prominent, if compared, for example, with the poems of Goethe, or Heine, or Lenau. We rather miss a brief delineation of the general literary background of Uhland's time, and a comparison of his poetry with that of the great lyrical poets of Germany.[1]

In this manner we should have liked to see the editor vindicate for Uhland the high place that he assigns to his poetry. But the general tendencies of the Swabian School (p. lv), the interesting attitude of Goethe (p. li)[2] and of Heine and Young Germany toward this school and its chief representative Uhland, the latter's relation to Romanticism (p. lvii), and similar topics, have only been alluded to, while the political career of Uhland has been traced with much attention to detail. His scholarly works are interestingly described (p. lii ff. and elsewhere), but his two dramas are only mentioned (p. lvii). The only important passage of the Introduction devoted to a critical discussion of Uhland's poetry is contained on the last three pages.

This is to be regretted so much the more as critics of apparently equal competency differ so widely in their estimation of Uhland's greatness as a poet. This fact was again demonstrated when, almost simultaneously with Prof. Hewett's edition, there was published in this country a work on modern German literature, in which, out of four hundred pages, eight lines were devoted to Uhland. We admit that if we had to choose between the two positions, we should rather side with Prof. Hewett; but we are even more inclined to follow the old saying *in medio tutissimus ibis*. For is it not true that to the majority of students of Uhland his noble manhood, his ripe scholarship, the sturdiness of his political convictions are more interesting than his poetic genius, and that our estimate of the latter is favorably influenced by our admiration for the former? While we do not propose now to give an answer to this question, we wish to express the hope that the gradual opening up of Uhland's *Nachlass*, which has become accessible at last, together with his biography from a master's hand which is said to be in course of preparation, may help us to arrive at a more universal estimate of his rank as a poet. Prof. Hewett's book will certainly do much toward creating among English speaking people a more general interest in these forthcoming publications.

In a brief notice in *Euphorion* (iv, 687), the reviewer expresses something like regret that Prof. Hewett has given us only a volume of selections. We cannot share this opinion, but believe that by reducing the total of some two hundred and seventy-five pieces (in Cotta's ed.) to about one hundred and seventy, the editor has rendered Uhland and his readers a genuine service. The selections have been skillfully made, and nobody is likely to miss in the volume any of his favorite pieces or any poem of intrinsic interest or value, while a large number of weak pieces have been omitted. We believe that of this volume Goethe would scarcely have said what he did say to Eckermann (Oct. 21, 1823), in speaking of Uhland's *Gedichte:* "Ich stiess von vornherein gleich auf so viele schwache und trübselige Gedichte, dass mir das Weiterlesen verleidet wurde."

The one hundred pages of notes are excellent in every respect. In numerous instances, by brief summaries and other means (see, for example, *Des Knaben Berglied*), the editor has aimed, not only to familiarize the student with the genesis and literal significance of the poems, but also to insure an intelligent appreciation of their form and thought as artistic units. If anything, we believe that such assistance could have been given even a little more freely, for in an edition like this, helpful and sound æsthetic criticism, to use a much abused phrase for lack of a better one, is always highly welcome and mostly badly needed, provided it is accompanied by scholarship, thoroughness, and good sense.

The various appendices are all useful, and seem to have been compiled with great care. In the chronological index, however, which contains not only the selected pieces, but all of Uhland's poetry, some diacritical mark might have been used to indicate which poems were retained and which omitted.

Of points of detail we wish to mention the

1 The indirect thrust at Heine and Heinesque poetry on p. lviii, far from supplying this want, makes us feel it only the more keenly.

2 The impression which we receive of Goethe's opinion of Uhland is, to say the least, very imperfect. Comp., for example, Brandes, *Das junge Deutschland*, pp. 238 f.

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following: p. xxxiii. The foot-note, it seems, should be in the text.—P. 190. In reading the third line on that page we can never help feeling that Uhland intended a play on the word *Heimsen*, which, if taken as a verb (=*einheimsen*, *erwischen*), well fits the sense, the construction, and the broad jest of the peasant.—P. 234. The note on *Des Knaben Berglied*, iii, 3, appears rather strange, since such rhymes abound in all of Uhland's poems, the first instance (Geist: erschleusst) occurring on p. 7. P. 236. In *Hohe Liebe* ii, 2, it seems impossible that *hinan* should have the assigned meaning (which would be *es an*). The most natural interpretation is=*hinauf*, *himmelwärts*. See Sanders s. v. *hinan*.—P. 241. Under *Freie Kunst* v, 2 there might be mention of the fact that some of Uhland's own patriotic poems were printed as *Flugblätter*.—P. 262. The poem in *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* ii, 501, has the popular form *Tannebaum*.—Among the quotations, we miss that version of the folk-song of which *The Hemlock Tree* is an almost literal translation. See, for example, White's *Deutsche Volkslieder*, p. 34.—P. 263. We miss a definition of *Romanze* as different from *Ballade*, according to the usage of Uhland and his contemporaries.—P. 269. In *Abschied* iv, 4, *Gelbveiglein* is not 'yellow violets,' but the (yellow) gillyflower or stock, in German commonly called *Levkoje* or *Goldlack*. Compare Sanders s. v. *Veil* and *Levkoje* and Heyne s. v. *Gelbveiglein*. The point is of some little importance, since it seems to have escaped the attention of the commentators. Düntzer and Stöckel (*Gedichte von Ludwig Uhland*, *Auswahl*, *Bamberg*, *1895*) have no comment on the meaning of the word; von Klenze says "=*Gelb-Veilchen*." *Goldlack*, not very fashionable now, is still very popular in the country and among the poorer classes in the cities. Its tall luxuriant growth makes it an excellent screen for the girl's tear-stained face, while of yellow violets the same could not be said.—P. 316. Under *bürsten* in *Der Schenk von Limburg* x, 7, there should be a cross-reference to *Metzelsuppenlied* ii, 7.—P. 318. The student would perhaps better grasp the deeper import of *Des Sängers Fluch* if there was some additional remark to prevent the words "jealous passion" (line 15) from being taken in their conventional sense only. For the tyrant's 'jealousy' is to us the inveterate hatred of the sons of darkness for the children of light, the rancorous enmity that Hagen feels for Siegfried.

Since the notes are given by stanzas, while the latter are not numbered in the text, reference to the notes is rendered rather awkward for the longer ballads. Of typographical errors we have noticed in the excellently printed book only the following: p. 73, l. 3, *immer* for *nimmer*; p. 99, l. 2, *starre* for *starres* (so in Cotta); p. 146, l. 15, *den* for *die*; p. 292, l. 19, 1845 for 1485(?); p. 342, last line but one, 1839 for 1893(?).

If, contrary to our better intention, this notice has expanded into a regular review, it is due solely to the pleasure and profit which we have derived from a book which love of subject and sound scholarship have made an excellent guide to the best work of one of Germany's most lovable and beloved poets.

A. R. Hohlfeld.
Vanderbilt University.

ENGLISH LITERATURE.

Shakespeare's London, a Study of London in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, by T. Fairman Ordish, F. S. A. London: J. M. Dent & Co., 1897. [The Temple Shakespeare Manuals.]

Mr. Ordish's straightforward little preface tells us of his hope that the book may help to bring about a better understanding and appreciation of the work of Shakespeare. His argument is that if by more perfect knowledge of the "actual conditions of the period" we can separate facts from their poetic atmosphere, the clearer view do we have of the manifestations of the poet's genius. He would eliminate the substance and leave the shadow, which in this case is so much more important than the substance. And so he tells us about theatres and people and flowers and birds and trees in the half-rural city of London; of the property that Shakespeare owned, the places where he is thought to have lived, the feasts and games, the hunting and hawking, the literary part of the city, the "handsome house built by a goldsmith"—anything and everything that will help us to realize the many-sided life to which Shakespeare held up his mirror.

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The most strictly original part of the book is found in the pages devoted to the effect produced upon the sensitive mind of Shakespeare by the "fantastic indirectness" that marked the poetry of the age. This "fantastic indirectness" as applied to the drama the author names the "Elizabethan convention," as little of a disguise to the Elizabethan as any other well-understood convention. The names of foreign countries were "fustian," or stage names, a fiction perfectly understood by the audience, who regarded it all as merely a convenient poetical disguise for London; while the characters, by whatever foreign names they might be designated, were in reality simply and frankly Englishmen. Italy is a "fustian" country, but Beatrice says that her wit comes from *The Hundred Merry Tales*, a well-known book in England. The prototype of Dogberry is no Venetian, but a citizen of Cornhill; "the Mart" is the Royal Exchange of London. The Scene of *Love's Labour's Lost* is nominally laid in France, but the games and the unpopular three-farthing piece are English.

This convention, while adding to the artistic beauty of the play the charm of the distant and but partially known, would give to the audience the pleasure of tracing resemblances, and to the dramatist a certain ease in character drawing, far more difficult to attain if the stage-setting had been plain, every-day England. Mr. Ordish notes Ben Jonson's (but why does he sometimes call him "Benjamin"?) gradual disuse of the convention, and his possible influence upon Shakespeare in leading him into a wider freedom in the use of English names and customs.

The objection to this theory that the imaginative power of the audience would be dissipated and the scene of the play be vague and indistinct, is met before it is uttered by the emphasis laid upon the thought that the Elizabethan audience when called upon to exercise their imagination would come to something near the same result; for example, if they were asked to picture a forest, it would be the forest on the Middlesex side of London. So gondolas would be simply the boats on the Thames, and gondoliers would be the English watermen. It is a comfort to think that our present demand for scenic effect is perhaps not entirely due to our comparative poverty of imagination, but may be ascribed, in part, at least, to our lack of imaginative unanimity, resulting from a more generally diffused experience of travel and sight-seeing, so that a painted scene is the only way to bring a modern audience into sympathy with the local habitation of the drama.

But was London cosmopolitan enough to provide within its walls characters, scenes, and experience of all kinds of life, so that Shakespeare need not go to Venice to find a Shylock any more than he need turn a deaf ear to the tales of returning sailors, and himself make a disastrous voyage before writing *The Tempest*? Mr. Ordish claims that such was the case, and gives many illustrations to show that Shakespeare's comedies as well as his historical plays centralized themselves in London. He shows a sensitive sympathy with the quickening of Shakespeare's powers of observation by his life in the ever-varying scenes of the metropolis. Even for the study of nature he thinks that Shakespeare's opportunities in London were hardly less advantageous than they would have been in his own little town of Stratford. The city itself was a commingling of "ancient houses" and "spacious gardens," and from the latter came a plentiful supply of rushes and flowers to strew the floors, nosegays for every corner, herbs and branches to keep for winter use. He says,

> "The citizen in his warehouse or living room could hear the note of the piratical blackbird among his fruit, or the song of the thrush, or the linnet's pretty warble."

An idyllic abode he makes of grimy old London, but even if memories of some facts that will not down incline us to glance at the other side of the picture, it will do no harm if the glasses through which he bids us look are a little too brightly rose-tinted. It is a pleasant thought that these suggestions of the more lavish summer of the country would lend to Shakespeare's earlier recollections an ideal beauty that would more easily transfigure a memory of boyhood than a more recent observation.

Mr. Ordish reminds us that a short walk or ride would bring one into the suburbs of the city, that the "Theatre" and the "Curtain"

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were surrounded by green fields and meadows, and that "the bleat of flocks and the ringing of sheep-bells could have been heard from the fields outside, while the play was in progress." He quotes Gerard as finding "a new kind of crowfoot" close to the "Theatre," as seeing the "adders toong" at Spitalfield, the wild mallow "on the left hand of the place of execution called Tyborne," saxifrage and many other flowers "neere about London;" while in the city itself he notes the gillyflower, daffodil, narcissus, primrose, lilies and roses of various kinds, and all the familiar fruit-trees. Indeed, Mr. Ordish finally concludes that "we are indebted for Shakespeare's observation of nature as much to London as to Stratford-on-Avon."

As the book is the outgrowth of lectures, one need not be surprised to find a touch of the lecturer in a somewhat conversational tone, a repetition of catchwords, an enumeration of various possibilities, as if to give the audience a share in the selection. There is an amplification and simplifying of thought to which one must resort who expects to carry with him a promiscuous group of hearers who have no time to think between the lines. This is only in the early pages; soon the author has forgotten that anyone is listening, and seems to write on purely for the pleasure that he takes in his subject.

It is a little difficult to know for whom the book is intended. The explanation that plays were first presented in inn-yards, and the careful description of the construction of the early theatres would seem to adjust it to the needs of the general reader; while there is much that is of value to the student, and many paragraphs that it will be no waste of time for the specialist to consider—and after all there is no law that a book should be limited to one class of readers.

Perhaps the book is hardly picturesque enough to leave definite scenes clearly impressed on the mind's retina; perhaps it is not systematized enough to serve as a Baedeker to the streets through which Shakespeare walked, and the houses and gardens and pastures green whereon he gazed; but it is an interesting, readable book, it brings together much information that has been scattered or only half known, and it carries the mind away from the more sentimental worship of the little town by the Avon to the more practical side of Shakespeare's life. One can well afford a hearty welcome to a book that helps us to realize Shakespeare as a man among men.

EVA MARCH TAPPAN.
English High School,
Worcester, Mass.

Dĕaf, Spĭke, Tăpenny, Thrĕpenny, etc.

TO THE EDITORS OF MOD. LANG. NOTES,

SIRS:—Some time ago I observed what appeared to me to be a coincidence in the shortening of the vowels in the words 'deaf' and 'spike.' The usual form of the latter in 'spike,' and its vowel has had the normal development from *ī* to *aį*. The form 'spĭke' occurs in 'spick-and-span,' That the shortening took place in this conglomerate nobody would deny, and we are forced to find in this group some condition of shortening that does not exist in the word 'spike' alone. I find this same condition in the groups 'deaf and dumb' and 'deaf and can't hear,' the latter being with many people the regular predicate form instead of the simple 'deaf.'

In both cases the shortening must be very old, belonging to the time when the longs were *ī* and *ē* and not yet *aį* and *ī*. The shortening evidently falls under Morsbach §53; but Prof. Luick of Graz, has just put the whole matter of Morsbach §§53, 64, in a new shape. He has been so kind as to send me an outline ("Verh. d. 44. Vers. dtsch. Philol. u. Schulm." 142–144) of the paper he read at Dresden. The chief point of interest in this paper (which is soon to appear in full in *Anglia*) is the revelation of the fact that lengthening in open syllables which successfully attacked monosyllables in Old English times, and dissyllables in early Middle English times, did not have any effect on trissyllables (and, doubtless, longer words); that is, the vowel in the stressed open syllable of a trisyllablic word not only did not lengthen (O. E. *sæternesdæg* > M.E. *saterday*), but, if long, becomes short (O.E. *ærende* > M.E. *ĕrende;* O.N. *fēlagi* > M.E. *fĕlawe*). This must be regarded as a most welcome discovery. That it removes all my difficulty in 'spĭck and span'* and 'deaf and dumb,' will be seen at once. It is probably the explanation also of the shortening in 'thrĕpenny,' 'thrĕpence a piece,' later 'thrĭpenny,' 'thrĭpence'; 'tŭpenny,' 'tŭpence,' as well as in 'thirteen' <'*þrettēne*' <*þrēotĕne*,' and in many other, hitherto unexplained, cases.

GEORGE HEMPL.
University of Michigan.

CENTRAL DIVISION OF M. L. ASS.

TO THE EDITORS OF MOD. LANG. NOTES,

SIRS:—The committee of the Central Division of the Modern Language Association of America has accepted an invitation from the Faculty of the University of Nebraska to hold its next annual meeting in Lincoln, Neb. The dates selected are Dec. 27–29. Members wishing to present papers before this convention are requested to com nunicate with the secretary, at their earliest convenience.

H. SCHMIDT-WARTENBERG.
Secretary.
University of Chicago.

* For the *a* of *spann*, see an article by me in the forthcoming number of the *Journal of Germanic Philology*.

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VOL. XIII. MAY, 1898. No. 5.

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES.

Baltimore, May, 1898.

THE NEW REQUIREMENTS IN ENTRANCE ENGLISH,—THEIR LITERARY VALUE.

We are living more truly than ever before in a specifically educational era, and in an era of educational English. Teachers of English and the general English-speaking public are agitating with ever increasing interest those important questions that lie at the basis of the department, and on the right understanding and application of which the efficiency of the department rests.

The era is characteristically a transitional one between the old and the new, the new movement of the closing years of the century being really entitled to the name of a Revival of English Learning.

Nothing has contributed more directly to this general awakening than the wise and safe adjustment of our English Entrance Requirements, nor has any concrete result more clearly expressed the purpose and promise of such an awakening.

Various beneficent effects have followed from this new adjustment, such as the introduction of the principle of uniformity, in preparatory work; the closer coördination of secondary schools and higher institutions, and the consequent beginning of collegiate work on a well-developed plan and with a rational probability of realizing it. These and kindred advantages it has been our privilege to discuss in the columns of the Modern Language Notes and the *Educational Review*.

Our present purpose is a distinctively literary one, especiallv as it bears upon the subject of English studies, as we seek to state and explain those specifically literary benefits that may rightfully be supposed to follow from the newly adopted conditions of English Entrance, some of which, indeed, are already manifesting themselves in their initial forms in our colleges and preparatory schools.

1. The first and an invaluable benefit thus accruing to the entering English student is the knowledge that is given him of standard English books and authors, as distinct from a mere knowledge of rhetorical theory and precept, or even of the collected statement of rhetorical principles. Not that such theory and formal rhetorical training are not important in their place and way, but that they are not the most important matters to which the attention of the students in our secondary schools should be called. Much less are they, as has sometimes been urged, the exclusive form of preparatory English work. If we run over the list of books for reading and study as now proposed for any single year, we can see at a glance into what a world and what a new world of literary English the preparing student is introduced.

It is really a revelation and a pleasing surprise to any young, inquiring mind, and, in multitudes of instances, as we must believe, offers the beginner in his English work just what he is craving with an intensity of desire of which he himself is not fully conscious. Shakespeare and Scott, and Burke and George Eliot, Macaulay and Johnson, and Hawthorne and Irving, become, at once, living and attractive personalities, and he rightly wonders why such an order of instruction was not given him earlier in his educational career, and earlier introduced into the general preparatory schedule of the schools, nor can he fail to charge the gross ignorance of English authors hitherto prevailing in our schools to the account of those who have had in hand the formation of these initial courses. Knowledge, specifically literary knowledge and much of it, as found in the lives and writings of our English classics, is what is now needed and in our present adjustment generously given.

It occurs to us to say, that such a furnishing of literary knowledge secures to the student just the material that is needed for the essential work of Essay Praxis; the problem hitherto having been, how to conduct this important form of educational English, and yet supply the facts and data which the young composer must have at hand. Making bricks without straw has been the bane of our English rhetorical work, and has deservedly brought the entire subject of formal rhetoric into popular

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opprobrium. Writing for writing's sake has been required, teachers and pupils alike suffering from the effects of an educational system with no educational interest or efficiency in it.

What could have been more illogical and futile than the long existing methods in English Composition, when extended lists of abstract topics were given beginners in English, and they were commanded under penalty of the pedagogic law to discuss them with interest and profit to themselves and their readers; and is it any wonder that the victims of such an erroneous method should have rebelled against it, until the philosophic and Baconian idea of the essayist as a "full man," and therefore prepared to write, gave way at length to the pedagogic idea of the essayist, as a man having nothing whatever to say but required to say it and say it with effect. All this is happily changed, and largely by the new conditions now obtaining. Instead of offering to the English beginner such high-sounding titles as "The Grandeur of Nations," "The Genesis of Civil Liberty" and "The Nature of Virtue," he is told to give a sketch of The Life of Johnson or of Goldsmith, or of *The Vicar of Wakefield;* to narrate a simple story or describe an attractive scene, or give his reasons for liking or disliking some recent book that he has read, In a word, by this new and saner method, literature has been made a practical thing in the eyes of the novitiate in English; the art of expression has been changed from an intolerable drudgery into a personal pleasure; common sense has taken the place of irrational theory, and the whole department of English work lifted from a pedantic to a philosophic level.

2. A second decisive benefit of the new order of entrance, is found in the fact, that it cultivates, in the student, thus early, Literary Tastes and Tendencies—a result absolutely impossible by the older method, and one, indeed, which was scarcely contemplated by the most ardent of our earlier American teachers.

It requires no argument to show that the members of our secondary schools looking forward either to collegiate or commercial life are just at the age when all the processes of mind and art are formative, so plastic and pliant, indeed, as to yield readily to any applied influence, and it is now, if at all, that specifically literary training is to take effect and express itself in the manifold forms of good taste and æsthetic habit. This it does very largely by the presentation to the student of concrete models of literary method, whereby he sees the laws and principles of artistic production in the field of letters in actual application and is enabled, under judicious guidance, to study alike the process and the result. It is clear that literary interest and ambition are thus awakened, and possibly for the first time. Is it too much to say that in many of our younger students, if not,indeed,in the most of them, there is a latent literary element, as there is perchance a latent philosophic or scientific or linguistic element, what Matthew Arnold would call, an æsthetic instinct, seeking light and scope, and the free exercise of its functions, simply awaiting an evoking agency? And is not such an agency found in the inspiring authors of English Letters, as nowhere else; so that the student is roused to his best ability and gladly avails himself of every offered aid. As we review the history of English studies from the middle of the present century to the close of its third quarter, it is significant and humiliating to note the manner in which the vicious methods in vogue have stultified this inherent literary sense in our younger students, even though the period in question was signally fruitful both in British and American Letters.

Among the many forms in which such an evidence of taste would naturally express itself, in the English work and habit of the student, there are two of special value.

a. One of these is seen in the formation of a full and concise English vocabulary, one of the urgent needs of the student both in his present and prospective work We are referring here to English diction, in the widest sense of the phrase, the right selection and the right use of English words, obtained indeed by the study of language, native and foreign, by converse with cultured men and by the influences of good society at large, but nowhere so well obtained as by reading and study of standard English authors, through whose guiding and benignant influence the best kind of a vocabu-

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lary is almost unconsciously secured, and with it all, and better than it all, something of the literary spirit and purpose of the authors themselves behind the word and behind the book; the literary temper or tone of the diction of Milton, Goldsmith, De Quincey, Lamb, and Lowell, being even more valuable than any specific phraseology that they have used.

b. Hence, the other form in which such developing taste manifests inself, in all that is meant by what we call Style, and English Style; more by far than mere vocabulary, though including it; more than mere structure, grammatical and logical, though including it; more than mere figures of speech, however apt; and more than mere poetry and prose as such; more, indeed, than any specific process or principle or external statute, but the sum total and final effect of them all, the mysterious something in the man and in the expression of his thought that makes his thought vital and vitalizing, and commends it to the best judgment and highest æsthetic ideals of the reader. We call it Style, a commonplace word for an uncommon thing, approximately reached by the labors of a life-time, as seen in Newman and Pater and Irving and Lowell and yet, in its incipient expression, within the ambition of the school-boy, whose eye is at all open to the literary possibilities before him.

Such a literary product, be it what it may, is one of the best results of literary reading, secured as much by indirection as by any established procedure, and made the possession of the English student just to the extent in which he acquaints himself with the best books, catches their innermost meaning and motive, and opens all the avenues of his being to those silent, and yet potent, influences that pass so rapidly from the personality of the author to that of the reader. When our students in their early 'teens are taught to feel with Wordsworth, "that books are a substantial world," and are also taught how to search for themselves into their reality, they will have secured not only invaluable literary knowledge, a large and choice English vocabulary for literary purposes, but that safe and thorough discipline of taste which best expresses itself in what we call, a clear, chaste and cogent English style.

3. We note a further good effect of the new regime, in the necessary widening of the College Curriculum in English, on its literary side. Such an enlargement of subject-matter and scope is no longer optional with our American Colleges, if so be they hope to keep at all apace with the increasing demands of Modern English scholarship.

Entering students are now coming to our doors approximately well furnished in some of the choicest English classics. During the three or four years of their antecedent course, they have not only read these authors in a general way, but carefully studied many of them under the guidance of able masters. The names of Chaucer, Spenser, Milton, Addison, Tennyson, and Longfellow are familiar names, *The Canterbury Tales*, *The Faerie Queene*, *Comus*, *The Spectator*, *The Princess*, and *Evangeline* have been intelligently examined, while they have, in the course of such initial literary studies, gone just far enough to wish to go farther, and have cultivated a literary appetite that craves an immediate literary supply. In this spirit and with this preparation they come and must be met, and it is clear that the old conditions are too meagre and narrow, and that a much wider provision must be made.

Indeed, it is not too much to say, that by the marked advances in English work, in our secondary schools, during the last decade, the English curriculum of the Freshman Year has been substantially anticipated, so that the formal remanding of the first year's schedule to the pre-collegiate course is forced upon the attention of our college authorities and must be conceded.

Though not altogether creditable to our higher institutions that these radical and necessary changes should have been suggested mainly by the secondary schools, and in fact demanded by them, the changes themselves are none the less desirable and must serve in the end to advance the entire department of English along the highest lines of its possible progress. Hence, more required Collegiate English must at once be secured; a safe and steady expansion of elective English must also be secured, whereby the basis may be laid for judicious specialization in the two

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upper years of the college course and, more particularly, in the Senior Year.

Nor is it to be forgotten that this educational expansion within the province of Higher English is mainly literary, induced by the specifically literary widening of the preparatory course, and developed in the colleges themselves with primary reference to literary ends.

We are saying nothing now derogatory to the linguistic side of English studies, especially out of place as such reflections would be in an Association of Modern Language Teachers.[1] We are simply speaking of English Literature as such, and emphasizing the fact, that this marked expansion of the area of collegiate English is chiefly literary, and because the antecedent expansion in the schools is such, English Composition is now taught, as it should be taught, from the literary side, and English Language itself, in so far as involving structure, idiom, diction and good usage, is taught, as it should be, from the literary side, strictly linguistic English, on the scientific side, having a distinctive province of its own. This close relation of language to literature and the increasing importance of accentuating the literary offices of language, and the multiform ways in which language fulfills them, have been ably set forth of late by the distinguished French critic Brunetière, recently among us.

Such, as we interpret them, are the chief literary advantages of the New Requirements in Entrance English, as seen in the specific knowledge of English authors thus imparted, whereby, with other results, the needed material is furnished for intelligent rhetorical praxis; in the cultivation of literary taste, especially as expressed in English diction and English style, and in the enforced expansion of the English Collegiate Curriculum along literary lines. Each of these benefits in itself indicates a decided advance in efficiency and interest as they together contribute to a quality and measure of progress altogether impossible on the restricted and erroneous methods hitherto prevailing, not to speak of the wholesome reactionary effect of this wider movement in the secondary schools themselves, whereby they will again, in their turn, incite the colleges to still higher ambitions, and still again, be inspired by the colleges, in their turn, to ever better conditions, and ideals.

If we now inquire, in closing, as to any additional literary advantages that may accrue, outside the college proper, from such an improved order of English Entrance and consequent English undergraduate work, there are some of notable value.

a. First of all, here are found the occasion and justification of that enlarging graduate English work that is beginning now to attract the attention of aspiring scholars and is at present so full of rational promise.

b. Still further, American Literary Criticism must feel at once the healthful influence of such a method, whereby, far back in the earliest stages of his course and on through the years of collegiate life, the student is made conversant with the highest models of literary criticism, sees for himself the salient principles of such criticism in manifest expression, and is led to understand the difference between that order of criticism which is purely formal and professional, and that which connects itself with all the vital processes of literary art and issues therefrom. M. Brunetiére, in the recent lectures referred to, dwells with emphasis upon these mutual relations of criticism and literature, whereby the one is saved from being a mere pedagogic exercise of the theorist, and the other from being a merely superficial expression of thought at random. Moreover, there will be raised up a generation of intelligent readers of the best literature whose wholesome influence on American homes and on public taste and public journalism, can scarcely be exaggerated.

c. The already expanding list of American authors will also receive numerous and worthy additions from these rising young men of letters, while our institutions of every grade from the Public School to the University will thus be furnished with teachers of English fitted for their work, and competent to advance the interests of general English Letters.

These, to our mind, are some of the rational prophecies in which we may indulge. The English Schoolmaster is abroad, as never before, and is to make himself, we are assured,

1 This paper was read at the Annual Meeting of the Mod. Lang. Association of America, Dec. 27, 1897.

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an ever more efficient factor in all that pertains to the nation's mental and literary strength.

The institutions that we represent and in which we work, are, in name and mission, literary institutions, and is it too much to say, primarily, English literary institutions? and the hopefulness of the outlook lies in the fact that English educators the country over, see, as never before, the errors that have hindered them and the open way to better things; understand each other, as never before, in their respective relations to secondary and subsequent training; insist, as never before, that our students in training shall appreciate the English literary legacy that is theirs, and become, in their place and time, inspiring forces in American education and American life.

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GERMANIC GRAMMAR.

The Verbum Perfectivum as a Substitute for the Future Tense.[1]

STREITBERG in his article *Perfective und imperfective Actionsart*, in PBB. xv, attempts to prove that Ulfilas made use of the existing difference between imperfective and perfective Actionsart[2] as a substitute for the missing future form. He says:

"Wir haben gesehen, dass die perfective Actionsart auch in den slavischen Sprachen zum Ersatz des fehlenden Futurums verwandt wird; wir haben auch gesehen, worin dieser Gebrauch begründet ist. Gebrauche ich nämlich die Präsensform eines momentan perfectiven Verbums, z. B. *ich komme*, so besteht eine zwiefache Möglichkeit: einmal, Beginn und Vollendung der Handlung fällt in demselben Moment zusammen, in dem Augenblick der Aeusserung, oder zweitens, der Moment der Vollendung gehört erst der Zukunft an; *ich komme* heisst alsdann ich mache die Bewegung des Gehens und setze dieselbe fort bis zum Zeitpunkt der Vollendung, dem Eintreffen. Dieser Zeitpunkt der Vollendung, der dem perfectiven Verb eigen ist, liegt also nicht mehr in der Gegenwart, sondern tritt erst in der Zukunft ein. Dies ist namentlich bei durativ-perfectiven Verben der Fall: z. B. *ich besteige den Berg*, d. h. 'ich führe die Bewegung des Steigens in der Richtung nach dem Gipfel hin bis zu dem Augenblick fort, in dem dieser erreicht ist.' Das Anlangen am Ziel ist auch hier nur ein Moment und zwar ein der Zukunft angehöriger, aber er steht in ausdrücklichem Gegensatz zur vorausgehenden Dauer der Handlung.

Da also jede perfective Präsensform im gewöhnlichen Verlauf der Dinge einen Hinweis auf die Zukunft enthält, so eignet sie sich nicht übel zum Ersatz der fehlenden Futurform."[3]

After these preliminary remarks, the writer proceeds to show that Ulfilas both felt and made use of this future element in the present tense of perfective verbs for the purpose of expressing the future tense. He brings together a number of cases where Gothic perfective compound verbs translate Greek simple verbs in the future tense. For example Matt. 8, 7 *ik quimands gahailja*=θεραπεύσω; Mc. 1, 17 *jah gatauja iggis wairþan nutans manne*=ποιήσω.[4]

Can this use of perfectives as a substitute for the future tense be proved for Old High German?

Let us compare some of Streitberg's examples with the corresponding passages in Tatian.

1. Perfective Compounds.

Matt. 10, 29 *ains ize ni gadriusiþ* [πεσεῖται] *ana airþa*. Tat. 44, 20 translates this by means of the simplex: *ein fon thên ni fellit* [*cadet*] *ubar erda*. *Gifiel* occurs 102,1 which shows that the compound was in the translator's vocabulary.

Streitberg's favorite example for illustrating the difference between perfective and imperfective Actionsart is *saihwan*. On page 82 he says:

"*saihwan* heisst 'die Fähigkeit des Sehens besitzen, sie ausüben, im Sehen begriffen sein,' ist also ein rein durativ Verbum. Im Gegensatz hierzu bedeutet *gasaihwan* 'die Handlung des Sehens ausüben in Bezug auf den Moment der Vollendung, d. h. *erblicken*, *bemerken*.'"

The same distinction is also made between *hausjan*='die Fähigkeit des Hörens in Anwendung bringen' and *gahausjan*='vernehmen.'

1 The substance of this contribution is taken from the writer's dissertation: *Über die Wiedergabe des lateinischen Futurums bei den althochdeutschen Übersetzern des 8.–10. Jahrhunderts*. Göttingen, 1897.

2 The writer prefers to leave this term untranslated.

3 See PBB. xv, 120.

4 Examples might be multiplied if space allowed.

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Tatian 74, 6: *gihôrnesst gihôret ir inti ni furstantet, inti gisehente gisehet inti ni gisehet=auditu audietis et non intellegetis, et videntes videbitis et non videbitis.* According to Streitberg's theory this means: 'was ihr mit den Ohren vernehmen werdet, werdet ihr nicht verstehen.' So far it agrees with Streitberg's view, but let us go farther:

'ihr besitzet die Fähigkeit des Sehens (*gisehente*), und werdet diese Fähigkeit ausüben (*gisehet*), doch werdet ihr nicht zum Ziele des Sehens gelangen, d. h. nichts erblicken.'

Here the distinction is entirely lost sight of, the compound serving at once for the imperfective and the perfective idea. In the preceding verse the same verbs are involved: *bithiu sprihhu ih in in râtissân, uuanta sehente ni gisehent inti gihôrente ni gehôrent noh ni furstantent.* Note *sehente* and *gihôrente.*

88. 8 *thie tôten hôrent (audient) stemma gotes sunes, inti thie sia gihôrent (audierint) lebênt.* Why *hôrent* and *gi-hôrent?* The Actionsart is the same in both cases. These examples prove beyond doubt that the translator of Tatian did not recognize any difference between *sehan* and *gisehan*, *hôren* and *gihôren*, and made use of the two words as chance dictated.

It is not the purpose of this investigation, however, to show how far Tatian distinguishes between perfective and imperfective verbs, that is, compound and simple forms like *sehan* and *gisehan.* The question here is, whether Perfective Compounds have been employed to supply the missing future. These examples are indisputable evidence that such is not the case.

2. *Werdan* and *uuesan.*

Streitberg shows that Ulfilas has used without exception the perfective *wairþan* for the Greek ἔσομαι, excepting, of course, the cases where the imperfective Actionsart is also necessary for the future tense. His words are:

"Wie nämlich im slavischen das imperfectiv *byti* 'sein' und das perfectiv *bǫdǫ* 'werde' nebeneinanderbestehen und dieses die Futurfunction für jenes übernimmt, so übernimmt auch got. *wairþan* die Futurfunction für das imperf. *wisan;* während dies also regelmässig das griech. εἰμί überträgt, gibt jenes das griech. Futurum ἔσομαι wieder."

Do we also find this distinction in Tatian? Streitberg's first example is Matt. 5, 21: *saei maurþreiþ skula wairþiþ* [ἔσται] *staua.* We find the same in Tatian 26, 1: *thie thâr slehit, ther ist* [*erit*] *sculdig duomes.* Also Matt. 6, 22: *jabai nu augo þein ainfalþ ist, allata leik þein liuhadein wairþiþ* [ἔσται]=Tatian 36, 3: *oba thîn ouga uuirdit lûttar, thanne ist* [*erit*] *al thîn lîhhamo liohtêr.* Here we have the reverse of Streitberg's theory, *uuirdit* is plainly imperfective and *ist* perfective. Luke 6, 35: *jah wairþiþ mizdo izwara managa, jah wairþiþ sunjus hauhistins*=Tat. 32, 8 *inti ist* [*erit*] *iuuar mieta mihhilu inti ir birut* [*eritis*] *kind thes hôhisten.* 147, 4: *Zuâ sint malenti in ein: ein ist ginoman inti ander uuirdit forlâzzan. Zuei sint in einemo bette: ein ist ginoman inti ander ist forlâzzan.* Here the use of *uuerdan* and *uuesan* is entirely arbitrary.

Examples might be multiplied indefinitely. Those given above suffice to prove that the translator of Tatian saw no distinction between *ist=erit* and *uuirdit=erit.*

Although we have decisive and ample evidence that Streitberg's theory does not apply to Tatian, it will not do to rest here and infer that it does not apply to Old High German as a whole, especially as it is evident on all hands that the translator, or translators, of Tatian possessed but an imperfect knowledge of their mother-tongue.

Compared with that of Tatian, the translation of Isidor possesses some literary merit of its own, showing that it must have been the work of a man who not only knew his Latin well, but was also well grounded in his native language. In his work we should expect to find those nice distinctions which the translator of Tatian may have overlooked.

We find sufficient material for our investigation. A fine example occurs in 37, 15, *der selbo zimbrit mir hûs, endi ih chifestinôn dhes . . . . untazs in euun=ipse edificavit mihi domum, et firmabo.* Why *zimbrit* and *chifestinôn?* Gothic *timrjan* is one of Streitberg's examples.[5] Cf. Ulfilas Mc. 14, 58, *bi þrins dagans anpara* [*alh*] *unhanduwaurhta gatimrja.* Is. 36, 18, *dhînera uuomba waxsmin setzu* [*ponam*] *ih ubar mîin hôhsetli.* According to Streitberg, we should have here *chisetzu*, for *ubar mîin hôhsetli* indicates the goal of the

5 PBB, xv, 128.

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action ('Ziel der Handlung'). 39, 8, *endi uuîsi uuirdit* [*erit*] *endi frummit* [*faciet*] *urdeili.* Here we can assume a perfective or imperfective meaning according to our point of view. According to Streitberg's theory, however, the two verbs *uuirdit*=perfective and *frummit*=imperfective ought to agree in their Actionsart.

Werdan and *uuesan.*[6] Isidor translates the Latin *ero, erit, erunt:*

a. by *uuerdan.* Cf. 11, 1, *endi sie uuerdant zi scaahche=eruntpreda;* 22, 14, *sînera sipbea ni uuirdit* [*erit*] *endi;* 39, 8, *endi uuîsi uuirdit* [*erit*].

b. by *scal uuesan.* 17, 12, *miin gheist scal uuesan* [*erit*]; 37, 17, *ih scal imu uuesan* [*ero*] *in fater stedi endi* (*ir*) *scal mir uuesan* [*erit*] *in sunes.*[7]

c. by *scal siin.* There is one example in 42, 21: *siin grab scal siin guotliih.*

d. by *ist.* 34, 17, *dherselbo ist dhes dheodun bîdant.* This sentence can be explained in a twofold manner. It is possible to read into it a durative idea: namely, 'he will always *be*, that is, *remain* the one whom they were looking for'; they will never be disappointed in him. This explanation is forced. The meaning is evidently perfective; namely, when he comes they will see that he is the expected one.

These examples are sufficient to prove that the translator of Isidor, as well as the one of Tatian, did not feel the difference between perfective and imperfective Actionsart. If this distinction had really existed, he would certainly have made use of it, for he gives ample evidence that he both understood and valued his native tongue.

Among the larger O.H.G. translations only the Monsee Fragments remain to be considered.

Following our order, we will first examine the compounds. We have at once a fine opportunity to test Streitberg's favorite examples, *sehan* and *hôren.*[8] Only the compounds *gasehan* and *gahôrren* occur in the Fragments, these verbs without the prefix not appearing in a single instance. Compare 8, 24, with Tatian 74, 5. The passage in the Fragments is mutilated, but the words in question have survived: namely, *gahôrrente ni gahôrrent=audientes non audiunt neque intellegunt.* The idea in *gahôrrente* is purely durative and indicates in the language of Streitberg: "die Fähigkeit des Hörens in Anwendung bringen." Why *gahôrrente?* In the same connection we read *gasehhante gasihit=videntes videbitis et non videbitis.* According to Streitberg this must mean: "you possess the power of seeing and will exercise this power" (ihr besitzt die Fähigkeit des Sehens und werdet diese Fähigkeit ausüben). Both ideas are plainly durative. 5, 7, *seczu* [*ponam*] *ih mînan gheist ubar inan.* See Tat. 69, 9, where also the simplex *sezzu* is employed: also Tat. 130, 2, where the compound occurs; namely, *ih gisezzu* [*ponam*] *thîne ftianta untar scamal thînero fuozo.* Isidor also 36, 18, has *setzu=ponam.*

19, 1, *samnôt sih arun=congregabuntur aquilæ.* In the same chapter, nine lines farther, we find *kasamnôt* [*congregabunt*] *sine kachorane.* These examples suffice to show that the translator took no notice of the future element in compounds with *ga.*

The future of *esse* has, as in the case of Isidor, three translations:

a. werdan. 10, 3, *so selb uuirdit* [*erit*] *in enti uueralti;* 13, 3, *so uuerdant sie=erunt;* 14, 3, *der . . . . uuirdit* [*erit*] *iuuer scalh,* etc.

b. scal. There are five examples of this construction; 10, 6, *dar im scal* [*erit*] *uuesan uuoft enti zano gagrîm;* 13, 29, *scal so uuesan* [*erit*] *untar in,* etc.

c. wesan. 4, 23, *huuelih iuuer ist der man der ein scaf habet,* etc. Here the original Latin text is wanting. The codex Amiatinus[9] reads: *quis erit ex vobis homo.* The idea is manifestly imperfective and signifies: "who of you *is* such a man"? Nevertheless, this is no conclusive evidence that the translator wished to distinguish between perfectivity and imperfectivity. His codex may have read *est* in place of *erit.*

26, 19 (incomplete). *sprihhu ih bin imo danne elidiutic . . . . sprihhit mir ist elidiutic* [*si ergo nesciero virtutem vocis, ero ei cui loquor barbarus, et is qui loquitur barbarus*].

6 PBB. xv, 132.

7 In all there are seven instances of this use of *scal.*

8 PBB. xv, 82.

9 This codex is very similar to the one used by the translator of the Fragments.

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This evidently means: "when I begin to speak to him, in that moment I become to him *barbarus*." The translator has chosen *bim danne* to express this perfective idea.

The frequent use of *scal uuesan* indicates that the translator was not entirely satisfied with *uuerdan* as an exact equivalent for *erit*.

In the light of these examples, we are also obliged to reject Streitberg's theory for the Monsee Fragments.

The Benedictine Rule, the Murbach Hymns and the smaller monuments show also no traces of a distinction between perfective and imperfective Actionsart with reference to the future tense.

As the result of these investigations, we are forced to the general conclusion that Streitberg's theory, which he hopes to see verified for all the Germanic dialects, does not hold good for O.H.G. Wustmann in his monograph, *Verba Perfectiva, namentlich im Heliand*, shows that it must also be rejected for Old Saxon. He even refuses to accept it for Gothic in spite of Streitberg's ingenious exposition.

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AMERICAN-FRENCH DIALECT COMPARISON.

Two Acadian-French Dialects compared with "Some Specimens of a Canadian-French Dialect Spoken in Maine."

PAPER No. II.* (Conclusion.)

TABLE No. I.

PHONOLOGICAL table of speech varieties known to occur with regularity in one or more of the French-speaking regions in and about the Dominion of Canada, illustrating *regularly-recurring variations* from standard French, with the French equivalents.

å=Fr. *â* or *a* in *pas*; a[149]=Fr. *a* in *pas*; à=Fr. *a* in *patte*; æ as in E. *hat*; é=Fr. *è* and *é*; è=Fr. *è* (in Fr. *ais* endings, etc. Acadian regions); ə=Fr. *e* in *de*; æ=Fr. *è* (Canadian regions); i=Fr. *i*; ɪ[150]=Fr. *i*; ó[151]=Fr. *â* or *a*; ó=Fr. *o* in *pot*; ó=Fr. *o* in *fort*; ő=Fr. *eu* in *peu*; ö[152]=Fr. *eu* in *peur*; ŏ=*u* in E. *but*; u=Fr. *o* before *m* or *n* not nasal (Acadian regions); ŭ=*u* in E. *pull*; ü=Fr. *ü*; wa=Fr. *oi* final (Acadian regions); wé=Fr. *oi* final (Canadian regions); wè=Fr. *oi* not final; wé=Fr. *oi* not final; æ̃=Fr. *un*; æ̃=Fr. *in*; æ̃=Fr. *en*; æ̃[153]=Fr. *on*; å̃=Fr. *en, an*; å̃[154]=Fr. *in*; è̃=nasal of Fr. *è*.

For this purpose, the French consonants may most conveniently be divided into: 1. Stops; 2. Liquids; and 3. Continuants.

1. Of the French stops, *p* and *b* correspond with dialect *p* and *b* very generally in all positions. Although cases of the assimilation of voiced consonants to unvoiced and the like (for example, dialect àpsæ̃=Fr. *absent*), occur with great *regularity* in these dialects, inasmuch as they characterize to a greater or less extent all natural speech, they do not appear to me typical dialect features in the sense the table contemplates such traits. Likewise French *t*, *d*, *k* and *g*, when not before front vowels, correspond with dialect *t*, *d*, *k* and *g*. When, however, in French either *t*, *d*, *k* or *g* is followed by a front vowel the dialect equivalents may vary from the French. Thus dialect ky=Fr. *k* before front vowels: [kyèl=Fr. *quel*; kyőr=Fr. *cœur*] (Canadian regions). Dialect tš̆=Fr. *k* before front vowels: [tš̆èl=Fr. *quel*; tš̆ör=Fr. *cœur*] (Acadian regions). Dialect tš̆=Fr. *t*+front vowel final, or before a consonant: [ptši=Fr. *petit*; kriatš̆ür=Fr. *créature*] (Canadian regions). But dialect t=Fr. *t* before *i* or *u* final or before a consonant: [pti=Fr. *petit*; kriatür=Fr. *créature*] (Acadian regions). Dialect tš̆=Fr. *t*+vowel (usually *i*) followed by another vowel: [mètš̆é=Fr. *métier*; mötš̆é=Fr. *moitié*] (Acadian regions). Dialect

* Paper No. I appeared in MOD. LANG. NOTES for December, 1893, January and February, 1894; and part of Paper No. II in December, 1897, January, February and April, 1898.

149 See the observations on å, *a* and *â* at the beginning of Professor Sheldon's paper. I have not been able personally to observe a dialect a=Fr. *a* in *pas*, occurring regularly.

150 Cf. Professor Chamberlain's article on the dialect of Granby in MOD. LANG. NOTES, for Jan., 1893, and the observations on *i*, p. 33 of his notes.

151 See Professor Squair's List (3) and cf. Professor Chamberlain's notes to Granby dialect, Nos. 1, 3 and 5, p. 31.

152 Rare, as far as I have observed.

153 Can be heard in terminations corresponding to Fr. *-tion* in and around Bonaventure, Baie des Chaleurs.

154 Noted in a number of words at Bonaventure; på̃=Fr. *pain*; må̃=Fr. *main*, etc. For similar and identical treatment of the Fr. nasals Corblet's Picard dictionary furnishes illustrations.

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dž= Fr. *g* followed by a front vowel: [džèp= Fr. *guèpe;* džöl=Fr. *gueule*] (Acadian regions). Dialect dż=Fr. *d*+front vowel final or before a consonant: [módż̇i=Fr. *maudit;* dżir=Fr. *dire;* dżü bwà=Fr. *du bois*] (Canadian regions). Dialect dž=Fr. *d*+vowel (usually *i*) followed by another vowel: [džö=Fr. *dieu;* džåb=Fr. *diable*] (Acadian regions). But dialect d=Fr. *d* before *i* or *u* final, or before a consonant (Acadian regions). Dialect dž=Fr. *y* (consonant), Waterville: [mudžé= Fr. *mouiller*]. Dialect k=Fr. *l* before front vowels: [mwàkyé=Fr. *moitié;* kyæ̃=Fr. *tiens*; küyó=Fr. *tuyau*] (Canadian regions and owing probably to Canadian influence, also Acadian regions). The cases of dialect k= Fr. *g*, I should hardly call a regular dialect feature, being confined, as far as I have observed, to a few words: fàtik=Fr. *fatigue;* fàtikã=Fr. *fatiguant*, etc. Dialect y=Fr. *g* before front vowels: [yȉd=Fr. *guide*] (Canadian regions and owing probably to Canadian influence, also Acadian regions). The pronunciation *gyȉd* heard in some regions is a trait, dialect gy=Fr. *g*, that is parallel to dialect ky=Fr. *k*. Dialect y=Fr. *d* before a front vowel+a vowel: [yő=Fr. *dieu*] (Canadian and also Acadian regions). Dialect d=Fr. *g*+ front vowel: [disè and dišæ=Fr. *guichet*]; however, Fr. g+front vowel is far more commonly represented by dialect y as in yȉd=Fr. *guide*.

2. The dialect liquids l, m, n, ñ, and r may be said as a rule to correspond to the Fr. *l*, *m*, *n*, *ng* and *r*. The multitude of changes that occur in words containing these letters in these dialects, as indeed in language in general, are due to causes in sound change that are easily and well understood, to which reference has been made in a general way just before attempting this tabulation. Merely to instance one of these most frequent and regular traits occurring, too, so often in popular spoken French, take the many words in these dialects where dialect ñ represents Fr. *ni* plus a vowel: pañé=Fr. *panier*.[155]

3. The dialect continuants f, v, s, z, š, ż, h, and y are also, as a rule, identical in these dialects with the respective Fr. equivalents, save as has already been shown in some localities, dialect h or ḥ[156] takes the place of Fr. ż and y=*dż* in Waterville.

To the above phonological features may be added what few characteristics have been noted in regard to the morphology of the Dominion French so far examined: (1). ȍn= Fr. *une*, [Acadian regions]. (2). an=Fr. *une*, [Canadian regions]. æ̃=Fr. *un*, and so generally in use throughout Canada, as well as in popular French, has already been noted among the phonetical features. (3). õ=Fr. *on* in the sense of *nous*.[157] [More especially Canadian than Acadian.] (4). ž(ə) with verb forms in õ(z)=Fr. *ons*, corresponding to Fr. forms with *nous* [Acadian regions.][158] (5). Dialects having a preterite tense and those lacking the same.[159] (6). Dialects which form the preterite of all the verbs on the analogy of Fr. verbs whose infinitives end in *-ir*,[158]—thus, ž èmi=Fr. *j'aimai;* ž kuri=Fr. *je courus*, etc. (7). àwèr= Fr. *avoir* is the auxiliary used with all neuter as well as transitive verbs.[159]

Now, of these speech characteristics noted in various regions, it can hardly fail to be apparent in view of the speech comparisons already made, that the majority of them are identical for Acadian and Canadian French, as well as for popular spoken French in the country round about Paris. While this is true, comparisons show also that there are several

155 See p. 173, § 407, of Passy's *Étude;* also p. 83 of the second edition of his *Les sons du français*.

156 This trait also occurs in the Lorraine dialects, for there are a number of examples given where there is little chance of mistaking it. Under § vi, p. 25 of Adam's *Patois lorrains* is the heading: *hh, h, ch, j, g* (*doux*). Then follows: "L'un des traits les plus caractéristiques de l'idiome populaire lorrain est que dans un assez grand nombre de mots, les articulations *hh, h, ch, j, g* (doux) correspondent aux articulations françaises et latines: *s, ch, g, j, r, re, rg, rs, s, ss, sc, st, v, x, z*."

157 The preterite is not popular in the French about Paris according to Agnel, *Observations*, pp. 53–78, and Beyer and Passy in *Das gesprochene Französisch*, p. 155, Anmerkung § 152, declare in large type: "*Dasselbe ist aber in der umgangssprache der Nordfranzosen ausgestorben.*" This accounts for its missing in many localities in the Dominion.

158 Where preterites are found in the French dialects, one of the commonest kinds of formations is the above. This assimilation of the conjugation in *-er* to that in *-ir* was very common in the sixteenth century and evidently has been retained largely in the Dominion. See Darmesteter and Hatzfeld, *Seizième Siècle en France*, p. 237; also Nisard, *Langage populaire de Paris*, p. 223 and the note 1.

159 Common to the rural regions about Paris, Agnel, *Observations*, p. 76, v.

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features, which are particularly apt to be found in Acadian regions, though they may, too, appear in some Canadian ones and *vice versa*. It seems worth while, therefore, the better to make a comparative statement, as well as for convenience of reference, to present such features in a brief tabular form by themselves:

TABLE No. 2.

Table showing features which appear more likely to be found in Acadian than in Canadian regions.

(1). Dialect è=Fr. *el, aie, ais, ait*, or any combination which, when final, is pronounced as Fr. *è*; that is, Acadian and standard French (unlike Canadian and standard French) agree: mòvè=Fr. *mauvais*.

(2). Dialect u=Fr. *o* before *m, n*, or *ng*, not nasal: bun=Fr. *bonne*; pum=Fr. *pomme*; truñõ=Fr. *trognon*.

(3). Dialect wa final=Fr. *oi* final: dwa=Fr. *doigt*; žwa=Fr. *joie*.

(4). Dialect tš=Fr. *k* before front vowels: tšüré=Fr. *curé*; tšör=Fr. *cœur*; tšès=Fr. *caisse*.

(5). Dialect tš=Fr. *t*+vowel (usually *i*), followed by another vowel: mötšé=Fr. *moitié*; tšæ=Fr. *tiens*.

(6). Dialect t=Fr. *t* before *i* or *u* final, or before *i* or *u*+consonant: pti=Fr. *petit*; kriatür=Fr. *créature*.

(7). Dialect dž=Fr. *g* followed by a front vowel: dzèté=Fr. *guetter*.

(8). Dialect dž=Fr. *d*+vowel (usually *i*) followed by another vowel: džâb=Fr. *diable*; akadžæ=Fr. *acadien*.

(9). Dialect d=Fr. *d* before *i* or *u* final, or before *i* or *u*+consonant: midi=Fr. *midi*; dü bwa=Fr. *du bois*.

(10). Dialect ön=Fr. *une*.

(11). Dialect z(ə)=*je* with forms in õ(z)=Fr. *ons* used corresponding to Fr. *nous* with first person plural of the verb; the forms in õ(z) are also used with the third person plural pronouns:[161] ž savyõ for Fr. *nous savions*; i savyõ= *ils savaient*.

[Dialect infinitives in *i* final corresponding to Fr. *-ir*: afèbli=Fr. *affaiblir*].[160]

160 Noted in note 51, Paper No. I; a common trait of the dialect of Haut-Maine, the forms *couri* and *fini* being given as examples for Fr. *courir* and *finir*. See the *Vocabulaire du Haut-Maine* by Roger de Montesson, comments on the verb just preceding the vocabulary. Also common sixteenth century pronunciation, Thurot, Vol. ii, pp. 161-3.

TABLE No. 3.

Table showing features which appear more likely to be found in Canadian than Acadian regions.

(1). Dialect æ=Fr. *è* final, written in many ways, *-aie, -ais, ait, et*, etc.: âglæ=Fr. *anglais*; vræ=Fr. *vrai*.

(2). Dialect o=Fr. *o* before *m, n*, or *ng*, just as in French: pòm=Fr. *pomme*, etc.

(3). Dialect { wè / wé=Fr. *oi* final: { mwè / mwé=Fr. *moi*; { twè / twé=Fr. *toi*.

(4). Dialect ky=Fr. *k* (sound) before front vowels: kyõr=Fr. *cœur*.

(5). Dialect k=Fr. *t* before front vowels (usually *i*)+another vowel: mékyé=Fr. *métier*; amikyé=Fr. *amitié*.

(6). Dialect tš=Fr. *t*+front vowel final or followed by a consonant: ètšü=Fr. *es-tu*; rótšir=Fr. *rôtir*.

(7). Dialect y=Fr. *g*+front vowel: yïd=Fr. *guide*; yirlâd=Fr. *guirlande*; nâviyé=Fr. *naviguer*. Cases of dialect gy=Fr. *g*+front vowel, as in gyïd=Fr. *guide*, can be heard in some localities, though as far as I have been able to observe, not of frequent occurrence; certainly not when compared with the parallel feature above, dialect ky=Fr. *k* before front vowels.

[Dialect y=Fr. *g*+front vowel also occurs in Canadian regions, but with far less frequency than dialect y=Fr. *g*+front vowel: èdüiy=Fr. *aiguille*; diyóm=Fr. *Guillaume*.]

(8). Dialect y=Fr. *d* before a front vowel+a vowel: yiâmæ=Fr. *diamant*; yâb=Fr. *diable*.

(9). Dialect dz=Fr. *d*+front vowel final or followed by a consonant: midzi=Fr. *midi*; džür=Fr. *dur*.

(10). Dialect an or æn=Fr. *une*.

(11). Dialect õ=Fr. *on* in the sense of nous for Fr. *nous*.

We can now get from the results presented some idea of what may or may not prove to be Acadian or Canadian features of a French dialect such as that examined by Professor Sheldon. There are dialect specimens which yield more readily to such treatment than the Waterville dialect. For example, I have a newspaper sent me from Weymouth, a seaport on the southwestern part of Nova Scotia on St. Mary's Bay, published Thursday, March 14,

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1895, in which appears an article, a column and a quarter in length by "Marichette" and supposed to be written in the popular dialect of Cheticamp,[161] N. S., from which it has been forwarded to the editor of this newspaper "*L'Evangeline*" at Weymouth. Were the letter written phonetically, I think every trait which I have indicated in Table No. 2 as apt to be found in Acadian regions would there be found. As it is, so marked are several of the characteristics that the dialect student, familiar with Dominion French, after reading merely a few lines cannot hesitate to characterize this specimen as Acadian rather than Canadian. To prove that it contains every individual trait comprised in the Table of the features that are likely to be met with in Acadian regions is another matter,—a task which defies proof—though if one hears the article read by a native,[162] I believe one cannot be in doubt. As I wish to make no statement which I cannot support with material at hand, I will give an example of each characteristic taken in order from the Acadian French Table (No. 2), and let the reader judge for himself whether the phrase contains the requisite data in order to characterize it as one thing rather than another.

1. . . . le reste de son histoire est trop *mauvais français* pour le comprendre.

2. Jusqu'à vote *houmme* de Halifax chi veux qu'reller avec moi.

3. Mais asteur j'y *crois*.

4. Le bœuf avait la *cheue* droite *chi* pointait vers l'étoile.

5. Chelle *pichier*, sa faisait peur, sé trop long . . . . pour tout vous dire.

6. . . . s'il n'avait pas *sortit* ses griffes de sa poche . . .

7. Quanq'ça été fini le toreau avait la langue sorti deux pieds longs de la *gheulle*.

8. Il est savagne[163] comme un *jâble* s'ti là.

9. Pite Doucet a *vendu* son cheval . . . après *midi* sur le lac . . .

10. J'me souviens qu'il avait *printé* sur l'*Evangeline une*[164] histoire chi faisait trembler.

11. *Je savons* pourquoi. Ces filles là *croyions* qu'elles *pouvions* toute le marier à la fois.

[. . . mais je croyons qu'il a promis que M. Koppe ferait *sorti* de l'argent pour le chais du p'tit R—.]

Comparing, now, with a view to seeing what the proportion of Acadian or Canadian features of the *Specimens* are, we find in the first place what must be obvious even without comparing every individual trait found in one place with every other in another place, that while the majority of phonological features are identical in Acadian, Canadian and popular French, there are nevertheless, besides an endless variety of local differences in all parts of the Dominion, a number of such well-marked speech traits, as to characterize, at least to a certain extent, the phonology of one speech locality when compared with that of another. Such speech characteristics are exhibited in Tables No. 2 and No. 3. Let us take these traits in the order in which they are numbered and compare the corresponding traits which the Waterville dialect may happen to have with the characteristic speech traits in these Tables.

There are no examples among the Waterville *Specimens* of the traits in the Acadian Table no. 2, numbered (2), (3), (6), (9), (10) and (11), nor of the bracketed infinitive in -i=Fr. infinitive in *-ir*. In regard to no. (8), dialect dž=Fr. *d*+vowel (usually *i*) followed by another vowel as in džâb=Fr. *diable*, there is no concrete

161 A small hamlet in the southwest corner of Nova Scotia, near the coast about midway between Yarmouth and Digby, in the Acadian region, and several hundred miles distant from the Cheticamp, C. B., where my notes were taken.

162 I did not hear the article read by a native of Cheticamp, N. S.; I did, however, hear it read by a native of Cheticamp, C. B., whose pronunciation of it agreed with what I anticipated the author meant, though of course as a matter of fact my reader from Cheticamp, C. B., could not *know* the pronunciation of any other dialect than his own, unless he had studied such a dialect. The writer of the letter is by no means consistent in the spelling of the same words; again unless one writes phonetically, it must be evident that it is impossible to be absolutely sure of just what the pronunciation of a given word is. Nevertheless despite these serious obstacles to stating anything at all about the language of the article with scientific accuracy, it must be evident from the italicized words that the signs point in one direction, and though proof is wanting in regard to these signs, yet one conclusion rather than another will almost surely be drawn. For the dialect searcher in the Dominion, as well as for the tourist exploring regions little frequented, Sweetzer's *Maritime Provinces* (on the plan of the Baedeker's *Guides* and revised annually) will prove a most useful companion guide.

163 This interesting trait *a*—Fr. *an* I noted in Paper No. I, note 78.

164 Of course, there is no way of knowing how this *une* is pronounced. Very naturally the native of Cheticamp, C. B., who read me the article pronounced it *ôn* which here has no significance in enabling one to conclude definitely.

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example to establish an identical trait in Waterville. Because Waterville dž=Fr. *d* followed by *i* when final as in módži=Fr. *maudit* (phrase no. 54), or when the *i* is followed by a pronounced consonant as in džirir=Fr. *guérir* (phrase no. 49), is not sufficient to determine absolutely what the dialect pronunciation is when the *i* is followed by another *vowel* as in French *Dieu*;—cf. the Cheticamp pronunciations: mudi=Fr. *maudit*, dir=Fr. *dire* and džő=Fr. *Dieu*.

On the other hand, the Waterville *Specimens* contain examples in this Table of the traits numbered (1), (4), (5) and (7); thus as examples under (1), of this Acadian Table No. 2, we find in the Waterville *Specimens* in phrases nos. 29, 43 and 87: aprè=Fr. *après*. As an example under (4) in phrase no. 23 we find tšèl=Fr. *quel* and a number of other examples of tš= Fr. *k*+front vowel follow. Under (5) in phrase no. 30 mòtšè=Fr. *moitié* and under (7) in phrase no. 34 džöl=Fr. *gueule*, as well as other examples of dž=Fr. *g*+front vowel following. Thus of twelve quite well marked features belonging as a rule to Acadian French, there appear four well-defined ones in the Waterville *Specimens*, one, no. (8), not well marked, and seven do not appear in the dialect.

Turning now to the Table showing features which appear more likely to be found in Canadian than Acadian regions (Table No. 3), the Waterville *Specimens* do not contain examples under (1), (4), (5) and (7), for these traits, as has just been shown, apply to (1), (4), (5) and (7) of Table No. 2; while the Waterville dialect does contain examples under (2): òm=Fr. *homme* (phrase no. 2 of *Specimens*); under (3): mwè=Fr. *moi* (phrase no. 14); under (6): ètsü=Fr. *es-tu* (phrase no. 29); under (9): midži=Fr. *midi* (phrase no. 40); under (10) æn=Fr. *une* (phrases nos. 63 and 64); and under (11) ő=Fr. *on*, for *nous* (phrase no. 46). In regard to (8) in this Table, I do not consider the data in the *Specimens* sufficient to establish the pronunciation of the dialect form corresponding to Fr. *d* before a vowel+a vowel as in Fr. *diamant*. The form ma=Fr. *moi*, found in phrases nos. 44, 45 and 49, I think must be classed by itself as a local dialect peculiarity,[144] while the examples mwè=Fr. *moi* (no. 14); twè=Fr. *toi* (no. 76); lwè=Fr. *loi* (no. 100); bwè=Fr. *boit* (no. 96); vwè=Fr. *voix* (no. 110) and rwè=Fr. *roi* (no. 114) are clear proofs of Canadian usage. Thus, then, we find that of the eleven well-marked traits in Table No. 3, the Waterville *Specimens* contain no examples of (1), (4), (5) and (7) (for which traits see the preceding Acadian Table No. 2); that (8) cannot, as I believe, be well determined, and that it does contain clearly marked examples of the characteristics under (2), (3), (6), (9), (10) and (11).

There are, then, according to what has just been shown, four well-defined Acadian traits in the Waterville *Specimens* and six well-defined Canadian features,—the dialect thus showing considerable mixture. Of course no such arbitrary mathematical deduction furnishes any conclusive evidence as to the character of a dialect, for some traits are more important by far than others, and have more character in themselves, because of the manner and frequency of their use. It seems to me noteworthy that the Waterville dialect appears not to have the Canadian æ sound corresponding to Fr. *è* in endings in *-aie*, *-ais*, *-ait*, *-et*, etc. I say *appears* because I believe the data insufficient to decide the point. As an offset to not having this in general quite characteristic mark of Canadian regions (if this be really the case that it does not appear in the dialect), it fails, on the other hand, to show an equally distinguishing mark indicating probably Acadian regions,—the z(ə)=Fr. *je* with the ending ő(z)=Fr. *-ons*, but retains the Canadian usage, that is, more distinctively Canadian than Acadian,[164 (*bis*)] of ő=Fr. *on* in the sense of *nous*. The dialect, however, does contain *three* finely marked Acadian features and very characteristic ones: under (4) of Table No. 2, tš=Fr. *k* before front vowels; under (5), dialect tš=Fr. *t*+vowel (usually *i*) followed by another vowel and under (7), dialect dž=Fr. *g*, followed by a front vowel. That these traits appear as clearly as they do seems to me rather remarkable, considering the location of Waterville and the favorable chances of its exposure to Canadian influence. Indeed this dialect has more of what may be regarded as indicating typical Acadian features than has that which I

[164 (*bis*)] ". . l'emploi du pronom indéfini *on* pour *nous* est bien moins répandu qu'au Canada." P. Poirier in *Nouelles Soirées Canadiennes*, vol. iii, p. 63 et seq.

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examined at Tracadiegetche (now Carleton), a genuine Acadian settlement on the north shore of the Baie des Chaleurs, made up originally of refugees from Tracadie; for this latter dialect had only what one might term perhaps the less plainly-marked dialect characteristics of Acadian French,—that is, the features under (1), (3), (6), (9) and (10) in Table No. 2, while of the features classified as apt to be Canadian, in Table No. 3, it had six: (2), (4), (5), (7), (8) and (11), which seem to me more marked features and stamp the dialect in spite of its Acadian origin as more Canadian in character than Acadian. The reason of this in Tracadiegetche seems to be due principally to two active forces: 1°. Canadian influence, and 2°. the influence of education. This latter force seems comparatively speaking to be more absent from the Waterville dialect as an influencing factor than in some other dialect speech throughout the Dominion. Notwithstanding the well-marked Acadian traits which I have tried to show clearly that the Waterville French possesses, upon looking at the speech as a whole, which seems to me the most natural way of receiving an impression of speech character (I mean of course after getting at the facts of the case as has been done) were I called upon to classify the *Specimens*, it would seem to me proper to call the dialect a French-Canadian dialect with Acadian admixture. If originally this Waterville dialect contained other features such as have been shown likely to be found in Acadian regions, the comparison will have brought out to what extent Canadian influence may have prevailed.

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FAUST ii, vv. 106–108.

"Von Sturz zu Sturzen wälzt er jetzt in tausend,
Dann abertausend Strömen sich ergiessend,
Hoch in die Lüfte Schaum an Schäume sausend."

Though Loeper and a majority of the interpreters do not comment upon the construction of this passage, Schröer and Thomas rightly recognize its difficulty. Thomas, with others, takes *sausend* as a transitive verb, meaning 'sending with a roar;' the cataract "leaps from plunge to plunge, breaking in a myriad streams and roaring masses of foam high into the air." But the native language-tact rebels against the use of *sich* as a common reflexive shared by *wälzt* and *ergiessend*. As for supposing that *sich* is simply omitted after *wälzt*, *metri gratia*, or that *wälzen*, without the reflexive, can mean 'leap,' German idiom enters an emphatic protest.

Thomas concludes his exegesis of the lines thus: "Schröer thinks this inadmissible and would connect *Schaum an Schäume* with *wälzt*."

This is what Schröer says:

"Der Wasserfall wälzt sich sausend. 'Hoch in die Lüfte' hat kein Prädikat. 'Er saust Schaum an Schäume' ist nicht anzunehmen und demnach zu ergänzen: (der Wasserfall wälzt sich) und schleudert fortgesetzt Schaum an Schaum."

It appears, then, that Schröer is misunderstood by Thomas. Far from connecting *Schaum an Schäume* with *wälzt*, the German commentator lays stress on the absence of a predicate for *Hoch in die Lüfte Schaum an Schäume*, and supplies the object of *wälzt* from the next verse: *sich*.

Now Schröer's construction is very difficult. The reader has an uneasy feeling, as if *wälzt* and *ergiessend* were fighting for the possession of *sich*, which as yet belongs to neither, the predicate-less *Schaum an Schäume* watching the struggle from its uncomfortable position 'high up in the air.' The transitive *sausen*, which Schröer considers out of the question, is not half so difficult as the conjectural ellipsis in v. 108.

My own 'Sprachgefühl' has always connected *Schaum an Schäume* with *wälzt* as accusative object with predicate. The same construction evidently occurred to Professor Thomas, who somehow imputed it to Schröer.

The editions, so far as I know them, have a comma at the end of v. 106, but no other punctuation in the line. But the form *Sturzen*, which is probably "ein fortgeerbter Abschreibefehler" for *Stürzen* (Schröer), throws a certain suspicion on the line. What if the involvedness of the entire sentence should give way before the mere insertion of a comma?

I think that a comma was omitted by Goethe, or by his copyist. Without it, we must read a meaning into the sentence. With it, the sentence becomes perfectly clear. The question is: Shall the comma be placed before, or after *jetzt*? I am for the first position, because *jetzt* derives its value in the context chiefly from an antithesis with *dann* (v. 107).

I would, therefore, propose this reading:

"Von Sturz zu Sturzen wälzt er, jetzt in tausend,
Dann abertausend Strömen sich ergiessend,
Hoch in die Lüfte Schaum an Schäume sausend,"

taking, of course, *sausend* as a modifier of the verb, not of the object.

The passage, in prose, would read:

Von Sturz zu Sturzen wälzt er sausend Schaum an Schaum in die Lüfte, sich jetzt (=zuerst) in tausend, dann in abertausend Strömen ergiessend.

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A CORSICAN COUPLET.

AT the beginning of Mérimée's *Colomba* are two verses that have puzzled pupils and teachers alike. Here they are, as they stand in the 1840 edition:—

> Pè far la to vendetta.
> Sta sigur', vasta anche ella.
> VOCERO DU NIOLO.

From the translations that appear in some recent editions of the novel, it is evident that the annotators have not succeeded in finding the context from which the couplet is taken. It may, therefore, be worth while to state that the whole poem is contained in a collection of *Voceri*, *Chants populaires de la Corse*, published in 1850 by A. L. A. Fée, *Professeur à la Faculté de Médécine de Strasbourg*. The laments are preceded by an interesting account of an *Excursion faite dans cette île en 1845*. The poem in question is the fourth; it is written in the *dialetto de Niolo*, and is called *Vocero di Maria-Felice di Calacuccia in morte del fratello*. The last stanza (without the editor's accents) reads as follows:—

> D'una razza cusi grande
> Lasci solu una surella,
> Senza cugini carnali,
> Povera, orfana e zitella.
> Ma per fa la to bindetta,
> Sta siguru, basta anch'ella.

The two lines mean, then: "But, be assured, even she is competent to wreak thy vengeance." As to Mérimée's *vasta*, I am inclined to think that it represents an actual pronunciation; the development of initial *b* into *v*, so general in southern Italy, is not unknown in the Niolo dialect, although the opposite change is far commoner in Corsica. The idea of a sister, in the absence of male relatives, taking retribution into her own hands, is found in other *voceri*. For instance, in the lament on the death of the outlaw Canino (No. vii.), the sister declares her intention of putting on male attire and arming herself, and ends with the words:—

> Cani, cor di la suretra,
> Bogliu fa la to vindetta.

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GERMAN LEXICOGRAPHY.

NOTE ON wohlauf, wohlan.

THE etymology of the words *wohlauf*, *wohlan*, etc., is given in the dictionaries as *wohl*, adv.,+*auf*, *an*, etc. They go back to M. H. G. *wol ûf*, *wol an*, *wol her*. A curious contamination with the verb *wollen* is found in several texts of the fifteenth century.

Germ. I, pp. 165–192, contains *Ein Spiel v. S. Georg*, written about 1473, probably in Augsburg. On p. 172[a], l. 11, seq., it reads as follows:

> "Darnach gand die Burger zu ainander und spricht der erst Burger also:
> *Wend auf*, ir herren, all mit mir!
> grosz wunder das sechent ir,
> ain giftig wurm ist in dem lant,
> mit seinem autem hatt er verprant
> Libia das künigreich
> Darum *woll auf* arm und reich
> und luogent, wie man das fürsech,
> das söllicher schad von im nit gschech."

There are nine or ten more instances in the text of *wollauf*, *wollan*, but they might be considered as either from *wol*, adv., or *wollen*. The form *wond*, however, can be only the Alemannian second plur. imperative of *wollen*.[1]

In the *Liederbuch* of Clara Hätzlerin, Augsburg, 1474,[2] p. 219, part ii, in song no. 52, entitled *Von einem zornigen weib*, is found, ll. 11, seq.:

> "*Welt her*, ir tiuffel allgemain
> Baide grosz und auch clain
> Wir süllen ainander raissen,
> schelten, grymen und peissen."

This form can only be the second plur. imperative of *wollen*.

In Wackernagel, *Das deutsche Kirchenlied*, vol. ii, among songs of the fifteenth century, no. 829, also printed in Nic. Beutner's *Catholisch Gesang Buch*, 1660, p. 106, no. vi, second part, has, strophe 14:

> "*Welts auff*, wir woelln ins Lesen, gut lese ist an der Zeit."

This same phrase occurs also in no. 830, strophe 1, from the *Grosz Catholisch Gesangbuch, durch D. G. Corner*, Nürnberg, 1631. The form *wolts* is the Bavarian second plur. imperative of *wollen*.[3]

1 Cf. Weinhold, *Alem. Gram.*, p. 409.

2 Published by Haltaus, Quedlinburg, 1840.

3 Cf. Weinhold, *Bair. Gram.*, pp. 12, 287, 288.

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These instances show that the writers of these texts no longer considered the first component of *wohlauf* to be the adverb *wohl*, but the verb *wollen*.

It is interesting to note that, to judge from the texts quoted, this contamination is chronologically and geographically confined within narrow bounds.

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ETYMOLOGICAL NOTES.

1. O.H.G. *lahan*, O.E. *lēan* 'blame,' O.H.G. *lastar* 'reviling, shame, error,' O.N. *lǫstr*, Mid. Eng. *last* 'fault,' O.E. *leahtor* 'reproach, sin,' contain a Germ. root *lah-*, *lah-s-*. Outside of Germ., O. Ir. *locht* 'fault,' has been compared. These may be further connected with Lat. *lacer* 'torn, mangled,' *lacerō* 'tear, mangle; censure, rail at,' *lacessō* 'irritate, attack,' Gk. λάκος, λακίς 'rent, rending,' Cypr. ἀπ-έληκα· ἀπέρρωγα. Cf. Brugmann, *Grd.* i², 174. To these I should also add Skt., *rakṣas* 'torment, demon,' Av. *raŋ̇ō* 'torment,' which certainly belong as well in phonetics and in sense to Lat. *lacer*, etc., as to Gk. ἐρέχθω, the connection made in Brugmann's *Grd.* i², 562, 791. The root of this group, therefore, is *lĕk̑-*. In Germ. the root is used metaphorically, and with the same meaning as in Lat. *lacerō* 'censure, rail at.' A similar development will be found in other synonymous roots, as Lith. *plàkti* 'strike:' O.H.G. *flōkan* 'curse;' O. H. G. *scaltan* 'shove:' *sceltan* 'scold;' Skt. *rápas-* 'bodily injury:' O.H.G. *refsen* 'punish, blame;' M.H.G. *riffeln* 'durchkämmen:' N.H.G. *riffel* 'rebuke.'

The *-es- -os-* stem of Gk. λάκος, Lat. *lacer*, Skt. *rakṣ-as* corresponds exactly with Germ. **lahs-* in O.H.G. *las-tar*, O.N. *lǫs-tr*, which may be either *lok̑s-*, as probably in *rakṣas*, or *lə̆k̑s-*, as in *lacer*, λάκος.

The same root in its literal sense is perhaps in M.H.G. *lasche* 'rags, tatters,' N.H.G. *lasche* 'latchet, flap, groove,' Icel. *laska* 'break,' *laski* 'flap, gusset,' M.E. *lasche*, Mn. E. *lash*. Compare also our expression *tongue-lashing*.

Prellwitz, in his *Et. Wtb.*, compares O.H.G. *lahan*, *lastar* with Gk. λάσκω, λήκέω (Dor. ᾱ) 'crash, shriek, speak,' and further with Lat. *loquor*. At the same time he connects doubtfully Gk. λαχίς, λάχος with λάσκω, ληκέω. But this brings together the roots *lēk̑-* and *lāk̑* (or *lāq-*) and, in Lat. *loquor*, *lequ* (or *lequ-*). If these words are connected at all, it is very remotely. Hence O.H.G. *lahan*, *lastar*, cannot be referred to Gk. λάσκω, λήκέω in case the connection I have made above is correct.

2. Of M.H.G. *māl* 'meal,' Kluge, *Et. Wtb.*⁵ s. v., *Mahl* says:

"Ursprgl. wohl identisch mit der unter *mal*¹ behandelten Wortsippe, so dass 'Essenszeit' als Zeit κατ' ἐξοχ. zu der Bedeutung 'Gastmahl, Mahlzeit' geführt hätte."

However important the mealtime may have been to the primitive Teuton, the explanation offered by Kluge seems to me strained and improbable. That M. H. G. *māl* 'meal,' *māl* 'time,' and *māl* 'spot,' are related, there can be no doubt. The divergence in use is easily explained from the original meaning of the root *mē-* 'measure, divide,' to which these words have been referred. From *mē-* 'measure' comes the idea of time in Goth. *mē-l* 'time, hour,' *mē-na* 'month,' Lith. *mẽ-tas* 'time, year.' Cf. Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wtb.* s. v., *mēl*. From *mē-* 'measure' comes equally well the idea of 'dividing, apportioning' and hence of 'partaking.' For meaning, compare Skt: *bhájati* 'divide, apportion,' *bhaktám* 'share, food,' Gk. φάγε·ν 'eat,' Brugmann, *Grd.* i², 512.

3. M.H.G. *rāz*, *rāze*, O.L.G. *rāta* 'honeycomb,' and M.H.G. *rāz* 'funeral pile' point, as Kluge, *Et. Wtb.* s. v., *Ross*², observes, toward the original meaning 'web, texture.' This we find in Lat. *rēte* 'net.' To this belongs Germ. **rē̆ta-*, **rētō-* from **rētta* < pre-Germ. **rē̆tnó-* 'reticulated.' Cf. Germ. *hwīta-* 'white' from **hwitta-*, pre-Germ. **k̑uĭtnó-*, Skt. *çvítna-*, Streitberg, *Urg. Gr.*, 139.

Lat. *rēte*, M.H.G. *rāze*, etc., may be referred to the root *rē-* 'arrange,' in Lat. *rē-ri* 'reckon,' Lith. *rė̃-ti* 'to put in layers,' Goth. *ga-rēdan* 'advise,' etc.' Brugmann, *Grd.* i², 176, ii, 1074.

4. O.H.G. *rīfi*, O.S. *rīpi*, O.E. *rīpe* 'ripe,' *rīpan* 'reap,' *rifter* 'sickle' may come either from the I.E. root *reḷ̥b-* or *reḷ̥p-n-*. The root *reḷ̥p-* occurs in Gk. ἐρείπω 'cast down,' Lat. *rīpa* 'bank,' Brugmann, *Grd.* i², 517. From this root we may assume an adj. stem **rīpnió-* 'ready to fall,' and a verb stem *rīpnó-* 'fell,

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cut down.' The root *reiṗ-* may further be contained in O.N. *rifa* 'cut, split,' *rif*, Du. *rif*, L.G. *riff* 'reef,' with which compare especially Lat. *ripa*. Cf. Prellwitz, *Et. Wtb.* s. v., ἐρείπω, who connects therewith O.N. *rifa*, and Kluge, *Et. Wtb.*5 s. v., *Riff*.

5. M H.G. *un-vlāt* 'uncleanness, impurity,' from which N.H.G. *unflat*, is apparently a substantivized adj. from the Germ. stem **flēđa-*, pre-Germ. **plē-tó-*. This may be referred to the root *pel-*, *plē-* 'pour, wash,' with the original meaning 'washed,' and hence 'clean, pure.' Remotely connected are Goth. *flōdus* 'flood,' O.E. *flōwan* 'flow,' etc.

6. For N. H. G. *rösche* 'quick, sprightly, steep,' M.H.G. *rösch*, *roesche*, O.H.G. *rōsc*, *rōsci* 'quick, nimble' 'fehlt jede sichere Beziehung,' says Kluge, *Et. Wtb.*5 s. v. *rösche*. Meaning and form naturally suggest a connection with Eng. *rush*, N.H.G. *rauschen*, *rausch*, M.H.G. *rūschen*, *rūsch*. I see no reason why these may not be related.

7. Goth. *sarwa* 'armor,' O.E. *searu*, O.H.G. *saro* may come from the stem **sorgu̯ho-*, and may, therefore, contrary to Uhlenbeck's opinion, be connected with Lat. *servō*,[1] Lith. *sérgėti* 'guard.'

With *sarwa* may be compared O.N. *serkr* 'shirt,' (cf. Kluge, *Et. Wtb.*4 s. v., *Sarg*) from **sergu̯hnó-*. The common meaning of the words was 'covering, protection.' Perhaps here belongs Gk. ἔρφος 'skin, hide,' from **sergu̯hos-*.

8. Kluge, *Et. Wtb.*5, finds difficulty in connecting the meanings of *geschlecht*, *schlag* (as in *menschenschlag*) and *schlagen*. He says: "Im Ahd. hat *slahan* schon allein die Bedeutung 'nacharten, nachschlagen' (z. B. *nāh dēn fordōrōn slahan* 'den Vorfahren nacharten')."

This is, however, a natural development in meaning. O.H.G. *slahta* 'race, family,' need not come from a supposed former signification 'beget,' but from the ordinary use 'strike.' For *slahta* we may assume the primary meaning 'a striking,' and then 'that which is struck,' 'stamp,' and hence 'character, type, race, family.' Examples enough of that change can be found. Thus: Gk. τύπος 'blow:' 'type, kind, sort;' χαρακτήρ 'engraver:' 'stamp, character;' κόπτω 'cut:' κόμμα 'stamp.' From such a development in the noun it is probable that the verb took on this secondary meaning.

9. O. H. G. *stelza*, Du. *stelt* 'stilt,' from Germ. **steltō-*, and M. H. G., O. H. G. *stolz* 'haughty, proud, vain, foolish; stately, magnificent,' are probably both genuine Germ. words from the root *stel-* 'set up, fix, place,' and the suffix *-do-*. *Stolz* represents I.E. **stl̥-do-*; *stelza*, I.E. **stel-dā-*. They are closely related to each other, and may be compared with Lat. *stolidus*<**stoledo-s* or **steledo-s*, meaning primarily 'fixed, inactive,' and hence 'dull, stupid.' Lat. *stultus*<**stol-to-s* or **stl̥-to-s* is more remotely related.

The same root *stel-* occurs in O.H.G. *stal*, *stellen*, *stilli*, *stollo*, *stil*. Compare Kluge, *Et. Wtb.*5 under the N.H.G. equivalents, and Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wtb.* s. v. *andstald*, for I.E. representatives of the root *stel-* (*sthel-*).

10. O. H. G. *stahal*, *stāl*, O. E. *stȳle*, O. N. *stāl*, Germ. **stahla-* 'steel,' are evidently from a pre-Germ. root *stek-* 'sharp, pointed.' A related root *stĕgh-* occurs in Gk. στάχυς 'ear of corn,' Lett. *stēga* 'stake,' Lith. *stāgaras* 'dry stalk.' Cf. Prellwitz, *Et. Wtb.* s. v. στάχυς, where also O.H.G. *stanga* and Eng. *sting* are given. A synonymous root *steg-* is found in O. E. *staca* 'stake,' O. H. G. *stehhan* 'stick, sting,' though this is generally regarded as a secondary ablaut from the root *stig-* in Gk. στίγ-μα, Lat. *in-stigō*, etc. It is hardly supposable that these various roots are not related, though they cannot be directly connected. But they may be referred to the root *stā-*, *stē-*, *stĕ-i̯-* 'stand, be erect, project,' from which may have developed the meaning 'be pointed,—sharp,' and then 'sting, pierce.'

11. Kluge, *Et. Wtb.*5 s. v. *schniegeln* says: "Ztw., zuerst im 17. Jahrh. als *schnügeln* (bei Steinbach 1734 gebucht='kämmen') zu einem dial. Schniegel 'Zierde, Putz:' den älteren Dialekten fremd."

This is probably a loanword from the Norse. Cf. O.N. *snøggr*, *snøggr* 'shorn, bald, close,' O. Dan. *snōg* 'neat,' Sw. *snygg*, Eng. *snug*, *snuggle*.

12. N.H.G. *schere* 'seacliff,' is referred by

1 Goth. *saurga*, O.H.G. *sorga*, *sworga*, etc., which Uhlenbeck refers to a root *sergu̯h-*, *swergu̯h-*, and joins with *servō*, etc., had better be left out. Goth. *saurga* may better be derived from **sug-gʷi-*, from the root *sŭĕr-* 'weigh, be heavy,' O.H.G. *swāri* 'heavy,' *swārī* 'weight, heaviness, sadness,' *swāro* 'sickness.' Cf. author, *Jour. Germ. Philol.* i, 293.

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Kluge to Sw. *skär*, Dan. *skjær*, O.N. *sker*. From the Norse we have in English *scar*, *scaur*, *skerry*. These belong to the root *sqer-* 'cut' in O.H.G., O.E. *sceran*, O.N. *skera* 'cut, shear,' Lith. *skìrti* 'cut off,' etc. Cf. Kluge, *Et. Wtb.*5 s. v. *scheren*. To the same root have been referred Eng. *shore*, O.E. *score*, which are certainly related to N.H.G. *schere*, Sw. *skär*, etc. Similarly other words for 'cliff, rock, shore,' are from roots meaning 'cut, break.' As Gk. *ῥείπω* 'cast down,' O. N. *rifa* 'cut, split:' Lat. *rīpa* 'bank,' O.N. *rif* 'reef' (v. no. 4); Lat. *rumpō: rūpes;* O.H.G. *screvōn* 'cut into:' M. H. G. *schraf* 'cliff;' M. H. G. *schruffen* 'cleave:' *schrove* 'cliff.' Cf. Kluge, *Et. Wtb.*5 s. v. *schroff*.

13. Prellwitz, *Et. Wtb.* s. v. *ψᾶρ* 'starling,' connects N. H. G. *sper-ling* and *sprehe*, but without explaining these forms. Goth. *sparwa*, O.H.G. *sparo*, O.E. *spearwa*, O.N. *spǫrr* 'sparrow,' may be referred to an I.E. stem **spṛǫ̯ǵ̑ó-*, while O.S. *sprāha*, N.H.G. *sprehe*, may come from **spriǫ̯ǵ̑ā-*, both from the root *sper-*, *sprē-*. This, it seems to me, is better than to derive Goth. *sparwa* and O. Prus. *sperglas* from a root *spergǵ̑h-*. Cf. Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wtb.* s. v. *sparwa*. With Prellwitz we may connect O. Prus. *sperglas* and Gk. *σποργίλος*, name of a bird, with which compare Franc. *sperk* 'sparrow.' Of course, all these words are related through the root *sper-*.

14. M.H.G. *vasel*, masc., 'animal for breeding,' *vasel*, O.H.G. *fasal*, neut., 'offspring,' are compared by Kluge, *Et. Wtb.*5 s. v. *Faselschwein*, with Lat. *pario*, from a supposed **pasio*. Lat. *pario*, however, is better taken with Lith. *periù* 'breed,' Brugmann, *Grd* i², 479. The nearest relatives to these words are M.H.G. *vaselen* 'thrive, bear fruit,' *vesel*, O.H. G. *fesil* 'fruitful' (of animals), M.H.G. *vasen* 'send out shoots, propagate,' *vaser*, *vase* 'fiber, fringe,' O.H.G. *faso*, *fasa*, O.E. *fæs* 'fringe,' O. H. G. *fesa* 'chaff.' This group of words comes from the I.E. root *pes-* 'shoot out, scatter,' found in Lat. *pēnis* < **pes-nis*, Gk. *πέος*, Skt. *pás-as* 'penis.' This I.E. word for 'penis' probably meant in its origin 'sprout, shoot.' Notice that in O. Lat. *pēnis* meant 'tail,' and that its diminutives mean 'tail, brush, roll of lint.' These come very near to the use of M. H.G. *vase* 'fiber, fringe.' Cf. Prellwitz, *Et. Wtb.* s. v. *πέσς*, where the above connection with O. H. G. *fasal*, M. H. G. *vasel* is given. Why does Kluge make no mention of this?

15. O. H. G. *zarga* 'border,' O. N. *targa* 'shield,' N.H.G. *zarge* 'border, edge, groove, notch,' may be referred to a pre-Germ. root *dergh-*, and compared with O.E. *tergan*, Du. *tergen* 'pull,' Russ. *dergatĭ* 'pull, tear.' Kluge, *Et. Wtb.*5 s. v. *zergen*. Germ. **targō-*, pre-Germ. **dorghā-* would, consequently, mean 'something torn off, a tearing off,' and from this could come the various significations of the word. O. H. G. *zarga* 'border' and O. N. *targa* 'shield,' probably come from a common meaning 'skin, hide.' For words for 'hide' coming from a root signifying 'tear,' compare O. E. *teran* 'tear,' Gk. *δέρω* 'flay:' *δέρμα* 'hide;' O.S. *wrī-tan* 'tear, scratch,' Gk. *ῥῑ-νη* 'file:' *ῥῑ-νός* 'skin,' Brugmann, *Grd.* ii, 1052. For the interchange 'hide:' 'shield,' compare Gk. *σκῦτος* 'hide:' Lat. *scūtum* 'shield;' Gk. *πέλ-λα* 'hide:' *πέλ-τη* 'shield.'

16. M. H. G. *hęllic*, N. H. G. *hellig* 'weary, exhausted,' M. H. G. *hęlligen* 'durch verfolgung ermüden, plagen, quälen,' remain to be explained. The adj. *hęllic*, from the stem *halliga-*, as the meaning plainly indicates, is from the root *qel-* 'drive.' Compare Gk. *κέλλω* 'drive,' Skt. *kālayati* 'drives,' Lat. *celer*, Brugmann, *Grd.* i², 572. The adj. *hęllic* is apparently formed with the suffix *-qo-* from the adj. stem **qolno-*. The addition of a suffix to a stem ending in a suffix is not uncommon, and often without any appreciable change in meaning. Cf. Goth. *andanēms: andanēmeigs;* O. H.G. *werd: wirdig; reht: rihtig*, etc. Brugmann, *Grd.* ii, 255.

17. M.H.G. *tuc*, plur. *tücke*, whence N. H. G. *tücke*, suggest, by their meaning and form, connection with M. H. G. *tucken*, *tücken* 'nod, bow quickly, duck down.' Notice especially M.H.G. *tockelmüser*, N.H.G. *duckmäuser* and *tückmäuser*. Further proof of this connection is not needed. Cf. Kluge, *Et. Wtb.* s. v. *ducken*.

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LEONARD COX AND THE FIRST ENGLISH RHETORIC.

The Arte or Crafte of Rhetoryke by Leonard Cox, or Cockes, published without date, but dated 1524 in Browne Willis's *View of Mitred*

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Abbeys (appended to Leland's *Collectanea*, 1719), in Watt's *Bibliotheca Britannica*, in the British Museum Catalogue, and elsewhere,—but I know not on what grounds,—has the distinction of being the first book on Rhetoric in English printed in England. What is apparently a second edition appeared in 1532. Cox himself was the friend of Erasmus, Melanchthon, Leland, Palsgrave, Cromwell, and other noted men of his day, and his Rhetoric has considerable interest, not only as one of the "first things," but also as a document of importance in the too frequently obscure, and as yet imperfectly written, literary history of the first half of the sixteenth century.

In the Dedicatory Epistle addressed to Hugh Faryngton, Abbot of Reading, Cox writes:

"I have partely traunslated out of a werke of Rhetoryke wrytten in the lattyn tongue and partely compyled of myne owne & so made a lytle treatise in manner of an introduction into this aforesaid scyence and that in the englysshe tongue."

And later in several places Cox refers to "our auctour," "the author," and the like, never however citing him by name. So that Hallam (*Lit. Eur.* pt. i, ch. viii) in writing of Cox says:

"His art of rhetoric follows the usual distribution of the ancients, both as to the kinds of oration and their parts; with examples, chiefly from roman history [in point of fact chiefly drawn from Cicero], to direct the choice of arguments. It is hard to say how much may be considered as his own."

The immediate source, then, of the first English Rhetoric, so far as I can ascertain, has as yet remained quite unknown. At last, however, after turning over some score of Rhetorics in Latin printed between 1475 and 1525, I have succeeded in discovering Cox's original in the *Institutiones Rhetoricae Philip[pi] Mel[anchthonis]*, Hagenoae, 1521. The first fifteen pages of the *Institutiones* furnish the framework and most of the examples for Cox's work (Cox treats only of Invention). Indeed this is so far the case that not only does Cox translate whole pages from Melanchthon, but the *In Philippi Melanchthonis Rhetorica Tabulae* by Mosellanus, a sort of brief digest of Melanchthon's *Institutiones*, made in 1529 for the use of schools, in the part covering Invention furnishes a full analysis and table of contents of Cox. Cox also, as he himself states, draws from Cicero to some extent, and as with many other Rhetorics of the age, including his direct original, his plan bears a certain resemblance to that of the Rhetorics of Trapezuntius and of Hermogenes. But the proof of his direct dependence upon Melanchthon is made conclusive by a passage in his work in illustration of the Oration Demonstrative in Praise of a Person, drawn, by Cox's frank acknowledgment, from "the author in his greater work." This entire passage, beginning in Cox: "If one wolde praise kynge Charles, he shulde kepe in his oracyon this order," is translated directly from Melanchthon's earlier and larger work on Rhetoric, entitled *De rhetorica libri tres*, 1519, beginning (D. iv recto) "Carolum Cæsarem laudatur *qui* hoc agat ordine. Exemplum."

Cox's work occupies only some eighty-eight small octavo pages of about thirty lines to the page, and inasmuch as it seems to me to be a document of considerable historical and scholastic interest, I hope before long to edit and see through the press a reprint of it. Cox himself was a man of minor importance, but his life came into touch with the lives of so many others of far greater importance, that it is a matter of regret that our information about him is not fuller and more exact. I hope to be able to make some slight addition to the current account of his life, but unfortunately about the dates of his birth and death I have been able to discover no new information. I can only conjecture that the date of his birth must lie circa 1500. The *Dictionary of National Biography* seems inclined to place his death circa 1596. This seems very improbable; but I should be glad to receive any information bearing on this or on any other points relating to Cox.

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CONTRIBUTIONS TO OLD-ENGLISH LEXICOGRAPHY.

BOSWORTH-TOLLER and, following him, Hall and Sweet in their Anglo-Saxon Dictionaries, exhibit a word *ācdrenc* that, according to them, means 'a drink made from acorns.' Sweet is careful enough to mark this meaning as doubtful, but he gives us no hint of the fact that there are only two glosses to vouch for the ex-

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istence of the word itself. These glosses are *WW.* 204, 36, *cirta acdrenc uel nomen loci* and *ibid.* 380, 30, *cirta acdrenc.* The former is probably a contamination of *cirta nomen loci* and *tirca—tirica—tiriaca—θηριακά.* As to the Anglo-Saxon interpretation, that may represent either *atdrenc—hatdrenc* 'hot drink,' or *atrdrenc* 'poison potion.' For the *hatdrenc* there could be brought forward the Erfurt Gloss *C. G. L.*, v. 395, 26, *tyriacæ medicine ignitæ*, for *atrdrenc Isid. Etym.* iv. 9, 8, *theriaca est antidotum serpentinum quo uenena pelluntur, ut pestis peste soluatur.* Accordingly we find *WW.* 115, 19, *tiriaca drenc wið ættre.*

O.E.T., p. 575ª, Sweet posits a *fors* 'waterfall' on the strength of *Bl.* 5 *cataracte forsceta.* He has not, however, given it a place in his *Dictionary.* And it is well he has refrained from doing so, for there is no such word as *fors* 'waterfall.' What *forsceta* in the above gloss stands for, is perhaps *forscetā—forscetan—forscitan—forscytan.* In *forscyta* I see a congener of German *Schütze*, meaning 'sluice-gate' (cf. especially *Not-Schütze* 'temporary sluice-gate'). In fact, such is the explanation given in the marginal note on *cataractarum*, *Ps.* 41, 8, as Morris in his edition of the Blickling glosses prints it: *cataracte forsceta, cataracte aquam concludunt. Forscyta* is, then, a contrivance with which to shut off the water; the Low-German form is *Schotte* or *Schott.* According to Stürenburg's *Ostfries. Wtbch.*, there is a *Wagen-Schott* signifying a sluice-gate, and *Schott*, also *Schött*, means a wooden partition; cf. also *WW.* 520, 7 *uectifera[e] ualue pære forscytlican dura*—doors that can be 'shut.' This, of course, does away with the explanation lately offered in the *Anglia.*

How Sweet (*O.E.T.*, p. 551 b) came to assign the meaning of moistening to *agleddian* is a perfect puzzle to me. The Leiden gloss (*Ld.* 9) *labefacare egleddęgo* certainly does not warrant such a proceeding. The gloss is also printed by Steinmeyer-Sievers, *Ahd. Gl.* ii, 746, 30, and it reads there *labefacare agleddę go.....* It refers to *Vita Martini Auctore Sulpicio Seuero* 3, 11, p. 208, 24 *labefactati.* Hence *labefacare* must represent a *labefactare* and *agleddę go* may be—*aględdigā—aględdigan* 'to make glide.'

In his *Student's Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* Sweet exhibits a word *fulluht-bēna*, which he evidently has not felt able to explain, since he prints the Latin lemma as explanation. Or are we to take *competitor* as 'competing person?' The gloss to which this entry refers is *WW.* 207, 15 *competitor amicus uel rogator baptismi fulwihtbena*, and it seems to me quite clear that *fulwihtbena* is an exact rendering of *rogator baptismi*, a co-petitioner of baptism. It is then a 'sponsor,' not a 'competitor,' we have to do with here.

Hall could not make anything of *WW.* 194, 16 *bibina. i. temen.* Read *biuira twemen—twimen* 'a two-men woman' and cf. *Augustin. de bono viduit.*, 15 *mulier biuira.* Following the lead of Hall, Sweet now explains in his *Dictionary molegn-stycci* as meaning 'piece of curd,' while in his *O.E.T.*, p. 578ª, he left it unexplained. The gloss *galmulum . molegn-stycci* (*Corpus Glossary, G.* 21) on which the word is based, may represent a *clasma mylu* (—κλάσμα μύλου) the Latin interpretation of which, *fragmen molæ*, may have been superseded by its Anglo-Saxon equivalent *molen-stycci; g* perhaps was originally *ḡ—græce* and being superscribed may have been wrongly inserted into *molen.* See *Iudic.* 9, 53 *una mulier fragmen molæ desuper iaciens illisit capiti Abimelech; 2 Reg. 11, 21 nonne mulier misit super eum fragmen molæ?* By metathesis *clasmamylu* turned to *calsmamilu*, and *s*, according to custom, disappeared before *m*, whence developed the present *galmulum* taking its final *m* from the following *molen.*

O.E.T., p. 590ª, we are told that *ām* means 'weaver's reed' and we are referred to *Ep.* 177 *cautere ferrum haam, Ef. fam, Cp. aam*, and *Rd.* 8 *am.* As a matter of fact, only the last quotation could be used to substantiate the claim in regard to the meaning of *ām.* But no scholar versed in Latin will ever believe that a scribe wishing to explain *cauter* or *ferrum* would make use of a word meaning 'weaver's reed.' That the *Erfurt* plainly exhibits *fam*, is a variation from the *haam* or *aam* of the *Epinal-Corpus* that seems to have concerned Mr. Sweet very little. And yet it will furnish us the clew to the original reading. Time and again *f* and *s* are mixed up in these glosses, remembering which we shall say that the *Er-*

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furt's fam stands in the first place for *sam*. Occasionally *m* has taken the place of *rn* as *C. Gl. L.* iv, 47, 12 *cultus uestitus uel homatus—hornatus—ornatus; ibid.* iv, 206, 23 *altematur uariator—alternatur uariatur*. Then, *sam* will represent *sarn*, which is truncated *isarn*,[1] glossing, of course, *ferrum*. But how came the writers of *Epinal-Corpus* by their *haam-aam?* The answer is given in the reading of the *Leiden Glossary*, *Ld. 100 cautere ferrum melius* (—*in aliis* [sc. *libris*]) *tindre*, when compared with *Cp.* 1757 *rubigo brond. oom* and *Cp.* 1039 *ignisacrum oman*, that is to say, in the mere Latin Glossaries, from which the glossators of Erfurt as well as of the *Epinal-Corpus* copied, *cautere* must have appeared with two interpretations, one may have been *ustio* and that is what the *Epinal-Corpus* glossators replaced by *haam* (*aam*), the other *ferrum* [*caloratum*] and that the *Erfurt* glossator rendered by [*i*]*sarn*. For, that *oom* is—*hoom—haam*, I am convinced, cf. *olfatu* (*WW.* 122, 35) —*aalfatu*, and that *haam* (*oom*) does not mean in the first place 'mildew,' as Sweet *O. E. T.*, p. 643b, has it, but 'burning' is apparent from the synonym '*brond*' which Sweet should not have connected with *oom*, thus making a compound out of what the glossator surely wished to be kept separate. That disease of the grain which the Romans called *rubigo* bears still the name of 'Brand' in Germany. As to the etymology of *haam*, *aam*, *oom*, a congener of it is very probably Icelandic *eimr* (which may stand for *heimr*) meaning 'fire' 'embers,' 'fiery vapour.' By the side of Anglo-Saxon *haam*, *aam* there must also have been in existence an (*h*)*aamer*, as may safely be inferred from the verb *āmerȝan* we meet with *WW.* 208, 12 *conflagrat i. comburet he amerap concremat* and *Elene* 1308–12. It occurs also in the *Vespasian Psalter* 11, 7 *argentum igne examinatum seolfur fyre ameared; ibid.* 17, 31 *eloquia domini igne examinata gespreocu dryhtnes mid fyre ameared*. Here belongs also the Anglo-Saxon word for 'hot ashes' we find in Ælfric, *Lives of Saints* iii, 20, 286 *æmerȝe* (*and axe*), from which modern 'ember' developed. *Æmerȝe* appears in O. H. G. as *eimuria* (glossing *busta*, *Ahd. Gl.* i, 58, 10), in *O. N.* as *eimyrja* and is consequently a *-ja* derivative of *æmer*. The development of the meaning we now connect with 'ember' is on a par with Latin *favilla* for which it is the equivalent. It has lately been made plausible (in the *American Journal of Phil.*) that *fav-* as apparent in *fav-issa*, 'subterranean treasure-chamber,' is equal to *fov-* in *fovea* 'pit.' There must then have been a *favina* 'pit' from which *fav-illa* 'little pit,' 'that which is made in the pit' was derived. So also we have by the side of the common Low German *Pott*—'pot,' in the dialect of the Mark a *Pott*—'soot.' With Anglo-Saxon *amer* as apparent in *amerȝa—comburere* one may compare Greek καμάρα which evidently belongs to the same root we have in κάμινος. That κάμινος was a 'pit for cooking' is quite plain from the words of Herodotus i, 133, where he narrates that to celebrate their birthday the rich Persians are in the habit of cooking in pits the whole bodies of oxen, horses and camels: *οἱ εὐδαίμονες αὐτῶν βοῦν καὶ ἵππον καὶ κάμηλον καὶ ὄνον προτιθέασι ὅλους ὀπτοὺς ἐν καμίνοισι.*

We may then put κάμινος by the side of *haam* pointed out above. This *haam* is also to be recognized in the name of the cricket we meet with *Corpus Glossary* G. 143 *grillus hama;* the little insect, of course, derived its name from the place it infests and so it is also called *heimo* in O.H.G. There the word occurs also in its diminutive form *heimil* (cf. Diefenbach, *Gloss. Med. et Inf. Lat.*, p. 117a) which corresponds to Anglo-Saxon *emil*, *æmil*, the name given in *Ef.* 257, *Ep.* 464 to the *curculio*, in the *Vespasian Psalter* 104, 34 to the *brucus* which, of course, is a transference of meaning. Is the *haam* 'cooking pit,' 'oven,' fundamentally different from the *hāma* 'womb' which Sweet exhibits *O.E.T.*, p. 469a? I think not. Of old the two have been connected; compare, for example, the use of Greek ἑστία and so even now in certain parts of Germany the womb is called the 'oven;' in the Vogtland as well as in Styria when a woman is delivered of a child, it is a common way of expressing her condition as the tumbling-down of her 'oven': *Der Ofen ist eingefallen.* It is also noteworthy that the child in the mother's womb is popularly known as *Hänschen im Keller* 'Johnny in the cellar.' The original

[1] So *Ef.* 762 exhibits *funsterri* for *siunsterri*.

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idea of *haam*, *hama* seems then to have been 'a hollow.'

Considering that the lemma for *cofa* is *pistrimum* (—*pistrinam*) Sweet *O. E. T.*, p. 643[a], should not have explained *cofa* as meaning chamber, nor *cofincel* glossing *pistrilla*, as meaning little chamber. Of course, *cofa* and *cofincel* may have that meaning, but that the glossator wished to convey the idea of a baker's oven is clearly to be seen from *C.G.L.* v. 511, 1 *pristilla* (—*pistrilla*) *furnus paruus; cofincel* of the *Corpus Gloss.* is nothing but a substitute for *furnus paruus*.

WW. 355, 13 we find *arsantes ða gegendan*. Wülker refers us for explanation to *WW.* 12, 28 *cesuram gegandende—gegangendne*, but if I mistake not, *arsantes* is a remnant of *occursantes*, and then the interpretation will have been *ða gegnendan;* cf. German *be-gegnen*. It is, however, possible that *arsantes* is participle of *arsare* 'to cry like a crane;' then *gegendan* may be—*gæcendan;* cf. German *gähken*, *gackern* and *Isid. Differentiarum Lib.* i, 607, *grus arsat*.

Is *cirice-rān* 'church-robbery' quoted in Sweet's *Dictionary* an actual word? I am inclined to believe it is identical with Hall's '*ciricrena*, wm., sacrilege' which Hall took from Bosworth who has '*cyric-ren*, *e*, f., church-robbery, sacrilege.' The entry is based on a passage in the Conc. Aenham. (*Leg. Anglo-Sax.*, ed. D. Wilkins, p. 122): *in sacrilegiis on cyric renan* which, I should say, stands for *on cyricreaū—on cyricreafum*.

Also the entry '*ræde-gafol*, n., rent that can be paid all at once' Sweet probably owes to Hall who on the strength of Wülker's *fiscalis rædegafellicum*, *wænfare* (*WW.* 403, 21) constructed a '*rædegafol*, rent paid in one payment,' not seeing that *fiscalis rhedæ* is a Latin lemma, which is interpreted as meaning *gafellicum wænfare*, 'cartage due to the King.' The gloss is identical with the Corpus gloss *WW.*22, 17 *fiscalis*, *redagebellicum wægnfearu*, which as I have pointed out elsewhere refers to *Sulpicii Seueri Dialog.* ii. 3, p. 183, 4, on record also in *Ahd. Gl.* ii, 759, 48 *fiscalis reda dominicalis equitatus. bâra*.

I have previously shown in this journal that *WW.* 385, 3 *descurris hofðelum* is contraction of *de scurris of ðelum*. I am now also able to point out the passage to which the gloss refers. It is a Scripture passage: ii Reg. 6, 20 where David's wife Michol, the proud daughter of Saul, speaks in such scathing terms of David's 'dancing before the Lord' with uncovered loins like a common juggler: *et nudatus est quasi unus de scurris*.

That it is quite out of the question to see a compound in *nægl speru* glossing *unguana* (*Corpus Glossary* U. 260), I have lately shown in the *Anglia*. As Sweet, however, exhibits the two words as a compound also in his *Dictionary*—only he does not explain it there as 'spear-nail' but as 'sharp nail'—I shall here draw attention to *WW.* 377, 15 *cuspide nægle oððe spere*, that may stand in some relation to the above Corpus gloss. Perhaps there was a fuller gloss reading *cuspide ungue ł hasta nægl oððe speru*. This, in one instance, may have been shortened to *cuspide nægl oððe speru;* in the other the lemma *cuspide* may have dropped out and *ungue ł hasta nægl ł speru* in the course of time become the present *unguana nægl speru*.

In Haupt's collection of Prudentius glosses there occurs one designated no. 432, reading: *elatio creasness*. Hall, not understanding that, but wishing to increase his number of new words, bodily incorporated the gloss in his dictionary. Sweet has tried to improve on that by exhibiting in *his* dictionary *crēasnes* '*f.* pride, elation Gl.' But although *creasnes* has thus received the sanction of such an authority, we feel loath to accept it. It will be safer to say that *creasnes* represents *oreafnes*, that is *orheafnes*—German '*Erhebnis*,' a literal rendering of *elatio*.

Is the explanation 'boot' given by Sweet in his *Dictionary* an adequate expression for Anglo-Saxon *hęmming?* Hardly; for 'boot' is according to the *Century Dictionary* 'a covering for the foot and lower part of the leg reaching as far up as the middle of the calf and sometimes to the knee,' while *hęmming*, being a derivative of *hamm*, 'inner part of the knee, ham,' must in the first place mean a covering of the 'ham,' that is to say a 'legging.' That in fact an encasing of the leg is meant will be seen from Virgil's *Æn.* vii, 685–90:

> . . . . . *Non illis arma.*
> *Nec clipei currusue sonant; pars maxuma glandes*

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Liuentis plumbi spargit, pars spicula gestat
Bina manu fuluosque lupi de pelle galeros
Tegmen habent capiti, uestigia nuda sinistri
Instituere pedis, crudus tegit altera pero.

It is to *pero* in line 690 that *WW.* 468, 31 *pero hemming i. ruh sco* and *Corpus Glossary* P. 306 *pero himming* refer, on the strength of which glosses Sweet exhibits in his *Dictionary hemming* (*himming*) 'boot.' The idea Virgil wishes to convey to us in the above-quoted passage is evidently that the *Hernici* walk with the left leg bare, while the right one is protected by a legging of rawhide. *Pero*, then, stands in the sense of *ocrea* or *κνημίς*, as *Servius ad locum* testifies saying *traxit hoc a Græciæ more, unde isti, sicut dictum est, transierant, ubi hoc armorum fuerat genus. Hemming* is etymologically the exact counterpart of *κνημ-ίς*, Greek *κνημ* answering to Teutonic *hanm*, from which *hamm* sprang. Perhaps also *ruh sco* is nothing but *riihsco* 'thigh shoe'—legging, covering of the fleshy parts of the leg. *Riih-* I connect with O.H.G. *riho* glossing *sura* or *poples;* so we read *Ahd. Gl.* i. 292, 19 *suris rihon musculis tibiarum.* That, indeed, there must be such a word as that also in Anglo-Saxon the Leiden Gloss designated no. 109 by Sweet goes to show. For what is on record there, *odonis uitam mihes nostlum*, is intelligible only on the supposition that it stands for *othoniis uittis surarum rihes nostlum.* The completer reading may even have been *othoniis uittis lineis surarum linen rihes nostlum*, as would appear from *Ahd. Gl.* ii. 41, 4 *odonis uittam linifnestilun* (*a*); *mihes noftlun* (*c*)—*othoniis uittis lineis surarum linin rihes nestilum* (*nostlum*). 'Οθόνια are mentioned in the Septuagint by the side of *ἱμάτια Hosea* 2, 9 where the Vulgate has: *et liberabo lanam meam et linum meum, quae operiebant ignominiam eius*, wherewith compare *Ezech.* 64, 18 *feminalia linea erunt in lumbis eorum*, and *Exod.* 28, 42 *facies et feminalia linea ut operiant carnem turpitudinis suæ a renibus usque ad femora.* It will be seen from the preceding that the ὀθόνια were *feminalia* and that the *feminalia* were *uittæ* wound around the legs, we know from *Sueton. Aug.* 82.

On the strength of *WW.* 134, 38 *alumen uel stipteria esne* Sweet exhibits *esne* '(f.) alum,' a form that has also the sanction of Kluge, see his *Etym. Wtb.* s. v. *Alaun.* But considering that the very idea conveyed by *stypteria* is that of astringency, we have some reason for concluding that a glossator may have explained it by *amarus lapis.* We actually find *alumen* explained by O.H.G. *peizzistein* 'biting stone,' *Ahd. Gl.* ii. 734, 47. Along that line we should find in Anglo-Saxon something like *biter* or *afor stan.* Now, cannot *afor* later on have developed to *æfre, efre?* cf. Low-Saxon *efer* 'bitingly sharp' *evern* 'to eat into the flesh,' said of festering sores. At any rate, I believe *alumen uel stipteria esne* is truncated from *alumen uel stypteria efre stan.* As to the other alleged Anglo-Saxon name for alum, quoted by Kluge, namely, *ælisne*, that seems to be based on the *Epinal* gloss (*C. G. L.* v. 343, 3[a]) *alumnis ælisnæ.* Of course, *aluminis* may represent *aluminis.* But that is by no means certain. It is far more probable that *alumnis* is corrupted from *alimoniis* by way of *alimunis.* Then *ælisnæ* represents *adlisnæ—ādlisne—andlisen*, cf. *WW.* 492, 36 *pulmentum andlisen*, where *andlisen* probably is a substitute for a former Latin *alimentum* or *alimonia* or even *uictualia;* see *WW.* 342, 34 *aliomnia edulia alimenta uictualia.* Hence also *WW.* 465, 3, *pulmentum fosternoð—fosterroð—fosteroð*, wherewith compare *WW.* 397, 31 *epimœnia* (*—epimenia*) *fostrapas* 'the monthly rations.'

The entry *hlos, -e* 'f. sheep-fold' in Sweet's *Dictionary* is based, as far as I can see, on *WW.* 23, 14—*Corpus Glossary*, F. 342 *frutectum. lose. locus ubi ponnt*, a gloss that is wanting in Sweet's *O. E. T.* As there is a form of the *s* that looks very much like *þ*, *ponnt* may represent a *sonnt—sunt;* then the reading of the gloss may have been something like *frutectum. lose, locus ubi sunt frutices*, cf. *Isid. Etym.* xvii, 6, 2*alii arbustum locum in quo arbores sunt significare uolunt.* As to *lose*, that may be *lase* and connected with *laser* glossing *zizania*, *Corpus Glossary*, Z. 5.

The very etymology of *zizania* would speak for such a connection, since *ζιζ-άνιον* is said to be of the same origin as German *Quecke*, a quickly growing plant, quitchgrass. *Frutex* is a quickly growing bush, 'a quickset,' and *frutectum*, then, a place where such bushes grow in abundance. I remember such a place in the neighborhood of my native town (in Thuringia) bearing the name of *Lasûr.* When a boy I

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was wondering at the strangeness of the name; now I think that I have solved the riddle. Whenever we boys wished to go a-nutting we would by preference go to the *Lasûr*, for hazel-bushes grew there in plenty.

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FRENCH LITERATURE.

An Elementary Scientific French Reader, by P. MARIOTTE-DAVIES, Ph. D. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co., 1897. 8vo, pp. 132.

La Triade française—de Musset, Lamartine, Victor Hugo. Petit recueil de poésies par LOUISE BOTH-HENDRIKSEN. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co., 1898. 8vo, pp. xv+198.

L'Oncle et le Neveu et *Les Jumeaux de l'Hôtel Corneille*, par EDMOND ABOUT, avec une notice biographique sur l'auteur et des notes en anglais par G. CASTEGNIER, B. S., B. L. New York: William R. Jenkins. 12mo, pp. ii+120.

Chrestomathie du Moyen Age.—Extraits publiés avec des traductions, des notes, une introduction grammaticale et des notices littéraires par MM. G. PARIS et E. LANGLOIS. Paris: Librairie Hachette et Cie., 1897. 12mo, pp. xciii+352.

THE plan of the Reader, as of every other Scientific Reader, is to "familiarize the student with scientific forms of expression and style," but the question may well be asked whether sixty pages of reading-matter, divided into twenty different subjects, will give the student this desired familiarity. The fact that scientific French is comparatively easy makes Scientific Readers useless, as a student who can read an average modern novel will have no trouble with scientific matter. He need only be acquainted with the peculiar terms of his specialty, and such expressions are very much alike in French and English. For this reason it would seem almost better not to spend valuable time reading a score or so of short scientific articles. Yet there is a demand for such works, and Mr. Mariotte-Davies' *Reader* contains interesting matter.

The notes and vocabulary occupy more pages than the selections. This length of the notes is owing to the explanations given of such proper nouns as *Londres, Franklin, Nile, Job, Exode, Homère, Alpes, Paris, Naples, Edison.* The student is told that London is "the capital of England, on the river Thames;" that Job is "the leading person in one of the canonical books of the Old Testament, which is called after him;" that the Alps are "the most extensive system of lofty mountains in Europe;" that Paris is "the capital of France, situated on the Seine," that Naples is "one of the largest cities of Italy." The editor was evidently anxious that no critic should say he had left any name unexplained. But such notes do not really elucidate the text. Cherbourg is said to be "a town in the department of the Manche in France." Is it necessary that the student should know that Cherbourg is in the department of the Manche? Granting the usefulness of such information, might it not perhaps be more useful to say that Cherbourg is one of the leading, one of the two, military ports of France?

Many other notes are merely translations of phrases which should be evident even to a beginner. We may mention *apparences lumineuses*, "bright lights;" *commotions violentes*, "violent shocks;" *appela de nouveau*, "called again;" *une fois*, "once;" *comparable à*, "similar to;" *au moyen de*, "by means of;" *de là*, "hence;" *quelle que soit*, "whatever may be;" *à cause de cela*, "on account of that;" *prendre garde*, "take care;" *eût six pieds de haut*, "was six feet high;" all of which illustrations are taken from about two pages of notes.

It is generally recognized by modern language instructors that the notes should help a student in difficult or obscure and idiomatic passages, and that they should not tend to spare him every effort by taking the place of a dictionary.

The following two mistakes may be mentioned: 2: 13—*de même que* does not mean "as for," but *de même que pour* means 'as for' or 'just as for.' 24: 7—*à côté d'* is not "near by," but simply 'near,' or better, 'by the side of.'

The vocabulary itself is surely complete enough, but it is a question whether it might

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not be wise to oblige the student to procure a regular dictionary from the very start, especially when we have such good small French dictionaries. The beginner will thus become accustomed to handling a particular dictionary, the cost of a text containing a vocabulary will be lessened, and a student will not try to use for an advanced text a vocabulary prepared only for a few easy selections. Another advantage would be the possession of a dictionary of acknowledged worth in place of a vocabulary prepared doubtless by a conscientious scholar, but perhaps by one who has not the required ability for engaging in such work.

Is it well to give every form met in the text, even *ai, as; a, au, aux; cet, ces; du, des; est; ils, elles; la, les, j', qu'*, etc.? How can a student's perception be cultivated, when the way is made so smooth for him? Such forms as the above need not be mentioned at all, and especially should they not be given separately. If it is the editor's plan to give the text to a student before he has even begun the study of an elementary grammar, then his plan will not appeal favorably to most instructors. If such is not his idea, then these separate forms are unnecessary, and even harmful in the training of the mind.

The actual mistakes in the vocabulary are not many. For *apparait* read *apparaît*. *Avant* had better be *avant de* or *avant que*, just as *afin de* (*afin que*). For *bouté* read *bonté*. For *connait* read *connaît*. For *croit* (from *croître*) read *croît*. When would the feminine past participle *été* be used? For *grossier, e* read *grossi-er, ère*. For *mortel-le* read *mortel, le*. Why *le mien* but *tien, sien?* For *au travers* read *au travers de*. *Vive*, adj., need not be given, as *vi-f, ve* is mentioned.

In conclusion, Mr. Mariotte-Davies' *Scientific Reader* is an acceptable publication for one of its kind, but the objection remains that the notes and even the vocabulary are too full to be advantageous, or even not to be harmful, to the student.

Miss Both-Hendriksen says that her book was published owing to the "dearth of available material" on these three nineteenth century poets, Lamartine, de Musset and Victor Hugo. She mentions Hachette's edition of Alfred de Musset, but she might have added Professor Bowen's excellent collection of French lyric poetry, containing five poems of Lamartine, eight of de Musset and fourteen of Victor Hugo, beside a number from other French poets. Then there is Professor Warren's edition of Victor Hugo, which contains, beside the prose selections, sixteen poems. Professor Fontaine's *Les poètes français du xixe. siècle* includes, among selections from eighty-two French poets, eleven poems of Lamartine, nine of de Musset and sixteen of Victor Hugo. These editions, all of which have appeared in America, are surely worthy of some notice. It might be stated that Miss Both-Hendriksen's work contains fourteen poems from de Musset, fourteen from Lamartine and thirty-seven from Victor Hugo. This last poet has the lion's share, and, by most persons, is said to be entitled to it. The selections are all good, though every teacher will miss a favorite or so, but Miss Both-Hendriksen has prepared the reader for that, pleading an "embarras de richesse." The editing is carefully done, and all American instructors will await with interest the continuance of the "structure." There is a demand for such texts, and the only improvement might be the editing of each leading poet separately.

The sketches of these three poets are in French, a language which the editor seems to write with ease. But it is dangerous for an American or Englishman to write an introduction for students in French, even when he is familiar with this language. Phrases that are correct, and yet are not quite French, are apt to slip in, and that teacher does not exist who can satisfactorily explain to the average learner wherein a French sentence may be correct and, at the same time, not be French. Miss Both-Hendriksen picks her way very successfully through these pitfalls, but sometimes she slips; she may not fall, but she does slip, though perhaps so slightly that all readers may not even grant that she has made a misstep.

Are the following sentences, picked out at random, altogether French? Perhaps they are, and in such matters it is useless to argue, or to endeavor to convince one who does not agree with you from the beginning:

Il essaya de diverses carrières, mais ne sentit de goût que pour les lettres. Ce changement de jugement est très bien expliqué par M. Désiré Nisard. Après se succédèrent l'un

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après l'autre, des contes, des comédies—. L'Académie française le reçut au nombre de ses célèbres Quarante.

Can *Quarante* be correctly used in French, where Englishmen would use Forty, as in "the illustrious Forty?"

La Révolution frappa sa famille comme toutes celles qui restaient fidèles à l'ordre ancien. En quelques pages qu'est-ce qu'on peut écrire de Victor Hugo? On peut bien vous dire qu'il naquit à Besançon le 26 février, 1802; que son père—. Et après? On pourrait toujours continuer. L'enfant, devenu jeune homme, obtint—. Que peut-on dire après? Multiplier les détails, donner des aperçus plus justes de sa vie, tout cela est possible; mais sonder son caractère, le révéler, le critiquer, l'expliquer, impossible.

As the editor says, the notes "deal chiefly with historical allusions and metaphorical expressions," and are prepared with care. The real difficulties are explained, and these notes form a fitting close to a satisfactory publication.

The sketch of About is written in French, and in this work it must be admitted that the editor's French is better than his English, the latter language being that of the notes.

Attention should be called to the translation in the notes of common words, such as *marronniers*, *tilleuls*, *aliénés*, *terne*, *lésion*, *surveillante*, *exemplaire*, *portière*, *pension*, *s'assoupir*, *se mit à ronfler*, *rente*, etc., etc., and it may well be stated again that the translation of such words in the notes is not only useless, but positively harmful to the student. Careful editors purposely avoid including such matter in their notes, and nevertheless, in spite of such good examples, publications will appear whose notes are little better than a mere dictionary.

The lines should be numbered in the course of the text itself, so as to facilitate reference to the notes. 3: 15—For "linden trees" read 'lindens.' 4: 12—"They glance around with limpidity" is curious English. 8: 19—For "I have reasons to believe" read 'I have reason to believe.' 9: 23—Is it quite correct to speak of a man as "bobbing" his head "with a rhythmical movement?" 10: 5—*qui le lorgnait* does not mean "who spied him;" *lorgner* means 'to glance at,' or 'to eye.' 21: 18—*François s'avisa* does not mean "François imagined," but rather 'François took it into his head.' 31: 5—For "sprung" read 'sprang.' 32: 19—For "the requisite qualities to be a sister" read 'the requisite qualities for a sister' or 'the requisites of a sister.' 37: 23—Of what possible use is the Latin etymon (the only one given in the notes) in "*quotidienne*, daily (from the Latin *quotidie*)?" 43: 2—"The lectures which are given there (at the Sorbonne) by the most eminent scientists, are renowned the world over." Does the editor mean that the lectures given at the Sorbonne by famous men are renowned? That would be somewhat of a truism. Or does he mean that all lectures given there are renowned, and that the lecturers are among the most eminent scientists of the world? 66: 12—*je brûle mes vaisseaux* need not be translated "I remove all obstacles," since the English have the same expression as the French. 79; 5—*bois* in *il n'était pas du bois dont on fait les dupes* might be better understood if it were rendered by 'stuff.'

The Chrestomathy, like all works with which Gaston Paris has anything to do, is most carefully prepared. The introduction, though brief, is very complete, dealing with the origin of the French language, with phonology, morphology, syntax and versification.

The selections include short extracts from the Old-French epic poetry, from *Le Chevalier au Lion*, *Aucassin et Nicolete*, *Estula*, from fables, history, satires, lyric and dramatic poetry, from *Le Roman de la Rose*, and from Villon.

There is no vocabulary for the reason that all the selections are translated into modern French at the foot of the pages. The notes are few and deal with difficult passages, and each selection is preceded by a succinct literary notice.

This publication will be found useful by those who prefer a literal translation to a vocabulary.

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SPANISH LITERATURE.

Lazarillo de Tormes conforme á la edición de 1554 publicalo á sus expensas H. BUTLER CLARK, M. A., Correspondiente de la Real Academia de la Historia. Oxford: Blackwell, 1897. Edición de 250 ejemplares.

WHO was the author of the famous picaresque novel *Lazarillo de Tormes*, is a question that

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perhaps will never be definitely answered.[1] Even the much less important question of when and where it was first printed, is involved in considerable doubt. Both points are discussed with his accustomed thoroughness by M. Morel-Fatio in his *Études sur l'Espagne*, première serie, p. 115 seq.

The supposed first edition, Antwerp, 1553, nobody has ever seen; Brunet's mention of it being merely hearsay. In the following year, 1554, however, there appeared no less than three editions, of which copies have come down to us; namely, at Burgos, at Antwerp, and at Alcalá de Henares. Two copies of the Burgos edition are known, of which one is preserved in the library of the Duke of Devonshire at Chatsworth; a copy of the Antwerp edition is in the Imperial library at Vienna,[2] while there is a copy of the edition of Alcalá de Henares in the British Museum. Until some evidence is adduced of the existence of an earlier edition, Morel-Fatio considers that of Burgos, 1554, as the *princeps* of *Lazarillo*. He says further:

"Personne ne l'a collationné, aucun de ceux qui se sont occupés de la nouvelle, éditeurs ou critiques, ne l'a comparé aux éditions subséquentes et ne peut dire au juste en quoi ces éditions diffèrent de leur prototype."[3]

I may say that some years ago I collated the Duke of Devonshire's copy with a late edition, and also made a partial collation of the edition of Alcalá in the British Museum. The first person to make a comparison between the Burgos and Antwerp editions of 1554, so far as I know, was Lauser, in his German translation of *Lazarillo; Der erste Schelmenroman, Lazarillo de Tormes*, herausgegeben von Wilhelm Lauser, Stuttgart, 1889. On page 150 he says:

"We are thus able to determine for the first time that the edition of Burgos, so far as the contents and subdivision into chapters are concerned, corresponds exactly with the Antwerp edition of 1554, save that the former is embellished with woodcuts which are wanting in the latter."

Morel-Fatio, to whom the Burgos edition was inaccessible, was obliged to make his comparison of the edition of Alcalá with the Antwerp editions of 1554 and 1555, and his conjecture that the latter were very likely faithful copies of the Burgos edition, has thus been verified. The two passages that have been intercalated in the edition of Alcalá de Henares are given by Morel-Fatio on pages 171–176. The other variants are inconsiderable, as I learnt from a comparison of the Burgos edition with that of Alcalá.

And now, finally, we have an exact reprint of the *editio princeps* of Burgos made by the care of the well-known Spanish scholar, Mr. H. Butler Clark, Taylorian teacher of Spanish in the University of Oxford. In his *Advertencia* he says he published it "*al pie de la letra con todas sus faltas de imprenta y puntuacion.*" The title-page of the original is given in facsimile, then the text follows page for page. The little book is beautifully printed, and the whole work is done with exceeding care, the only variation from the original being that at the beginning of chapters (*tractados*) three to seven, the woodcuts are replaced by large letters, and the signatures at the foot of the pages are not given. It may be said concerning the title *conde de Arcos*, as it is given in the Antwerp editions of 1554 and 1555, and which has been changed to *conde de Alarcos* in the edition of Alcalá,—that the Burgos edition has likewise *Conde de Arcos*.[4]

1 Professor Baist of the University of Freiburg, expresses himself as follows, in his *Geschichte der Spanischen Literatur*, (Gröber's *Grundriss*, Vol. ii, Part ii, p. 461): "Die Gründe, welche veranlasst haben Diego Hurtado de Mendoza als Verfasser zu bezeichnen sind ungenügend; wenn Morel-Fatio den Autor in dem Erasmianischen Kreise zu suchen geneigt ist, so trifft das gewiss in so fern zu, als bis zur Mitte des 16. Jhs. Capacitäten, wie die hier vorauszusetzende, mehr oder minder Erasmisch angehaucht zu sein pflegten; aber auf einen Namen wird man wohl dauernd verzichten müssen." And in a note he adds: "Die Heimat ist wahrscheinlich Toledo."

2 There was a copy of this edition in the Heredia library that was sold at auction in Paris five years ago; it brought forty-five francs! See Catalogue de la Bibliothèque de M. Ricardo Heredia, Comte de Benhavis, Paris, 1892, p. 391.

3 *L. c.*, p. 120.

4 See the very ingenious emendation proposed by Morel-Fatio, op. cit., p. 125. In a footnote, p. 123, he says: Ne pas confondre le titre de comte *d'Arcos* avec celui de comte *de Los Arcos*, créé en 1617, par Philippe III, en faveur de D. Pedro Laso de la Vega. Cabrera, *Relaciones de las cosas sucedidas en la Corte de España, desde 1599 hasta 1614*, ed. Gayangos, Madrid, 1857, says the title was created in 1600. His words are (under the year 1600, p. 55): "Tambien ha dado titulo de .... conde de los Arcos á don Pedro Laso de la Vega, mayordomo de la Reina." Cf. also p. 288, where he is appointed ambassador to Germany in 1606, but is called *conde de Arcos*.

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A comparison of the *editio princeps* with the latest reprints,—I have in view especially Kressner's edition in the *Bibliothek Spanischer Schriftsteller*, Leipzig, 1890, will show how defective the text of *Lazarillo* is in the editions that are accessible. Kressner, in his introduction, says:

"The text has been restored in accordance with the Antwerp edition of 1602, in the possession of the editor, which edition is a careful reimpression of the first edition."

He evidently considers the Antwerp edition of 1554 as the first edition; but in any event his text differs widely from that of the Burgos imprint of 1554.

The words of Morel-Fatio, expressed nearly ten years ago, may well conclude what has been said:

"Le moment semble venu de réimprimer correctement la celèbre nouvelle, en l'entourant d'un commentaire sobre et solide dont elle ne saurait guère se passer. L'érudit qui se chargerait de cette tâche aurait à se pourvoir d'une copie de l'édition de Burgos, 1554, qu'il rapprocherait de celle d'Alcalá de la même année et des premières éditions anversoises, en ayant toujours sous les yeux et le texte expurgé de 1573, à cause de ses corrections, et le remaniement de Luna. C'est en Angleterre seulement qu'un tel travail pourrait être exécuté."[5]

Grateful as all students of Spanish literature must be to Mr. Clark for his excellent reprint of *Lazarillo*, let us hope that at no distant day he may favor us with the critical edition of which M. Morel-Fatio speaks, and for which Mr. Clark is so well fitted.

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NORWEGIAN GRAMMAR AND READER.

Norwegian Grammar and Reader, with Notes and Vocabulary. By JULIUS E. OLSON, Professor of Scandinavian Languages and Literature in the University of Wisconsin. Chicago: Scott, Foresman & Co., 1898. 8vo, pp. x+330.

THIS last Norwegian Grammar, as we are told in the preface, is designed not only for the classroom and for those who wish to acquire a knowledge of the language of Norway, but also to serve as a guide to those "who having some knowledge of spoken Norwegian desire to know something of Norwegian literature." The author discards the longer name Dano-Norwegian for the shorter Norwegian on the ground that:

"The literary activity that Norway has experienced, especially during the last forty years, has developed many peculiarities quite foreign to Danish."

With the exception of one or two brief notes, the whole grammar concerns itself only with the literary language of Norway, but this literary vernacular, that of Ibsen and Björnson, as well as that of Kjelland and Lie, is in all essentials Danish. The chief difference between it and the Danish of Denmark is perhaps found in the pronunciation—that of modern Danish being peculiarly characterized by the glottal catch. The latter is also much more corrupt than the literary language of Norway. It is true, a great many words and idioms have crept in, in Norway, from the dialects, but it remains, nevertheless, at best Dano-Norwegian.

If we are treating of the "language of Norway" we must, however, bear in mind the importance of the dialects. They are an endless source from which the literary language is constantly drawing and enriching itself. This is true not only of the vocabulary. There is a certain point and conciseness of expression in the dialects of Norway that is not found in the older literary language. Writers have recognized this, and through them these dialectic peculiarities have, for a long time, gradually been finding their way into the literature. The influence of the dialects on the literary language also extends to pronunciation. These dialects are spoken throughout all Norway to-day, and they are, after all, the actual living descendants of the language that was spoken in Norway before the Union of Calmar. It has for three centuries lived on and developed, preserving many of the characteristics of the older language. It has, furthermore, in our own century developed a literature hand in hand with what, by way of distinction, may be termed Dano-Norwegian; and in the last years Arne Garborg, the most

The latter title, instead of *conde de los Arcos* is a mistake of Cabrera's, as Morel-Fatio shows (p. 123) that the title of *Conde de Arcos* ceased to exist after 1493.

5 *Op. cit.*, p. 140.

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prominent writer of dialect, has played an important part in the literary movement of Norway. It is to be regretted that this phase of the language and literature of Norway has been so wholly neglected in Professor Olson's *Grammar and Reader*. Out of one hundred and seventeen pages devoted to the *Reader*, only five are given to the dialect writers. In the *Grammar* the dialects have not been taken into consideration, although frequently it would have been desirable to have had dialectic variations illustrated.

"In conformity with the essential idea of the book, that of being an introduction to the literature of Norway," the author has devoted one hundred and ninety-one pages to the *Reader, Notes and Vocabulary*, leaving one hundred and thirty-nine for the grammatical introduction. To determine how well the double purpose of the book has been accomplished, let us first turn to the *Grammar*.

The *Grammar* is not complete, nor does the author claim that. He has found that the limited space allowed to it made eliminations necessary. The usual exercises for translation have been omitted, but, on the contrary, example sentences illustrative of the practical application of grammatical rules are found on almost every page throughout the book. Perhaps too much space has been devoted to this; as, for instance, when the greater part of a page is given to the modal auxiliary *kunne*—fourteen sentences to show the three distinct usages; or, again, when a little over nine pages are devoted to the adverb alone. Such a large number of example sentences is superfluous, especially as in many of these cases the usage is identical. The illustrative sentences are generally well-chosen and good idiomatic Norwegian is rendered into good idiomatic English, to which statement there is an exception on p. 69: "Med Lov skal land bygges," rendered "with law shall the land be built." The phraseology throughout is excellent and to the point, such clumsy statements as the following being extremely rare: "Words with the prefix *be*, *er*, *ge*, never have the accent on the first syllable, while those with *for* and *u* often do."

The treatment of the inflections is good; the phonology is not so satisfactory. The rules for usage are sometimes too ironbound and exceptions that are not at all unusual have sometimes been ignored. At times, the author has recorded but one usage when there is distinctly a duality of usage. Thus under the diphthong *ei* we are told:

"*e* before *gn* and *gl*, when these consonants belong together in the root of a word, has, with few exceptions, the same sound as the diphthong *ei*, the *g* being silent, or, rather, fused in the *e*."

Egn and *Tegn*, hence, are pronounced *Ein*, *Tein*. But they are also pronounced *Engn* and *Tengn*, and this latter pronunciation is extremely common.

In the classification of vowels and consonants the terminology is not always in accord with that established by recent works on phonology. Such terms as 'back' and 'front' vowels are even for the beginner more intelligible than "hard" and "soft." Phonetic values are not always acutely differentiated. The closed long *o*, we are told, "has the sound of our *oo* in 'food,' uttered with a more decided projecting of the lips than is usual." This is not true. Norwegian long closed *o* has much more of the distinctly *ō* element than is found in *oo* in 'food,' and this quality is not given it by the lips, but by the tongue. As to manner of production, the *o* in *Fod* and the *oo* in 'food' are both back-narrow-round vowels, but while *oo* is a high-back, the *o* in *Fod* is almost a mid-back-round vowel. The vowel in *Fod*, then, is much more like that we hear in 'low' than that in 'food.' And so with the short *o* and *u*, both of which we are told are nearly like *oo* in 'foot.' The difference is not so inconsiderable. The vowel that we hear in *bort* is one quite different from that of *Gut*. That of *Bonde* is quite different from that of *Hund* (if we exclude the dialect pronunciation of the latter, which is *hond* [*u* in 'pull']. The phonetic value of *o* in *Bonde* and *bort* is very near that of *o* in 'forth.' Now, in English, when we change from 'pool' to 'pull' we widen the vowel, so that the vowel we have in 'pull' is not a pure *u* at all, but one in which the *o* element is very prominent. This widening process in changing from long *u* to short *u* does not take place in Norwegian, or, at least, only to an almost imperceptible degree, so that the

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vowel in *Gut* differs from that of the dialectic *Güt* only in quantity. There is, then, in the literary language quite a difference between the vowels in *bort* and *Gut*, the short *o* and the short *u*.

The first element of the diphthong *ei* is broader than *a* in 'age.' The short open *o* is approximately the London *o* in 'not,' our *o* in 'lost.' *Jeg*, *mig*, *dig*, *sig*, we are told may be approximated by the English 'yea,' 'may,' 'day,' 'say,' "quickly pronounced with a slight suggestion of an *ee* sound at the close." Norwegian *jeg*, *mig*, *dig*, *sig* may be almost perfectly represented by 'yea,' 'may,' 'day,' 'say,' as often pronounced in Philadelphia,—that is, the *a* is slightly broadened and the vanish is introduced.[1]

Under *ö* we find the following erroneous statement: "Before *gn*, *ö* has the sound of the diphthong *öi*, the *g* becoming silent." The fact is, *g* is simply palatalized after a palatal vowel and so *ög* becomes *öi*, just as *jeg* becomes *jei*. This note on *ö* before *gn* should, for the sake of system, have come under *öi*, since *e* before *gn* was considered under the diphthong *ei*.

V is generally silent after *l* in *Sölv*, *halv*, *tolv*, but it is extremely rare to hear *selv* pronounced '*sel*.' If the *v* is dropped in *selv*, the *e* is generally lengthened by compensation and *s* receives the sound of our *sh* in 'shoe.'

The bulk of the *Grammar* is devoted to inflections, and this part is very good. In connection with the inchoative verb it would have been in place to state that the verbs in *ne* (Goth. *nan*) are historically the inchoative verbs, and that the *s*-inchoative is distinctly a Norse peculiarity.

It would have been desirable to have had a fuller treatment of the abbreviated verbs, especially as this is a distinguishing characteristic of the Northern tongues. The author has given us a list of those commonly used, twelve in all, but many have been omitted that are used in the abbreviated form as much as in the full form; for instance, *at blö*, *at gli*, *at klæ*, *at dra*, *at ska*, etc. There are, besides, a number of other verbs in which assimilation has for a long time characterized the past participle, but can, as yet, hardly be said to have transferred itself to the infinitive, as: *at dölge*, *dul(g)t*, *vælge*, *val(g)t*, etc.

As an introduction to the literature of Norway, the book is admirable, both from the felicity of the various extracts selected for translation and the character of the notes accompanying them; there are, however, some inexplicable omissions. Taken together the prose and the poetry of the selections form an excellent picture of Norwegian literature since 1814. Almost every phase of what in many ways has been an astonishing development is duly considered, and out of Norway, at least, this is the best and most comprehensive anthology that has been brought together. Not an important name or movement is actually absent, from Welhaven and Wergeland of the Norwegian "Storm and Stress," down by way of Asbjörnsen and Moe, the collectors of folk tales, and the historians Keyser and Munch, all of whom paved the way by suggestion for much that was to follow, to the coryphæi: Björnson, Ibsen and Jonas Lie. The lesser voices of the chorus have also not been neglected; and last, but not least in actual importance, we are given a glimpse of the dialect writers, Aasen, Garborg and Per Sivle.

With but two exceptions, there is little to find fault with, either in the choice of the material as representative of the several writers, or in its relative arrangement to give an intelligible picture of the whole. Ibsen is represented by four lyrics, among them one from *Brand* and another from *Peer Gynt*, two public speeches, and a short fragment, four pages in all, from the *Pretenders*. This last is not only all there is of Ibsen's dramas, but the only exemplification of Norwegian dramatic writing in the book, when, in point of fact, no phase of the new literature has attracted more attention outside of Norway than the drama, and Ibsen's modern social dramas, in particular, are in many ways the most remarkable productions in all Norwegian literature.

Another omission, even more disappointing, is the extremely scant space given to the writers of popular dialect, to which attention has already been called. This, it seems to us, is a lost opportunity, both in the *Grammar* and the *Reader*. The few examples given of

[1] Cf. Norw. diphthong *ei* (æi).

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dialect are all short lyrics, although some of the strongest and most picturesque prose of Norway, like that, for instance, of the novels of Arne Garborg, is written in the popular speech, which is after all the only real Norwegian.

Out and out the best part of Professor Olson's book are the *Notes* on the literary extracts. These are altogether admirable. They are not only lucid and pertinent, but they display an intimate knowledge of the subject in all its bearings. They form in themselves an extremely good 'introduction to Norwegian literature,' in that they extend the study, by reference and suggestion, far out beyond the covers of this book.

The few faults of omission and of commission that we have noted do not weigh seriously in the balance against the undoubted value of the book, which will in most cases well fulfill the purpose for which it is intended. In view of the author's treatment of the subject it should, nevertheless, still have had, however "cumbersome and awkward," according to him it may be, the term 'Dano-Norwegian,' instead of "Norwegian," upon the title-page.

WM. H. CARPENTER.
GEO. T. FLOM.
Columbia University.

DANTE.

The Divine Comedy of Dante, translated by HENRY F. CARY, together with DANTE GABRIEL ROSSETTI's translation of *The New Life*; edited, with introduction and notes, by OSCAR KUHNS, Professor in Wesleyan University, author of *The Treatment of Nature in Dante*. Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., New York and Boston: 1897, pp. xxxiv, 476.

IT is not necessary to praise these standard translations, but the editor is to be congratulated on his happy idea of printing them together and annotating them more copiously. Persons ignorant of Italian who undertake to read the Divine Comedy in an English translation often give up the attempt in despair of understanding the poem. Of those who persist to the end, many, acknowledging a feeling of disappointment, wonder if the fault is in them or in the translator, or whether Dante has not been overestimated. The trouble is partly, of course, that they miss the incommunicable music of the original, which no translation can reproduce. But it is partly also because they expect to read Dante too rapidly, and because the English texts are not sufficiently provided with notes. When one is reading Dante in Italian, one proceeds very slowly and makes a study of each allusion, personal, mythological, theological, or other, employing the vast critical apparatus provided by six centuries of commentators. Professor Kuhns' volume has two very valuable features: it includes the *Vita Nuova*, which is more essential to an understanding of the *Divina Commedia* than any commentary; and also foot-notes to the text. Some of these notes are necessary for the rectification of Cary's errors in interpretation. Without help of this kind Cary's translation, in spite of its acknowledged poetical value, would become obsolete. The notes are even not numerous enough. There is no use reading Dante unless one tries to understand him, and while it makes a prettier book to print a translation with only here and there an almost casual note, as is the case with Professor Norton's, the reader must often be baffled. Longfellow's translation, too, with its notes not elucidative but only illustrative, is in a hundred places more difficult than the original. The excellence of Rossetti's translation of the *Vita Nuova* and of Cary's translation of the *Divina Commedia*, their publication in one volume, and the notes to both, by Professor Kuhns, make this a book one can recommend. It is a pity, however, that Professor Kuhns did not write a more substantial introduction than the rather flimsy lecture which he puts in such terribly dangerous juxtaposition to these more solid things.

GEORGE MCLEAN HARPER.
Princeton University.

MY LEOUE LEFDI.

TO THE EDITORS OF MOD. LANG. NOTES,

SIRS:—In the January number of the current volume of your journal, col. 64, Professor Brandl is charged with inaccuracy in his account of *On god ureisun of ure lefdi*. Brandl's words:

"Der Dichter gibt sich da mit individueller Unmittelbarkeit, als Mönch, welcher der Gottesmutter alles geopfert hat und sie dafür seine liebe Frau nennt . . . ."

are opposed by the surprising dictum: "The poet nowhere calls her "seine Frau" . . . ."; and, as a result of this strange delusion, Brandl's whole summary appears to his critic in a wrong light. The fact is that the poet does call the Virgin a number of times, "mi leoue lefdi" ("mi swete lefdi," "mi leoue

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swete lefdi"), which could not have been better *translated* than "meine liebe Frau." It would hardly seem necessary to point out that this is not to be understood in the sense of "my dear wife." Ten Brink's rendering (in his *Geschichte der Englischen Litteratur*, Vol. i, pp. 257 f.): "meine liebe Herrin," is less liable to be misinterpreted, but it lacks the flavor of antiquity, and the charm of association, happily lingering in the phrase preferred by Brandl. (Cf. 'Kloster unserer lieben Frauen'; 'Liebfrauenkirche'; etc.) See *Deutsches Wörterbuch* von Jacob Grimm und Wilhelm Grimm, vol. iv, I, 1, pp. 71 ff.; etc., etc.—That the author of *Ein gutes Gebet von unserer Frau* (cf. Brandl) addresses Saint Mary in his song, *meine liebe Frau*, is an illustration of the "individuelle Unmittelbarkeit," which characterizes the expression of his devotional fervor.

Brandl's concise *résumé* contains no word that is not taken directly from the poem.

FREDERICK KLAEBER.

University of Minnesota.

GEORG BRANDES' NORWEGIAN.

TO THE EDITORS OF MOD. LANG. NOTES,

SIRS:—The publishers' notices of Archer's translation of Georg Brandes' work on Shakspere, recently issued, state that it is translated from the Norwegian. As Brandes was 'born, bred and brought up' in Copenhagen, it is hard to understand what is meant by this statement. It almost looks as if some Norwegian, not satisfied with claiming the Danish written in Norway as Norwegian, had tried to annex the language of the Danish capital itself. It is as reasonable to call the language of Brandes Norwegian, as it would be to call the language of Matthew Arnold American. There is at least a show of reason in the claim that Ibsen writes Norwegian; there can be none at all in extending the claim to the foremost living writer of Danish prose.

DANIEL KILHAM DODGE.

University of Illinois.

FANG MEANING TALON.

TO THE EDITORS OF MOD. LANG. NOTES,

SIRS:—Another instance of 'fang' in the sense of 'claw' is to be found in *Moby Dick; or, the Whale*, by Herman Melville, N. Y., 1871, p. 544.

"when beholding the tranquil beauty and brilliancy of the ocean's skin, one forgets the tiger heart that pants beneath it; and would not willingly remember, that this velvet paw but conceals a remorseless *fang*."

ARCHIBALD MACMECHAN.

Dalhousie College.

MILTON-VONDEL.

TO THE EDITORS OF MOD. LANG. NOTES,

SIRS:—The readers of Mod. Lang. Notes will be glad to learn that the Continental Publishing Co., 25 Park Place, N. Y., are publishing an English metrical translation of Vondel's *Lucifer*. The translation is by Mr. Leonard Charles Van Noppen, who was born in Holland, but who has lived since childhood in North Carolina. He was educated at the University of North Carolina, returning shortly after graduation to his native land to perfect himself in the knowledge of Dutch. Having read more than once Mr. Van Noppen's Ms. of the *Lucifer*, I can testify to the metrical skill which the author has shown, and to the fresh light which his version has thrown on the Milton-Vondel controversy.

Professor Kalff, of the University of Utrecht, pronounces the translation excellent in every way; and Professor Jan Ten Brink, of the University of Leiden, declares Mr. Van Noppen's version "worthy the great genius of Vondel." The work will contain a bibliography.

C. ALPHONSO SMITH.

Louisiana State University.

EUGÉNIE GRANDET.

TO THE EDITORS OF MOD. LANG. NOTES,

SIRS:—I notice in your number for March, vol. xiii, 1898, a letter signed Mary K. Chapin, in which the writer comments on a passage in an article on *Eugénie Grandet* which had appeared in MOD. LANG. NOTES for June, vol. xii, 1897.

Evidently the interpretation which Mary K. Chapin gives to "Envoyer voir si j'y suis," namely, "sending on a wild goose chase," is one that fits the context. Not having *Eugénie Grandet* at hand, I cannot verify that; but I can say most positively that the expression is one very commonly used among the French-speaking people of Belgium with exactly that meaning.

Whether the phrase has disappeared from the popular speech in France I cannot say, though it seems reasonable to suppose that it is still in use there. It may be, of course, a survival such as is so frequently found in Flandert and Belgium of obsolete French, that is *Septante* and *Nonante* for *soixante dix*, etc.

At any rate, in Belgium a person wishing to be relieved for a moment of the presence of a child says: "Allez au corridor voir si j'y suis."

Naturally, dictionaries do not throw much light on such matters.

C. C. CLARKE, JR.

Pasadena, Cal.

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VOL. XIII. JUNE, 1898. No. 6.

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

A. MARSHALL ELLIOTT, MANAGING EDITOR.
JAMES W. BRIGHT, HANS C. G. von JAGEMANN, HENRY ALFRED TODD,
ASSOCIATE EDITORS.

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(CONTINUED ON PAGES 7 and 8.)

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MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES.

Baltimore, June, 1898.

DANTE'S INFLUENCE ON SHELLEY.[1]

AMONG all the English poets none shows a wider and deeper influence of Dante than Shelley. His acquaintance with the great Italian begins with the year 1818, the date of his first arrival in Italy; and the study then begun was continued through all the rest of his short life.

In a letter written to Thomas Love Peacock, from Milan, dated April 20, 1818, he gives an enthusiastic description of the Cathedral of Milan—

with its stained glass and massy granite columns, overloaded with antique figures, and the silver lights, that burn forever under the canopy of black cloth beside the bronze altar;

and then adds:

There is one solitary spot among those aisles behind the altar, where the light of day is dim and yellow under the storied window, which I have chosen to visit and read Dante there.

Surely an ideal place to be first inducted into the deep mystic beauty of that "poem of the earth and air," which, itself, has been beautifully compared to a cathedral. Under the double charm of architecture and poetry in their loftiest expression, we may well believe that at this time, as Mr. Dowden has said, "he was learning, perhaps unconsciously, some of the finer humanities of Catholicism," and again, that—

to reconcile him to Christianity, at least in its characteristic sentiment, the *Paradiso* effected more than could have been effected by any number of Short and Easy . . . with Deists or Atheists.

In the same year we learn that while in Como he was still reading the *Inferno*, and that later, on his return to Milan, he finished the *Purgatorio* and began the *Paradiso*.

During the period of sorrow in the autumn of 1819, caused by the loss of his boy and the melancholy of his wife, Shelley read two cantos of the *Purgatorio* every day to Mary, "striving to win her back to an interest in matters remote from their recent loss." Two years later he writes from Ravenna to Mrs. Shelley, "I have visited Dante's tomb and worshipped at the sacred spot."

In his critical works Shelley gives constant expression to his profound admiration for the poet of light and love. Thus in the *Discourse on the Manners of the Ancients*, he says; Dante may be the creator of imaginations of greater loveliness and energy than any that are to be found in the ancient literature of Greece.

In the *Defense of Poetry* he says that Dante's poetry is a "bridge thrown over the stream of time, which unites the modern and ancient world;" and further, calls Homer the first and Dante the second epic poet whose works have relation to the sentiment and religion of their age. Again Dante is the first religious reformer, the first awakener of entranced Europe, who "created a language in itself music and persuasion, out of a chaos of inharmonious barbarisms."

But the internal evidence of Dante's influence on Shelley is even more striking than the above statements, made by himself or his biographer. In him more than any other English poet do we find direct reference, allusion, translation, or imitation and adaptation of thought, figure, description; even examples of the peculiar metrical form of the *Divine Comedy*, the *terza rima*, are not wanting.

The number of direct references and allusions is comparatively large. Thus in the *Triumph of Life* the poet describes:

> . . . . . A wonder worthy of the rhyme
> Of him who from the lowest depths of hell,
> Through every paradise and through all glory,
> Love led serene, and who returned to tell
> The words of hate and awe; the wondrous story
> How all things are transfigured except Love;
> For deaf as is a sea, which wrath makes hoary,
> The world can hear not the sweet notes that move
> The sphere whose light is melody to lovers—
> A wonder worthy of his rhyme . . . . . .

Dante's influence is seen through and through the above poem, which is a vision in which supernatural figures appear and converse with the poet, as Vergil and Beatrice did with Dante. It is in *terza rima* and contains many reminiscences of Dante in language and metaphor. Thus compare the "grim feature" which he had taken for—

[1] This article forms part of a general discussion of Dante's Influence on English poetry, from Chaucer to Tennyson.

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. . . . . An old root which grew
In strange distortion . . . . . ,

with the shapes of the trees in the Wood of Suicides. So, too, we find here an example of Shelley's very numerous imitations of one characteristic feature of the *Paradiso*, that is, spirits swathed in light,

So I knew in that light's severe excess
The presence of that shape, . . .

while the following metaphor is evidently due to something more than mere coincidence:

And as a shut lily, stricken by the wand
Of dewy morning's vital alchemy.[2]

Other allusions to Dante are to be found in the *Adonais*, the *Ode to Liberty*, and in the *Tower of Famine*, the latter (written in *terza rima*) suggested by the story of Ugolino.

The number of Shelley's translations from Dante are not inconsiderable, and are such perfect specimens of the difficult art of translation that it must ever remain a source of regret that he did not conceive the idea of making a complete translation of the *Divine Comedy*. These fragments of translation include the beautiful description of Matilda gathering flowers in the Earthly Paradise, the first *canzone* of the *Convito*, the exquisite sonnet of Dante to his friend Guido Cavalcanti (also the sonnet of the latter in response). He further corrected the translation made by Medwin of the story of Ugolino.

The most striking evidence of Dante's influence, however, is found in the *Epipsychidion* and *Prometheus Unbound*. The influence of the *New Life* on the former has been remarked by several Shelley scholars, and Shelley himself plainly acknowledges this influence in the *Advertisement to the Poem*, where he says:

The present poem, like the *Vita Nuova* of Dante is sufficiently intelligible to a certain class of readers without a matter-of-fact history of the circumstances to which it relates.

He adds to the poem a translation of Dante's famous *canzone* beginning:

Voi, ch'intendendo, il terzo ciel movete.

As is well-known the *Epipsychidion* is a poem dedicated to Emilia Viviani, a beautiful and unhappy Italian girl whom Shelley met at Venice in 1821. His relations with her were similar to those of Dante with Beatrice: he knew her but little, saw her rarely, and his love for her was purely Platonic, ideal, vague, symbolical. Hence the fact that she married soon after made but little impression (other than pity) upon him. For him she was a creature of imagination, in whom he idealized love with all its intensity of passion. He himself calls *Epipsychidion* a mystery, "as to real flesh and blood, you know that I do not deal in these articles." It seems altogether probable that the figure of Beatrice was before him as he wrote the poem. To him love is the chief end of all poetry (as it is, in its higher sense, of all life), and in his *Defense of Poetry*, he says of Dante that—

his Apotheosis of Beatrice and the gradations of his own love and her loveliness . . . . is the most glorious imagination of modern poetry.[3]

As to internal evidence of the influence of the *New Life* on Dante, it is sufficiently strong; yet it is of such a nature that it is easier to feel than to describe. The spirit of the two books is the same; both are vague and rhapsodical confessions of love, and both are allegorical, yet contain some basis of actual events. As for parallel passages, the number of them thoughout the poetry of Shelley is so extensive that to quote them all would extend the limit of this discussion beyond all proportion. Any one who compares carefully the *New Life* with the *Epipsychidion* cannot fail to be struck constantly with resemblances in language, thought and metaphor between the two.

There seem to be two other of Dante's works which Shelley had in mind while writing the *Epipsychidion*. Ackermann in his monograph on the *Quellen, Vorbilder, Stoffe zu Shelley's Poetischen Werken* draws attention to the striking coincidence in general thought and spirit, between Shelley's poem and the *Convito*, especially the second *canzone* thereof. He says:

Man darf nur den Gedankengang der zuletzt zitierten Stellen verfolgen, um zu sehen, wie viele Spuren desselben sich im *Epipsychidion* wiederfinden; Liebe ist nichts anderes als die geistige Vereinigung mit der Seele der Geliebten; sie ist das Anmutigste von allem, was die Sonne bescheint; sie hat etwas Überirdisches; ihre Sprache entzündet überall Liebesgedanken, verleiht also den himmlischen Geist; sie ist die Grundlage des Glaubens . . . . . Die

[2] Cf. *Inferno*, II, 127–129.

[3] A fact of some importance in this question is an entry made by Mary Shelley in her diary, January 31, 1821: "Shelley reads the *Vita Nuova* to me in the evening." The *Epipsychidion* was composed shortly after the above date.

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Schönheit ihres Blickes und Lächelns überwältigt alles, etc. Es lassen sich demgemäss auch Parallelstellen für Einzelheiten zu dem *Convito* im *Epipsychidion* anführen, noch zahlreicher als zu der *Vita Nuova*.

There are several passages in the *Epipsychidion* which are undoubtedly more or less due to the *Divine Comedy*. The remarkable discussion between Vergil and Dante in the fifteenth canto of the *Purgatorio*, in which the former explains how the love of God, instead of diminishing by being shared by many, only increases the more, as the sum total of the light of the Sun, reflected from many mirrors, has undoubtedly furnished the thought in the lines:

> True Love in this differs from gold and clay,
> That to divide is not to take away.
> Love is like understanding that grows bright,
> Gazing on many truths; 'tis like thy light,
> Imagination! which from earth and sky,
> And from the depths of human phantasy,
> As from a thousand prisms and mirrors, fills
> The Universe with glorious beams.[4]

Many other resemblances can be found:

> . . . . . the wintry forest of our life;
> And struggling through its error with vain strife, etc.,

and another example of spirits clothed in light. This time the Being is so resplendent that the form is hidden:

> She met me robed in such exceeding glory,
> That I beheld her not.

The beautiful lines in the last part of the *Epipsychidion*, where the poet invites Emily to fly with him to some blessed island beyond the sea:

> A ship is floating in the harbor now,
> A wind is hovering o'er the mountain's brow;
> There is a path on the sea's azure floor,
> No keel has ever ploughed that path before, etc.,

are enveloped in the same atmosphere of soft and voluptuous beauty as the exquisite sonnet of Dante to Guido Cavalcante, which Shelley translated with his usual skill:

> Guido, I would that Lapo, thou and I,
> Led by some strong enchantment, might ascend
> A magic ship, whose charmèd sails should fly,
> With winds at will where'er our thoughts might wend,
> And that no change, nor any evil chance
> Should mar our joyous voyage; but it might be,
> That even satiety should still enhance
> Between our hearts their strict community:
> And that the bounteous wizard then would place
> Vanna and Bice and my gentle love,
> Companions of our wandering, and would grace
> With passionate talk, wherever we might rove,
> Our time, and each were as content and free
> As I believe that thou and I should be.

Great and wide-reaching as we have shown hitherto the influence of Dante to be on the poetry of Shelley, we have not as yet mentioned the poem which reveals that influence still more profoundly, the *Prometheus Unbound*. Here as in the case of the *Epipsychidion* we have both internal and external evidence as to the fact of such influence. In the *Preface* Shelley says that his imagery is often drawn from the operations of the human mind, or from those external actions by which they are expressed:

> This is unusual in modern poetry, although Dante and Shakespere are full of it, and Dante indeed more than any other poet and with greater success. The Greeks are full of it; it is to the study of them that I am willing my readers should impute this singularity.

What he thus confesses of the Greeks is undoubtedly likewise true of Dante, whom he couples above with the former.

The poem was begun in 1818 at Este, where, in the words of Professor Dowden—

> in the narrow court of the arbor, thoughts and visions came and went of Michelangelesque sublimity and of tenderness as exquisite as that of the great Florentine.

A careful comparison of the *Prometheus Unbound* with the *Paradiso* cannot fail to show many striking points of resemblance between the two. Although so utterly unlike in many respects, the one so mediæval, the other so modern, yet there is in both the same atmosphere of light and universal love, the same constant use of music, sweet sounds, and dance. The very aspect of Dante's Paradise is summed up in such language, as "an ocean of splendor and harmony," "Paradise of golden light," and in such lines as—

> But now oh weave the mystic measure
> Of music and dance and shapes of light.

In Dante's theory, love is the great principle of life; it streams from God and fills the universe; it moves—

> Il sole e l'altre stelle . . . .;

it has created the world, and—

> Nè creator nè creatura mai
> . . . . . fu senza amore.

So the main theme of the *Prometheus Unbound*

[4] The same figure has been used by Byron in his *Childe Harold*.

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is the final triumph of love; love is everywhere, and fills not only human and divine beings, but the very beasts of the field and all the inanimate world—

> Common as light is love,
> . . . . . .
> Like the wide heaven, the all-sustaining air
> It makes the reptiles equal to the God;—

and earth sings:

> It interpenetrates my granite mass
> Through tangled roots and trodden clay doth pass,
> Into the utmost leaves and delicatest flowers,
> Upon the winds among the clouds 'tis spread, etc.

The one vital difference between Dante and Shelley in this theory of love is that the former is profoundly religious; God the Almighty creator and sustainer of the universe is the source of this love—

> In la sua volontate è nostra pace:
> Ella è quel mare, al qual tutto si move.

While to Shelley man is the measure of all things—

> Man, one harmonious soul of many a soul,
> Whose nature is at its own divine control,
> Where all things flow to all, as rivers to the sea.

The Paradise of Dante consists of the nine heavens embraced by the Empyrean, the heaven of light and love. These nine heavens are inhabited by the spirits of the Blessed, who are swathed in light, and appear to Dante as splendor, flames, and globes of light. This conception, which pervades the whole length and breadth of the *Paradiso*, has been used again and again by Shelley. Thus among the many examples which might be given, take the following lines:

> Child of light, thy limbs are burning
> Through the vest which seems to hide them,
> As the radiant lines of morning
> Thro' the clouds ere they divide them;
> And this atmosphere divinest
> Shrouds thee wheresoe'er thou shinest.

In the *Paradiso* this splendor which enwraps the souls of the saints, is constantly changing, and manifests the greater or less joy of the soul, as a smile reveals the joy of the human heart:

> Ed io sentì dentro a quella lumiera,
> Che pria m'avea parlato, sorridendo,
> Incominciar, facendosi più mera.

So Shelley's—

> . . . . . the animation of delight
> Which wraps me, like an atmosphere of light;

or—

> . . . . . 'tis He, arrayed
> In the soft light of his own smiles;

or again—

> Though art folded, thou art lying
> In the light which is undying
> Of thine own joy and heaven's smile divine.

So, too, the beauty of Beatrice, which changes from heaven to heaven and becomes too splendid for Dante to gaze upon, is none other than that of Asia, when she changes and Panthea cries out:

> How thou art changed! I dare not look at thee;
> I feel but see thee not; I scarce endure
> The radiance of thy beauty.

While the greatest influence of the *Divine Comedy* on *Prometheus Unbound* is exerted by the *Paradiso*, yet we find a number of passages in Shelley's poem which are undoubtedly more or less due to the *Inferno* and the *Purgatorio*. We have an actual reference to the famous inscription over the gate to Dante's *Inferno* in the lines:

> No more inscribed as o'er the gate of Hell,
> "All hope abandon ye who enter here,"—

while the number of resemblances is comparatively large. Among these resemblances we may call attention to Prometheus' unconquerable defiance of Jupiter (like that of Capaneus in the fourteenth canto of the *Inferno*); the various torments which he invites upon his head, and which, in a measure, sum up those scattered over the circles of Hell—

> Rain then thy plagues upon me here,
> Ghastly disease, and frenzying fear;
> And let alternate frost and fire
> Lightning, and cutting hail, and legioned forms
> Of furies, driving by upon the wounding storms.

There is also evident reference in the following lines to the City of Dis, with its walls and towers, rising like a fortress on the banks of the river Styx:

> . . . . Back to your towers of iron,
> And gnash, beside the streams of fire and wail,
> Your foodless teeth, Geryon, arise! and Gorgon,
> Chimæra, etc.

The famous episode of Francesca da Rimini, which contains the exquisite passage describing two doves sailing with outstretched wings to their nest, seems to have been in Shelley's mind when he wrote the following lines:

> Behold'st thou not two shapes from the east and west
> Come, as two doves to one beloved nest,
> Twin nurslings of the all-sustaining air
> On swift still wings glide down the atmosphere?

The lovely scene in the second canto of the *Purgatorio*, where the boat containing the souls of the saved comes sailing over the shoreless sea, wafted by the white wings of

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the Angel-boatman, was a favorite one with Shelley, and its influence is seen in several beautiful passages; as for instance the song of Asia:

> My soul is an enchanted boat,
> Which, like a sleeping swan, doth float
> Upon the silver waves of thy sweet singing;
> And thine doth like an angel sit
> Beside a helm conducting it
> Whilst all the winds with melody are ringing.

So, too, the brilliant whiteness of Dante's angel, the *un non sapea che bianco*, seems to have been expanded and etherealized in the passage where the Chariot, like a "thinnest boat," is described within which

> Sits a wing'd infant, white
> Its countenance, like the whiteness of bright snow,
> Its plumes are as feathers of sunny frost,
> Its limbs gleam white, through the wind-blowing folds
> Of its white robe.

It is impossible to do full justice to this influence of Dante on Shelley. It reveals itself on almost every page; it hovers like an atmosphere over his entire later works; it rises in his theories of love, in visions of abstract beauty; it reveals itself by sudden flashes in metaphor and figure, or even single words and expressions. What has been said in the preceding pages touches only the most prominent traces of this influence. The extent to which the spirit of Dante pervades the whole of Shelley's poetry can only be fully appreciated by those who carefully compare the two poets.

Most poets, as well as most readers of Dante, are better acquainted with the *Inferno* than with the rest of the works of the Divine poet. Shelley, on the contrary, shows minute acquaintance not only with the whole of the *Divine Comedy* but also with the *Vita Nuova*, the *Convito* and the *Canzoniere*.

Shelley's imitation of Dante was not a conscious one, but was the result of the complete saturation of his mind with the poetry of the great Florentine. He studied him constantly throughout his whole life, from the very first day when he opened the *Divine Comedy* and fell under the spell of that wonderful book. The thoughts, the images, the language, which we have noted, came forth from his mind as unconsciously, as spontaneously, as the visions of his own ethereal imagination, or the pictures of natural beauty with which he stored his mind. No English poet, has so completely assimulated the works of Dante as he.

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THE QUESTION OF COWPER'S INDEBTEDNESS TO CHURCHILL.

WRITERS of biography have frequently associated the names of Charles Churchill and William Cowper. For this biographical connection there is some ground. The two poets were born in the same year, were sons of clergymen, and were school-fellows at Westminster. Both attained to eminence in literature, and each is, in a degree, a representative of the same reaction in poetry. Here, however, the parallel ends, and biographical contrasts present themselves. The conduct of Churchill's life was a rapid, ungoverned descent; Cowper's development was a gradual, regulated ascent. Churchill courted strife in the midst of metropolitan din and luxury. Ill health and timidity of character led Cowper to seek rural retirement. At the age of thirty, Churchill won instant fame by writing a severe satire; at forty-eight, Cowper appeared as an author by publishing the *Olney Hymns*. Churchill's literary career was short, continuous, and devoted exclusively to satire; Cowper's was long, periodic, and varied in range and purpose. The sixteen satires, which constitute the works of Churchill, were composed in the brief space of four years. If not through the disclosure of genius, certainly by the display of high talent, though ignobly employed, Charles Churchill rose swiftly to the highest place in public notice. This period of distinction began a month after his thirty-first birthday, and ended as abruptly with his death, three months before his thirty-fourth. Cowper's work was done at intervals during a period of nearly forty years, and represents a comparatively wide range of poetic activity. William Cowper died at the age of seventy-nine. Unlike Churchill, whose poems were quickly pushed aside, and now continue to occupy the obscure shelf in the library, Cowper holds an honorable position in English literature. Hence it appears that, although the contrasts are more numerous and striking than the parallels, there are yet some biographical reasons for associating the names of these two poets.

The habit of associating these names in biography has influenced criticism. Since 1832, when Southey's *Memoir of Cowper* appeared, critics have continued to assert a vital relation between Churchill's poetry, which was written between 1761 and 1764, and Cow-

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per's six compositions known as the *Moral Satires*, written between 1780 and 1782. Briefly stated, the assertion is that the *Moral Satires* were modeled after the satires of Churchill.

This dictum comes to us frequently and from writers whose statements we have learned to hold in high regard. The poet Southey writes, "Cowper made him [Churchill] more than any other his model."[1] Again but doubtfully he says, "If there was any savour of other poets in his pieces, it was of Lloyd in some of the smaller ones, and of Churchill in his satires."[2] William Benham's more direct statement is as follows: "The author whose style he [Cowper] imitated most was Churchill."[3] In a guarded manner Goldwin Smith hints at the same idea. "If a trace [of early influence] remained," he remarks, "it was in his [Cowper's] admiration of Churchill's verses."[4] Professor Saintsbury's recent work contains the following sentence:

"His [Cowper's] efforts in it [satire] however, no doubt assisted, and were assisted by, that alteration of the fashionable Popian couplet which, after the example partly of Churchill and with a considerable return to Dryden, he attempted, made popular, and handed on to the next generation to dis-Pope yet further."[5]

These citations from writers of high repute, sufficiently indicate the critical dictum which has passed current. and, so far as the writer is aware, unchallenged, since first uttered more than half a century ago.

An examination of many criticisms revealed the fact that in no instance was this rather definite and often re-iterated assertion of Cowper's indebtedness supported by even the slenderest evidence. Hence arose the suspicion that the notion rested upon uncertain data, or, like much of the earlier criticism, upon no data at all. For the purpose either of establishing the assertion, or of justifying the suspicion, the following comparative study of the poetry was undertaken.

For the sake of clearness, the discussion is here presented in the following order: a. the general evidence of indebtedness, b. subjects chosen for satire, c. versification, d. turn of phrase.

In the light of general evidence the claim of indebtedness is not unreasonable. The association at school might readily have been the basis of continued friendly interest. Southey points out that Churchill and Cowper were trained in the same school of political opinions, that the same love of liberty is conspicuous in the works of both, and that, notwithstanding the moral contrast between the two men, Churchill still possessed many manly qualities which could not fail to appeal to Cowper. It may also be added that the writings of the former are not without utterances touching society and moral conduct, to which the latter would yield ready assent.

Perhaps more important than all, as tending to confirm one in the opinion adopted by critics, are Cowper's own expressions of admiration for Churchill's poetic talent:

> "Contemporaries all surpassed see one,
> Short his career, indeed, but ably run."[6]

In one of his letters he writes, "It is a great thing to be indeed a poet, and does not happen to more than one man in a century; but Churchill, the great Churchill, deserved that name."[7]

Other quotations might be added, but these plainly express his opinion of his fellow poet. There need be no comment upon data of this sort. They are to be treated as historical facts which may suggest the possibility of relationship.

In the choice of subjects at which to wing their satirical schafts, the two poets manifest the widest possible difference. Churchill selects from a broad range of subjects, including general society, literature, politics, nations, classes of people, and individuals; but in spite of the range, personal satire chiefly engages his attention. There are in his poems about two hundred and three subjects specifically singled out for satire. Of these, not less than one hundred and forty-four are the names of persons. Hence arose the unrivalled popularity of his compositions in the London and the England of his time. When, indeed, he stepped much aside from this particular kind of satire, his success was less complete.

On the other hand, Cowper was engaged in dealing with morals and the moral conduct of classes of men in their various callings. The

1 *Cowper's Works.* Vol. i, p. 61, "Memoir."
2 *Ib.* p. 338.
3 *Cowper's Works*, Globe ed., "Memoir," p. 46.
4 *Eng. Men of Letters, Cowper*, p. 13.
5 *A History of Nineteenth Century Literature*, p. 4.
6 *Table Talk*, l. 679, et seq.
7 *Cowper's Works.* Vol. i, p. 61, *Life by Southey.* Letter to Mr. Unwin.

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priest, the lawyer, the physician, the soldier, the tradesman, each as representative, is treated in more or less severe satire.[8] Pleasure-seeking, except that which is found in the pursuit of religion and the discharge of moral duty, is often and severely condemned. Special forms of amusement, as dancing, dice, card-playing, and the use of the violin, are specifically rebuked. Habits are likewise condemned. Among these are smoking, wine-drinking, gluttony, profane swearing, novel-reading, story-telling, and indulgence in luxury. Obsequious conduct towards superiors is condemned in the laureate who

> ". . . . . pays
> His quit-rent ode, his pepper corn of praise."

The giving of alms to ease conscience, habitual sabbath-breaking, pride of the hermit; the prude, the spendthrift, the fashionable woman; the ambitious, the avaricious; the religious weakling, the sporting man; all these are subjected to telling satirical treatment. Satirical lines are devoted to the moralist, the deist, the speculative philosopher, the fatalist; to freethinkers and atheists, and to unbelievers. The Catholics and the Romish priesthood are satirically referred to, but Cowper cancelled his severest passage against them, formerly belonging after line 389, in *Expostulation*, (probably out of courtesy to his Catholic friends). Little attention is given to literature and the writers. The ages of Anacreon and Horace, who played a "bedlam part," are criticised for extravagant concession to imagination and consequent revelry; the age of Cromwell is blamed for too great austerity and want of taste; the reaction under Charles II is the ground for stinging satire against the court which

> "Swarmed with a scribbling herd as deep inlaid
> With brutal lust as ever Circe made,"

who continued in succession until, by Addison, Pope, Arbuthnot, Swift—"that constellation"—they were

> "Whipped out of sight, with satire just and keen,
> The puppy pack that had defiled the scene."

The novelists, "snivelling and drivelling folly without end," and blundering writers in general, are treated with telling severity. The author's views of poetry are stated briefly, with a fling at Pope for his "mere mechanic art." Bible critics are rebuked; antiquarians are humorously dealt with, philologists, perhaps as representative of those over ambitious for knowledge, are said to

> ". . . . . chase
> A panting syllable through time and space,
> Start it at home, and hunt it in the dark,
> To Gaul, to Greece, and into Noah's ark."

The press is not overlooked by Cowper, but receives a due amount of censure. Under a general list of topics a variety of political and social themes might be pointed out. Clubs where politics are discussed by the ignorant and vulgar; the rich for pride; the poor for pleasure-seeking; society for calumniating Whitefield and his work; sordid city life; the cry of the times for novelty; human slavery; social venality in England; irreligion; the foreign policy of Spain and of England; Parliament, for political immorality, the "Test Act," and other similar subjects.

Individual people receive the least of his attention. Lord Chesterfield under the title of "Petronius," "Occiduus"—probably Charles Wesley—Voltaire, "St. Patrick's dean," referring probably to Swift, are about the only cases where direct reference is made to individuals, and these stand, for the most part, as representative of forms of evil. His well-known withdrawal of the lines in *Expostulation* above referred to, indicates an unwillingness to wound the feelings of individuals. Departure on the part of all men from a high morality and from a chaste devotion to religion, were the great evils for which he sought a remedy through poetical satire. Cowper's kindly spirit of Christian benevolence forbade in his poetry that which predominates in Churchill's, namely, a spirit of mockery towards his fellow men. Hence appears the wide difference in the choice of subjects treated by the two satirists. It is needless to extend the comparison upon this point. Three fifths of Churchill's satire is concerned with individuals, while Cowper, it may truthfully be said, never aims a thrust at a fellow man.

The verse forms of Churchill and Cowper alike show a marked departure from the pause-bound line of Pope. In this they were not singular, but are to be regarded as representatives of a larger reaction. Clearly to exhibit this reaction in Churchill and Cowper as well as to reach just conclusions concerning their

8 *Hope*, l. 198, et seq.

9 See p. 518, Globe ed. of *Cowper's Poetical Works*.

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relations to the earlier writers, and more especially to each other, the following tables are here submitted. For the data concerning the works of Dryden and Pope, I am indebted to Mr. W. E. Mead's dissertation.[10] The poems of Churchill and Cowper, indicated in the tables, have been especially examined for this comparison.

Table showing percentages of unstopt lines.

	No. of lines	% unstopt.
Dryden:		
Religio Laici	456	20.
Absal. & Aehit.	1031	18.63.
Hind & Panther I	572	18.3.
" " II	722	13.57.
" " III	1298	14.5.
Pope:		
Pastorals	386	2.83.
Windsor Forest	434	6.
Rape of the Lock	794	5.41.
Dunciad I	330	5.45.
" II	428	9.4.
" III	340	8.82.
" IV	656	6.09.
Churchill:		
Rosciad	1087	7.54.
Epistle to Hogarth	654	11.31.
The Conference	390	13.33.
The Candidate	807	11.03.
Cowper:		
Progress of Error	624	15.38.
Table Talk	771	15.05.
Hope	771	17.02.
Retirement	808	10.76.

From these data we find, by computing the average percentage for each author, that in Dryden's poetry 17% of the lines are unstopt; in Pope's 6.29%; in Churchill's 10.8%; and in Cowper's 14.55%. It is evident, therefore, that, in freedom to omit the end pause, Cowper approaches nearer to the standard set up by Dryden than by Churchill. Indeed his departure from Churchill's verse is, in this one respect, about equal to Churchill's departure from the rigid form of Pope's verse.

Random passages of considerable length, examined with regard to sustained construction, show an appreciable difference in sentence length. The average number of words in a sentence is as follows:

Churchill:

Rosciad 43.2; *Hogarth* 51.7.
Conference 48.6; *Candidate* 44.
Cowper:
Prog. of Error 18.65; *Table Talk* 38.33.
Hope 42.67; *Retirement* 55.9.

The average sentence length in Churchill, as shown by the above data, is a small fraction less than forty-seven words, while in Cowper an equal amount less than thirty-nine words. From another point of view these data are instructive. The above order of the poems is chronological. In Churchill there is no perceptible change from the *Rosciad* to *The Candidate*. In Cowper the sentence becomes more sustained as his work advances, and, it should seem, indicates a naturally forming style. To say that this progress bears the marks of an independent native power, will call forth the sanction of all, it is believed, who have made a study of the *Moral Satires*. It is the natural accompaniment of a free unfolding of poetic talent of which Cowper was, doubtless, quite unconscious. Certainly there is no evidence of effort to approach a model. Equal liberty is assumed by the two poets in ending the sentence within the line. Comparing poet with poet, one finds differences by actual count, but not more in number than Pope exhibits in the *Dunciad*, book compared with book.

The following table contains the results of a study to determine the position of the simple cæsura. The data from Dryden and Pope are taken from Mr. Mead's dissertation already referred to; those concerning the compositions of Churchill and Cowper are here presented in a slightly different manner. Instead of considering the few double pause lines as a distinct subject in the comparison, such lines have been reduced to single pause forms by treating the more marked pause as a simple cæsura. This method affects the table of percentages chiefly by increasing percentages at the extremes of the lines. Particularly is this true after the first, second, and ninth syllables. The relation between Churchill and Cowper is not at all affected by this change, and the variation amounts to so small a percentage as not to influence the conclusion with respect to Dryden and Pope. In the tables the figures 1, 2, 3, etc.,—at the head of the columns indicate the syllable after which the pause occurs.

[10] *The Versification of Pope*, Leipzig, 1889.

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SIMPLE PAUSES OR CÆSURAS.

Dryden—	No. of lines.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
Absal. & Achit.	1031		5.237	4.752	37.24	22.69	17.26	6.8	1.84	
Religio Laici.	456		3.28	3.07	34.307	26.	19.17	8.3	2.8	
Pope—										
Pas. i-iv.	386		2.3		50.8	33.	4.1	.7		
Windsor F.	434		.73	.95	48.	31.1	7.627	.95	.95	
R. L. i, ii, iii.	468		.9	2.	45.24	31.19	8.9	4.		
Dunciad i-iv.	1753		4.16	3.	36.68	28.98	11.63	5.704	2.	
Churchill.	Examined No. of lines	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Rosciad.	300	1.66*	3.66*	4.	33.33*	25.33*	21.66*	8.33*	1.33*	.066*
Hogarth.	300	1.	6.	4.	37.33*	22.66*	18.33*	8.66*	1.66*	.033*
The Conference.	300	2.66*	4.66*	1.33*	32.66*	23.33*	25.	9.	1.33*	
The Candidate.	300	1.33*	3.66*	2.33*	34.	25.	20.	11.66*	1.66*	.033*
Cowper—										
Prog. of Error.	300	1.33*	6.66*	6.66*	33.	23.33*	13.	11.33*	4.	.066*
Table Talk.	300	1.	6.	7.33*	31.	19.	18.33*	12.33*	4.33*	.066*
Hope.	300	1.33*	5.33*	7.	32.66*	22.66*	15.33*	8.	4.	.033*
Retirement.	300	1.33*	5.66*	5.66*	33.	26.33*	17.33*	6.33*	4.33*	

We may make the following observations regarding the position of the cæsura in the two writers under consideration: first, that the highest percentage falls, as in Dryden and Pope, after the fourth syllable, and that in either direction from this the percentages decrease; secondly, that the departure from Pope's style is evident from the decreased percentages after the fourth, fifth, and sixth syllables, and the increased, generally, after the second, third, and eighth; finally, it is to be noticed that the line of both Churchill and Cowper is a near approximation to Dryden's manner. Is it not more probable that we shall be uttering a true word of criticism, if we say, basing the opinion alone upon this last table, that both Churchill and Cowper represent a revolt against the authority of Pope's poetic code governing the heroic couplet, and exhibit a return to the freer line of *Absalom and Achitophel* and the *Religio Laici*?

Turn of phrase is the somewhat indefinite title of the last point in this comparison. In general it has to do with the manner of saying things, the adjusting of sentence elements. This would not be worthy of consideration, except for the fact that critics have occasionally hinted at similarity in this regard. The supposed similarity is certainly fanciful. Laborious comparison furnished no proof of relationship between the *Moral Satires* and the satires of Churchill. Every instance where similarity is at all discernable can be paralleled by comparing Cowper with other poets of the time, or, in most cases, even with Dryden.

A summary of the foregoing discussion will

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prepare the way for the conclusion. Briefly it may be said, that general evidence, biographical and historical facts connected with the lives and work of the two poets, furnishes, at best, only a hint of possible literary relationship. The subject matter which engaged the thoughts of these writers differed widely. In versification the *Moral Satires*, by comparison with regard to the position of the simple cæsura and the omission of the end pause, show a more marked departure from Pope's style than is evident in Churchill's satires. The sentence in Cowper bears no mark of Churchill's manner, but was of gradual development from the *Progress of Error* to *Retirement*. As to turn of phrase nothing tangible was found favoring the idea of special resemblance.

The conclusion is not far to seek. The often reiterated statement, that the *Moral Satires* of Cowper were modeled after the satires of Charles Churchill, is traditional and untrue.

We may close by expressing our confidence in Cowper's own statement concerning his literary independence. His utterance is especially pertinent to our present consideration, since it was written in private correspondence and at the time when the *Moral Satires* were in press. In a letter to Rev. William Unwin, dated Nov. 24, 1781, Cowper says:

"I reckon it among my principal advantages, as a composer of verse, that I have not read an English poet these thirteen years, and but one these twenty years. Imitation even of the best models, is my aversion; it is servile and mechanical, a trick that has enabled many to usurp the name of authors, who could not have written at all, if they had not written upon the pattern of somebody indeed original."[11]

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NOTES ON THE ROMANS D'AVENTURE.

THE first instalment of Gröber's article on French literature, issued with the continuation of the second volume of the *Grundriss*,[1] devotes considerable attention to those interesting poems of love and adventure which give, perhaps, the best presentation of aristocratic manners and ideals in mediæval France. From their spirit and tone, and especially from the purpose which prompted them they might very well be brought under one head, as "Romans d'aventure." Gröber discusses them under two headings ("Romans d'aventure" and "Ausflüsse der gelehrten Epik"), which is a great advance over the minute divisions made by G. Paris in his *Littérature française au moyen âge*. It so happens that the poems thus treated are all accessible to American students, save *Florimont*, and having read them recently in preparation for a course of lectures at Baltimore, I had intended to call the attention of the readers of the NOTES to them in a somewhat extended article. Gröber's publication having anticipated such a plan, it is now in order to offer only those data that are supplementary to his remarks or which lead to different conclusions.

The paragraph on Gautier of Arras' *Éracle*[2] assumes that the Baldwin of Hainault for whom the poem was finished was Baldwin IV († 1171, not 1176). It had seemed to me that it might be rather Baldwin V on account of the lines 6584–6586 of Löseth's edition:

> Quens Bauduins, a vous l'otroi:
> Ainz que passent dui an ou troi,
> Metrai ailleurs, espoir, m'entente.

Contrary to Förster's opinion, expressed in the introduction to *Ille et Galeron*,[3] that this was an intimation of a change of patron—which Gautier's career would abundantly justify—I had interpreted the couplet in a sense more favorable to Baldwin: that Gautier was now advanced in years and was looking towards another world. If this is so, the last section of *Éracle* would necessarily be later than *Ille et Galeron*. The lines cited by Förster in support of such a period for the completion of *Éracle*,

> En dis et set anz et demi
> Ne trueuve om pas un bon ami;[4]

are not, however, convincing to me. The views of G. Pariss and of Tobler[6] in regard to the numerals used by the mediæval poets, here as elsewhere, appear more tenable. And in explanation of this exact "seventeen and a half years," which is undoubtedly peculiar, it may be said that the hero was of that

11 *Cowper's Works*, vol. i, p. 374-5.

1 *Grundriss der Romanischen Philologie*, herausgegeben von Gustav Gröber. II. Band, 1. Abteilung, 3. Lieferung. Strassburg: Karl J. Trübner, 1898. 8vo, pp. 433–688. *Französische Litteratur*, von Gustav Gröber.

2 Gröber, *l. c.*, pp. 525–526. 3 *Roman. Bibl.*, vol. vii.
4 *Éracle*, 6568–6569.
5 *Romania*, vol. xxv, p. 277, note 3.
6 Herrig's *Archiv*, vol. xci, pp. 104–105.

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age when he returned with Laïs from the war:—he was nearly ten years old when he was sold to the emperor,[7] the latter had been married more than seven years before imprisoning Athanaïs and going to the war,[8] and she had been shut up six months before her adventure with Parides.[9]

Éracle was written for three patrons, and it is interesting to note that it is divided into three parts. The first and third parts form a continuous narrative, while the second part contains an extraneous episode. It is this episode which takes the poem out of the ranks of didactic literature, for only here is there any love affair. Near the beginning of the book[10] Gautier gives a summary of his story, in which there is no allusion whatever to this episode, while the conclusion is stated as it was afterwards written out. Gautier is also conscious of this omission when he comes to introduce the episode:[11]

> Si li conquist si grant honeur
> Com de le croiz nostre signeur.
> Ne vueil pas ci entrelacier
> L'ahan qu'il ot al pourchacier,
> Qu'ensi ne vait pas li matiere;
> Ainz dirai l'uevre toute entiere
> De nostre empereur Laïs
> Et de se feme Athanaïs,
> Et del honeur vous dirai puis
> Qu'Eracles ot, et, se je puis,
> Après dirai de cele croiz, etc.

Now, in the prologue to his poem Gautier has a dedication to count Theobald of Blois,[12] with allusions to the death of the count's father and Theobald's heirship of his "name and grace."[13] But afterwards at the end, in the epilogue, he says he wrote at the order of Theobald, and also at the order of the countess Mary, daughter of Louis,[14] and then finished the poem at Baldwin's request. So there seems no risk in assuming that the first part of *Éracle* (to line 2916 or thereabouts) was written for Theobald V of Blois, and the love episode, which was not included in the summary, for the other patron, who is named only at the end, Mary of Champagne. The episode, too, is wholly in the style of Mary's court literature,[15] discussing as it does the essence of "fine amour," and containing erotic soliloquies and debates. Finally, Baldwin, noticing that the original plot had not been completed, ordered it finished. The junction of this conclusion with the love episode is made in lines 5117–5121:

> Il n'afiert pas a me matere
> Que je plus die de Laïs,
> De Paridès, d'Athanaïs;
> Iceus vous lairai or en pais;
> Si vous dirai d'Eracle huimais.

The change of patron from Theobald of Blois to Mary was rendered all the more easy by the marriage of the latter to Henry of Champagne, Theobald's older brother, in 1164, and by the counter-alliance of Mary's sister Alice with Theobald himself about the same time. It is fair to assume that the poem was begun soon after Theobald's accession to his estates (1152), since the mention of Theobald IV points to the recent demise of the latter. The episode of Laïs and Athanaïs would then have been added after Mary's marriage in 1164, and the conclusion appended some years later. It is, then, more than probable that the first and second parts of *Éracle* were written before *Ille et Galeron*, whether the last part was or not.

If we allow that the episode of Laïs and Athanaïs was inserted into *Éracle* to please Mary of Champagne, we may gain from it some notion of her influence on the tone of contemporaneous love literature. For the love inculcated by it is wholly shameless. Athanaïs eludes the vigilance of her warders and meets her lover Parides, with all the disregard for marital virtue and good name among women which characterized the heroines of the East or Iseult herself. She has neither innate morality nor concern for appearances. And yet the latter notion was rife in the fiction of the time, though it was evidently not fostered at Mary's court. Chrétien's *Cliges*,[16] which precedes the poems written by him at Mary's command, is an instance of a woman's regard for her reputation. Though in love with Cliges, and married to another against her will, Fenice will not consent to grant her favors to her lover. Further than that, in order to escape the evil fame of Iseult, who gave her heart to one man and shared her body with two,[17] she calls on Thessala's magic to aid her in deceiving her husband. And when the magic is successful and her virginity is preserved, she still resists the pleadings of

7 *Éracle*, 287. 8 *Ibid.*, 2979. 9 *Ibid.*, 3914.
10 *Ibid.*, 95–122. 11 *Ibid.*, 2914–2924. 12 *Ibid.*, 53.
13 *Ibid.*, 62. 14 *Ibid.*, 6553.
15 See Chrétien de Troyes and others.
16 Gröber, *l. c.*, pp. 499–500. 17 *Cliges*, 3145–3164.

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her lover to fly with him to Brittany, as Helen did with Paris to Troy, by citing the blame which the world meted out to Tristan and Iseult.[18] The conclusion that she reached was that in order to preserve her reputation, as she had preserved her virtue, she must die in the eyes of the world and be buried. Then only could the desires of her lover be secretly gratified.

It is quite clear that this idea of chastity, though only nominal perhaps, was not cultivated by the countess of Champagne, at least in her relations with her poets. *Éracle* is a proof of this, and Chrétien's *Charrete*, for which Mary furnished the poet both "matière et sans,"[19] and where the relations of Lancelot with the Queen are narrated with the same lack of moral sense that is apparent in the story of Lais and Athanais. From this fact we may draw the further inference that Mary was not Chrétien's patroness at the time of the composition of *Cliges*.

Cliges, however, does not stand alone among the Old-French poems of this class in the inculcation of outward morality, or even of genuine morality. The plot of *Athis et Prophilias*,[20] where the heroine is deceived by her own husband to the profit of her lover, continues the idea advanced by Fenice in *Cliges* of possession by one man only.[21] In *Partonopeus de Blois*[22] Melior is advised to marry Partonopeus, since if she takes any other knight for a husband she will have been possessed by two men.[23] Absolute continence on the part of both sexes forms a portion of the moral in *Ipomedon*,[24] while the arguments of Fenice are repeated and carried out to a logical end by the heroine of *Amadas et Idoine*.[25] This heroine is also a married woman who has summoned magical powers to her assistance in deterring her husband from enjoying his marital rights, and who successfully withstands her lover's urging (the situation here is something like the one in *Cliges*) until she can be divorced and legally united to him.[26] In this practical way the problem posed by *Cliges* is finally solved.

It would seem, then, as though the French literature of the twelfth century contained a trilogy on the subject of love for a married woman: in *Tristan* a love unconstrained by personal morality or public opinion, in *Cliges* responding to the appeals of both (but the latter much more than the former), and settled according to the best private and public interests of all concerned in *Amadas et Idoine*. The burden of the three poems is the essence of true love, what it is and how expressed, as it is indeed the absorbing theme of all the earlier *romans d'aventure*. In view of such circumstantial evidence, it would appear that Mary of Champagne was not in touch with the best thought of her time on this question.

From the close connection of ideas between *Cliges* and *Amadas et Idoine*, such as the interest revealed by both poems in the story of Tristan and Iseult, and the resemblance of certain agencies in bringing about the desired result, magic for instance and the supposed death of the heroine, one might assume that they were quite approximate in time. But an examination of *Amadas* does not confirm this notion. *Cliges* must have been written before 1172,[27] while the part played by the Count of Nevers in *Amadas* is so uncomplimentary as to preclude the probability of its having been composed before 1181, the date of the death of the last Count of Nevers and Auxerre. The choice of characters may indeed have been determined by the reminiscence of the marriage of Guy of Nevers with Mahaut of Burgundy in 1163. Both the children born of this union died early, the son in 1181 and the daughter in 1192. Besides, the descriptions of manners in *Amadas* and the details of both noble and bourgeois life point to a later date. So does the comparison of Amadas to Gawain, and the attribute of "mesure" as one of his characteristics.[28] Still these qualifications and the main idea of the poem, which is perfect love, and a perfect lover who conquers all other lovers in loyalty,[29] would hardly allow a later period for it than the closing years of the twelfth century.[30]

Gröber's date for *Athis et Prophilias*, "about 1200," might also be subject to modification in favor of an earlier one. The assumption that the Alexander who wrote it was Alexander of

18 *Ibid.*, 5294-5316.
19 *Charrete*, 26.
20 Gröber, *l.c.*, pp. 588-589.
21 *Athis et Prophilias*, 1286-1287, 1476-1479.
22 Gröber, *l. c.*, pp. 586-588.
23 *Partonopeus*, 5016.
24 Gröber, *l. c.*, pp. 585-586; cf. *Ipomedon*, 10500-10514.
25 Gröber, *l. c.*, pp. 531-532.
26 *Amadas et Idoine*, 1989 *sqq.*, 3723-3726, 6770-6773.
27 See Förster's Introduction, p. iii, note.
28 *Amadas et Idoine*, 3786.
29 *Ibid.*, 6380-6383.
30 Cf. G. Paris, *Romania*, vol. xxv, pp. 534-535.

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Bernai would place it near the end of the century. Yet the view taken in it of woman, her constant submission to man, and her nullity in the choice of her own movements, while due without doubt to the spirit of the Eastern original, are so antagonistic to the ideals of gallantry and chivalry and the theoretical guidance of the sterner sex by the gentler, which were current in France from the middle of the twelfth century at least, that the time of its composition may be comparatively early. The debates and soliloquies sustained by the two friends were also much less in vogue after the eighties of the twelfth century than before. From such internal evidence the poem might be assigned to the years 1170–1180.

The time limits set by Gröber for *Partonopeus* (before 1188) could be supported by more evidence than he finds in *Florimont*. A device of the *Eneas* by which Lavinia reveals to her mother her love for Æneas is imitated in *Partonopeus*.[31] Had the *Eneas* lost its novelty such open copying would scarcely have been attempted. *Ipomedon* contains a less direct imitation of the same passage, and *Ipomedon* can hardly have been composed after 1188.[32] The very vigorous denunciation of a policy which puts commoners in office over nobles[33] seems too bold for the time of a monarch like Philip Augustus, and may refer to the closing years of the feeble Louis VII († 1180), while the characterization of the Gascons and Poitevins as politically restless and "tiring soon of one lord "[34] would be in order any time after their revolt against Henry II in 1168. The attribute of "mesure" as a desirable quality would also point to the same period of the later seventies and the eighties.

The general theme of the *romans d'aventure* previous to the thirteenth century, or more specifically previous to *Guillaume de Dole* (*Roman de la Rose*[35]) is true love, its loyalty, endurance, trials, and rewards. As time passes, this idea, which at first shared its interest only with commonplace adventures of travel and combat, is crowded to some extent into the background by the poet's desire to present the manners and life of his own time. The narratives become objective, self-conscious. *Ipomedon* is one of the first to devote much attention to such details, but it is soon followed by others, until with *Guillaume de Dole* one might say that the description of court life was the principal idea and the love story the subordinate. How sharply a division in time might be established, with *Cliges* as illustrative of the first style,[36] *Ipomedon* as showing the transition, and *Guillaume de Dole* as indicating the complete change of interest, could not be determined without the assistance of much more material than is now known. Still it is safe to assume that there was such a progression from the purely romantic to the realistic, or partially realistic, and by noting this progression it may be possible to determine approximate time limits for debatable poems. Acting on this theory, I would hazard some conjectures regarding *Guillaume de Palerne*, *Escoufle* and *Galeran*, which Gröber ranges from 1188 to the second or third decade of the thirteenth century.

First as to *Guillaume de Palerne*.[37] Its subject is on the trials and triumphs of true love, with very little attention paid to manners or court life. According to our theory the absence of this element would place the poem before *Ipomedon* in date. Yet there seems but little doubt that it was written after 1188,[38] and the prayer for Iolande's soul[39] would hint at middle age at least for the patroness. On the other hand, Alexander is celebrated here for his "sens et poesté,"[40] and not for his "largesse" as in the last years of the century. The hero also possesses "mesure,"[41] a quality which appears to be no longer in fashion in *Guillaume de Dole*. A date near 1188 would, therefore, be preferable for the poem.

Escoufle[42] contains much more definite indications in the way of chronology than *Guillaume de Palerne*. It was submitted for criticism to the "gentil conte en Hainaut,"[43] but without calling the count by name. Gröber, led by his impression of the rhymes and language of the poem (and influenced perhaps by the opinion of other authorities), has denied this office of critic to the last Baldwins of Hainault, and has assumed that it was to be

31 *Partonopeus*, 7247 *sqq*. 32 Cf. *Ipomedon*, 1496–1517.
33 *Partonopeus*, 2661 *sqq*. 34 *Ibid.*, 7257.
35 *Le Roman de la Rose, ou de Guillaume de Dole*, publié d'après le manuscrit du Vatican par G. Servois. Paris: Firmin Didot et Cie., 1893. 8vo, cxxi and 205 pp. (*Soc. des Anc. Textes Fran, ais.*)

36 *Cliges*, 2354–2360. 37 Gröber, *l. c.*, pp. 529–530.
38 Cf. *Roman. Studien*, vol. iii, p. 131.
39 *G. de Palerne*, 9660–9661. 40 *Ibid.*, 2085.
41 *Ibid.*, 619, 2730. 42 Gröber, *l. c.*, pp. 530–531.
43 *Escoufle*, 9060–

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exercised by the husbands of the countess Margaret. But in rejuvenating the age of the poem, by a decade or more, he has overlooked the probability that *Escoufle* was known to the author of *Guillaume de Dole*. A passage in *Escoufle* tells how, while walking one day with his friend Richard, the emperor of Rome proposes the marriage of his daughter, Alice, to Richard's son, William. Richard objects to the union as altogether above his son's rank and suggests the king of France as the proper husband for the princess. But when the emperor replies that he will assemble his barons and ask of them a "don" without revealing to them what it is, and assures Richard they will grant it, the latter's consent is at once forthcoming. So the barons are summoned, the emperor administers a dose of flattery to them, and asks the "don" "par amors." They grant it, and he then tells them it is the marriage of William and Alice. Their anger is of no avail now for they have given their word, and so they swear on the saints that William shall succeed to the empire.[44]

In *Guillaume de Dole*,[45] the emperor Conrad and his friend William are riding together towards Cologne and talking confidentially. Conrad leads the conversation to the subject of William's sister and finally states his desire to marry her. William says that it cannot be, because the notables of the empire will oppose it; and he suggests that Conrad demand the hand of the daughter of the king of France. But Conrad says he will summon all the barons of Germany to a diet at Mainz and ask of them a "don" "par amors et par guerredon," which he is sure they will grant. He will then make them confirm the "don" by an oath so they may not retreat, and finally will tell them what it is. William consents to the stratagem.[46] But the plan is not carried out owing to the opposition and deceit of the seneschal.

There is hardly any doubt that *Escoufle* suggested this episode to the author of *Guillaume de Dole*. For in *Escoufle* the device is a part of the plot of the story and is made complete. In *Guillaume de Dole*, however, it is not put into effect and has no influence on the action of the poem. It only goes so far as to win William's approval to the marriage, which would have been given in any case. If any stronger evidence of the connection of the two poems is needed it may be furnished by the solution of the story in *Guillaume de Dole*. In *Escoufle* it was the hawk which separated the lovers for a time and thus incurred the hero's enmity. In *Guillaume de Dole* that temporary obstacle is the seneschal. And the comparison suggests itself to the mind of the author:

> Il n'en puet mès aler sanz perte,
> Car il le tient pire qu'escoufles.[47]

The "il" of the first line is evidently the seneschal, the "il" of the second, Conrad.

The priority of *Escoufle* to *Guillaume de Dole* would then be established. The latter is dated by Servois[48] between October, 1199, and May, 1201. The proofs given for this date do not seem conclusive, still the poem could hardly have been written after the defection of Renaud de Dammartin in May, 1212,[49] since this knight is especially eulogized by the author. Now, if *Escoufle* is earlier than *Guillaume de Dole*, the "conte en Hainaut" must be either Baldwin V or Baldwin VI. The former became Count of Flanders as well in 1191, a date perhaps too early for our poem. Baldwin VI, however, did not come into his estates till 1195, and already in the late summer of 1202 was on his way to the Holy Land. He had crossed himself in 1200. Therefore the latest date for *Escoufle* would be the summer of 1202. Internal evidence would also point to the same period. Commoners in power are denounced as vigorously as in *Partonopeus*. Richard had won the friendship and gratitude of the Roman emperor by delivering him from his "serfs" whom he had put over his nobles.[50] "Mesure" is a desirable quality,[51] and Alexander is renowned for his "largesse."[52] But the love story in *Escoufle* seem to divide with the descriptions of manners the attention of the poet and the interest of his hearers. For this reason, together with the allusion to Alexander, I would put it later than *Guillaume de Palerne*.

In certain respects *Galeran*[53] bears many resemblances to *Escoufle*. Its plot follows Marie de France's *lai* of Frêne, but much of the ma-

44 *Ibid.*, 2136–2343.
45 Gröber, *l. c.*, pp. 533–534. 46 *G. de Dole*, 2969–3092.
47 *Ibid.*, 5402–5403. 48 *L. c.*, pp. lxxxv–lxxxvi.
49 Servois, *l. c.*, p. lii.
50 *Escoufle*, 1482–1652; cf. *G. de Dole*, 574–591.
51 *Escoufle*, 5555. 52 *Ibid.*, 104.
53 Gröber, *l. c.*, p. 527. He has taken the editor's total for the number of the lines, which are really less by twenty, line 5575 having been numbered 5595, and the error continuing. The manuscript is also defective at the beginning, not at the end.

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terial was evidently suggested by *Escoufle* (if indeed it is not *Galeran* which gave the suggestions to the other). In both poems the heroines are thrown on their own resources, win the friendship of the daughter of a widow at whose house they lodge, and are accompanied by this daughter on their further wanderings. Both heroines also earn their living by their needle-work, and gain favor by their musical attainments. (These, however, are the accomplishments of gentle women and may have no special significance.) So the general impression is that the poems are not far apart. Both treat of the trials of true love and its ultimate triumph and in both there is considerable detail of middle-class as well as of court life.

If mediæval poets could be held to what might be termed historical accuracy more definite indications of an approximate date might be afforded by internal evidence in *Galeran*. The spirit of patriotism, or at least national pride, which grew so rapidly in France under Philip Augustus, breathes in many episodes of the poem. French and Germans dispute the favors of the Duke of Metz, and knights from all the provinces of North France join the issue of battle with Flemings and Germans.[54] This enthusiasm, however, would only indicate time limits of a whole generation or more. But the allusions to the duchy of Brittany may be subject to closer restrictions. Galeran, on his accession to the rule of that province, was obliged to cross the Channel and pay homage to the king of England at London. A truly patriotic Frenchman could hardly have admitted this overlordship after the excitement attending the death of Arthur of Brittany (1203), and the subsequent assertion of suzerainty over that duchy by Philip Augustus. At least it would hardly have been a pleasing concession, even in poetry, so long as the dispute lasted. When Philip rëestablished the line of dukes in 1213 he exacted homage of the new ruler. After this period the French may not have been so sensitive to the question of overlordship for the province. The conclusion from this argument, then, would be that *Galeran* was written either before 1203, or a decade and more later. In favor of the earlier date is the plot taken bodily from *Frêne*, the likeness of manners to *Escoufle* and the strong influence of *Floire et Blanchefleur*. Also the quality of "mesure" is vaunted in the poem,[55] and "gentelise" or "gentillesse," which is also eulogized in *Escoufle* and in *Guillaume de Dole*. The mention of sterlings as coin,[56] the use of heralds,[57] and the coats of arms painted on the shields[58] would indicate a period subsequent to *Escoufle*, but no later than *Guillaume de Dole*, where all three of these features appear. I would, therefore, conclude that *Galeran* was written after *Escoufle* and is a contemporary, or a predecessor even, of *Guillaume de Dole*. If this supposition is correct it is scarcely probable that its author worked later than the death of Arthur of Brittany, in 1203.

An interesting feature in *Galeran* is the influence of lyric poetry. Perhaps it is all the stronger here because a *lai* was its source. The hero himself composed a *lai* or "son nouvel"[59] which is analyzed in lines 1974–1980 and called

> . . . . au dit et au ton
> Le lay Galeren le breton.[60]

He teaches it to Frêne who plays an accompaniment to it on her harp, a scene which gives the poet one more occasion to relate the contents of the song.[61] At this turn in the story a long description of spring also reveals the nearness of court lyric poetry.[62]

But even more striking than these two passages are other places where it would seem as though there were the reminiscence of popular compositions, in contradistinction to the court "sons" and "lais." Galeran's song is full of that praise and blame of love which makes laughter and also tears, which causes the lover's sickness and again his health. But when Frêne goes to Galeran's wedding at La Roche-Guyon (a place already celebrated in the song of Bele Aëlis[63]) she invents a song of her own:

> Je voiz aux noces mon amy:
> Plus dolente de moy n'y va![64]

With this song she charms all the courtiers and the minstrels too. But the song is not court poetry. It is the song of the girl abandoned by her lover for another maiden. In it the woman is the wooer, the man the wooed. It is the constant theme of the lyric muse of the people. In a previous passage of the poem a song where love is preferred to all the wealth of the world,

54 *Galeran*, 5475–5491, 5611 *sqq*.
55 *Ibid.*, 1921, 3456. 56 *Ibid.*, 1572, 3279. 57 *Ibid.*, 5947.
58 *Ibid.*, 5929–5934. 59 *Ibid.*, 1973. 60 *Ibid.*, 1982–1983.
61 *Ibid.*, 2296–2328. 62 *Ibid.*, 1984–2004.
63 *G. de Dole*, 534. 64 *Galeran*, 6987–6988.

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seems to rise above the monotonous flow of the octosyllabic line:

S'a femme me vouloit donner
Sa fille le roy d'Angleterre
Et acquitter toute la terre
Qu'il tient, et quanqu'en ont si homme,
Ne qu'il a de cy jusque(s) a Romme,
Ne la vouldroie (je) prendre mie
Pour faire eschange de m'amie,
Qu'elle vault mieux que fille a roy,
Tant la voit on de grant aroy.[65]

We are reminded at once of the "Chanson du roi Henri" of *Le Misanthrope*.

In his paragraph on *Guillaume de Dole*, or the *Roman de la Rose*, Gröber[66] states that he finds no trace of its influence on the *Violette*, nor of the *Violette* on it. The impression the latter gave me was that it had a predecessor in its own style. Still the only evidence to support this impression is very slight. The songs in the *Violette* are not so skilfully introduced as they are in the *Rose* (compare the beginnings of the two poems), from which one might argue that the poet relied on his audience's acquaintance with the kind and so hurried on to his objective point. It is also to be noted that the Châtelaine of Dijon, who is mentioned by name only in the *Rose* as the assumed sender of the love tokens to the seneschal, is the one who urges the hero of the *Violette* to sing the song that opened his lips and led to the boast which was the beginning of his sorrows.

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THE WANDERER 78–84.

It is not impossible that the disputed passage (ll. 78–84, particularly ll. 81–84) in the Anglo-Saxon poem *The Wanderer* may be best punctuated thus:

Wōriað þā winsalo; wāldend licgað
drēame bidrorene; duguð eal gecrong
wlonc bi wealle;— sume wīg fornōm,
ferede in forðwege: sumne fugel oþbær
ofer hēanne holm, sumne sē hāra wulf
dēaðe gedælde, sumne drēorighlēor
in eorðscræfe eorl gehȳdde.

The discussion in Wülker's *Grundriss* (p. 206) has led to a wide acceptance, and in positive form, of Thorpe's suggestion, "fugel=ship?" (*Codex Ex.* p. 291); and the editors usually agree in placing a colon after *wealle*, and in punctuating the following lines to indicate a series of coördinated mishaps (*vid.* Ettmüller, p. 217; Grein-Wülker, i, p. 288; Sweet, *Anglo-Saxon Reader*, seventh ed., p. 162). These two features of the interpretation are accepted by Professor Edward Fulton, who translates thus:

"Crumbling are the wine-halls, and the warriors lie
Shorn of their pleasure; scattered the retainers
Once proud on the wall: war has seized some,
Led them forth to their death; the fleet ship one
O'er the high sea has borne; the hoar wolf another
Has mangled in death; and dolefully one
In his bed of earth the earl has hidden."

[It is important for the following discussion to notice that wāldend ('lords') is here mistranslated by "warriors." The phrase "on the wall" must also be revised.]

The coördination of clauses after *wealle* is thus defined by Wülker (*Grundriss*, p. 206): "Es sind damit alle Todesarten aufgezählt: im Kriege, auf Seefahrten, auf der Jagd, durch Krankheit oder durch Alter." Brooke (*Hist. of Early Eng. Lit.*, p. 366, note) enlivens the matter in an interesting but wholly unwarranted manner:

"These are the various kinds of death,—death on the war-path; death on a sea-expedition, that is, death in a foreign land (*Fugel* is the war-ship); death, when outlawed, by a wolf; death in old age; and the earl weeps when he buries his friend in the barrow because he has not died in battle,—one of the pagan touches in the poem."

Brooke, however, has caught the spirit of the poem, and admits only the kinds of death which may befall a thane. The poet has not digressed into a catalogue of "alle Todesarten;" he keeps his eye fixed upon the vision of the departed glory of the "hall," and laments the death of lords and of retainers. It is not the dwellings of men but the *wīnsalo* that 'wear into dust,' and the artistic demands of the counterpart, the death of the occupants of the 'wine-hall,' are strictly observed. Thus, *wāldend* and *duguð* complete the enumeration; the details which follow give precision and concretness to the picture, and deepen its pathos.

The passage begins with three concise and complete statements (*Wōriað . . . . . wealle*); but the death of the retainers, the last of the complete statements, is then expanded to relieve the severe compactness of the passage. This expansion is moreover demanded by the

65 *Ibid.*, 1741–1749. 66 *L. c.*, pp. 533–534.

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traditions of poetry, and specifically by the sentiment of the poem. *The Wanderer* is reminiscent; the raven, the eagle, and the wolf, no longer forebode carnage (as in *Judith* 205 f. and *Maldon* 106 f.), nor do they greedily despoil the slain (as in *Brunanburh* 60 f.), but their finished work is now mingled in the mournful and vivid recollection of the sad fate of the warriors. The poets have thus handled this favorite theme of portent and of horror from three points of view,—the future, the present, and the past.

The poet of *The Wanderer* has added the circumstance of occasional burial, and, inasmuch as *sumne* thrice repeated distributes *sume*, this should mean the burial of a warrior who has fallen in battle, and complete the enumeration of what may befall the body of the slain hero. As to *ofer hēanne holm*, there is no difficulty; the carnivorous birds,—the eagle, the raven, and the sea-birds,—build their aeries in the high cliffs, they feed upon the corpse of Paetus (Propertius, iv (iii) viii, 8–12), and delay their journey over the sea that they may join the Thracian dogs and wolves at the feast of carrion on the plain of Pharsalia (Lucan, vii, 832 f.).

JAMES W. BRIGHT.

THE SOURCES OF DAVENANT'S *The Siege of Rhodes.*

IN the history of the English stage there has been no piece of a more epoch-making character than Davenant's *Siege of Rhodes*.[1] The first part of this play appeared in 1656, and was the second piece of a dramatic nature produced during the Commonwealth. With its first presentation were introduced at least three innovations of far-reaching importance: movable scenery, women actors in female parts (these had been taken by boys before this), and an attempt at the opera,[2] all of which may be attributed to French influence. Besides, some have been inclined to dispute the claim for Boyle's *Mustapha* as the first heroic play, in favor of this piece; but since Davenant did not employ the heroic couplet throughout, this distinction cannot be justly claimed for him, although, in his effort "to introduce the examples of moral virtue, writ in verse," he has certainly approximated the heroic play, and Dryden in his Essay on Heroick Plays has accorded him the credit (if it may be called *credit*) of setting the fashion for them.

The merit of the first part of the *Siege of Rhodes* is only mediocre, at best. It wants, to quote Dryden again, "the fulness of a plot, and the variety of characters to form it as it ought." The second part, naturally a continuation of the first, was first acted after the Restoration in 1661, and is wanting in several of the faults which characterized part one. An edition of the two parts, with the first somewhat enlarged—chiefly by the addition of the character Roxolana—appeared in 1663, and is dedicated to the Earl of Clarendon.

With regard to the source of the *Siege of Rhodes* no suggestion has heretofore been made, except that the play exhibits some agreement with history, which is confessed in fact by the poet in his prefatory notice. Indeed, Davenant has been grievously neglected by English students in the matter of sources. And this is no more painfully illustrated than in the case of the late editors of his dramatic works—Maidment and Logan—from whom so much might have been expected.[3] For Davenant's sources are not so skillfully concealed as one might imagine from the meagre knowledge which we possess concerning them. In the case of the *Siege of Rhodes*, it is a matter of surprise that Schick or Sarrazin have not discovered its connections.

For the purpose of bringing the plot of the play before us, a brief outline is submitted. Ianthe, the lately-wedded wife of Alphonso, who is fighting in defense of Rhodes, while on her way from Sicily to join her husband, is taken prisoner by Mustapha, one of the Turkish bassas. She is conducted before Solyman, Sultan of the Turks, veiled according to the promise of her captor, and is sent thence by Solyman, though reluctantly, since he has become enamored of her, to Alphonso at Rhodes. The Turks lay siege to Rhodes, but are at first repulsed owing to the bravery of the Sicilian ally. The tide of war finally turns, and the Rhodians are reduced to great distress. Their only hope is in Ianthe, who goes in

1 Folio edition of Davenant's works, p. 1 ff. London (Herringham), 1673: *Dramatists of the Restoration*. Ed. Maidment and Logan, iii, 247. Edinburg, 1872–4.

2 Davenant calls it *Stylo-Recitativo*, that is, "alternately sung and recited."

3 It is with much disappointment that one turns to the late edition of the plays to find scarcely a page bearing on the originals of Davenant's plot as against a dozen or more devoted to details concerning the opera, heroic play, etc., such as are easily accessible in almost any handbook of the stage.

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person, without any passport or protection whatever, to the court of Solyman to sue for mercy. The Sultan now again consumed with a burning love, less virtuous than at first, detains her, consigning her to the keeping of his queen Roxolana. The Rhodians, maddened at this treacherous act, make a desperate sally against the Turkisk forces, in which Alphonso falls captive. Roxolana asks that the prisoner be placed at her disposal, which being granted, she restores him to Ianthe. The manliness of Solyman again asserts itself, and both Ianthe and Alphonso are set free, while to the former the privilege of making her terms for the beleaguered city is given.

The setting we at once recognize as historical. The siege of Rhodes was begun by Solyman in the spring of 1522, and culminated in the downfall of that city on Dec. 25th of the same year. The Sultan Solyman is the famed Solyman II., the Magnificent, who was at the head of the Turkish government from 1520 to 1566;—Roxolana is his infamous queen who brought about the overthrow of his renowned son and general, Mustapha. Other historical names which reappear in Davenant are Pirrhus, Haly and Rustan among the Turks, and, among the Rhodians, Phillippus Villerius Lilidama, Grand Master of the city, preserved by Davenant as *Villerius*. Alphonso also, the hero of our play, according to Knolles (i, 385, London, 1687 to 1700), was a captain of a galley captured by the Turks. A historical prototype of Iauthe alone of all Davenant's leading characters is sought for in vain. Neither any person by her name nor anyone approximating her is to be found in the history of this period. Besides this, to only a few of the historical personages whom Davenant uses are their historical roles allotted. We are confronted, then, with a deviation from history. Whence, we ask, are these unhistorical features; whence the wholly unhistorical Ianthe? Are they coinages of the ingenious Caroline laureate; or has he introduced into his historical setting some extraneous bits of romance? Are these original with Davenant, or not? A glance at the poet's works contemporary with the *Siege of Rhodes* establishes a suspicion at least that they are not original. Davenant, like certain of his Restoration fellow-poets, was carried away by the wave which for a time swept from the stage and from popularity the legitimate drama, and substituted in its place the so-called modernization or adaptation; indeed he contributed as much as any of his contemporaries to the establishment of this fashion. His *Rivals* is, as is well known, an unfortunate alteration of *The Two Noble Kinsmen;* his *Law Against Lovers* is an equally unsuccessful modernization of Shakspere, consisting of a combination of *Measure for Measure* and *Much Ado About Nothing;* his *Man's the Master* is a parallel combination of two plays of Scarron;[4] while to his *Macbeth* and *Tempest* (the latter of which Dryden had a hand in) as mutilations of the master it is unnecessary to revert. In short, there is but one entire play composed by Davenant subsequent to the execution of Charles I. which is not palpably an alteration or modernization of some greater work. This circumstance arouses a very strong suspicion that it too is at least unoriginal.

In our search for this original—for it is evident from the start that the play is not a modernization—it is but fair that we first hear Davenant himself. In his preface to the play he says:

"In this poem I have revived the remembrance of that desolation which was permitted by Christian princes, when they favored the ambition of such as defended the diversity of religions (begot by the factions of learning) in Germany; whilst those who would never admit learning into their empire . . . . did make Rhodes defenceless, which was the only fortify'd academy in christendom where divinity and arms were equally profess'd. *I have likewise, for variety, softened the martial encounters between Solyman and the Rhodians, with intermingling the conjugal virtues of Alphonso and Ianthe. . .*"[5]

No hint have we here save the tacit confession that the "intermingling the conjugal virtues of Alphonso and Ianthe" is an addition to the historical skeleton,—we are the rather led to suppose that this is only the poet's invention.

Reference to any handbook of bibliography discloses the fact that sixteenth century Turkish history has afforded the source of more than one drama or romance. France alone, during the next decade preceding the first presentation of the *Siege of Rhodes*, produced no less than three works based on incidents from the career of Solyman. These are Madeline Scudéry's voluminous romance *Ibrahim, ou l'Illustre Bassa* (1641), the drama of Georges de Scudéry bearing the same title and founded on it (1643),

4 *Jodlet ou le Maistre Valet* and *l'Heretier Ridicule.*
5 *Dram. Rest.*, iii, 258.

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and Desfontaines' drama *La Perside*, a sort of sequel to the romance, which appeared in 1644.[6] All these deal with the life of Solyman, and especially with his love for Isabella, the wife of his favorite bassa, Ibrahim. In this love of the Sultan for a most beautiful woman who rejects his offers in favor of an earlier and humbler lover, in the latter's brave defense of and untiring fidelity to her, and, most striking of all, in the fickleness of Solyman in his alternate resolutions to regard or to disregard his obligations as a man of honor to a subject, to which must be added the jealousy of the sultana Roxolana, we seem to have, and indeed do have, just such motives as are employed by Davenant. This partial identity of plot is, however, as will develop later, only accidental, and is altogether unsatisfactory as a solution of our problem. The Scudérys have nothing whatever to do with the *siege* of Rhodes, and their hero Ibrahim (=Mustapha) did not figure prominently in history until several years after the fall of Rhodes. Add to this the fact that their lovers are neither Sicilians nor Rhodians, and the Scudéry drama and romance must be dismissed from the probabilities.

Examining next the drama of Desfontaines, *La Perside*, it will first be noted that it appeared in the year 1644, or just at the commencement of Davenant's residence at the French capital, which at once arouses a predisposition in favor of it as a possibility; for, since he had played the leading part in English dramatic history for some time already, and had recently been made the nation's laureate, he must have been most cordially welcomed into theatrical circles on his arrival at Paris, where he, in all probability, met both Desfontaines and the Scudérys. The subject of the drama, *La Perside*, indicates a departure from the Scudéry type, the Solyman-Isabella story; and it is, in fact, somewhat different from it, being a combination of the same with the even more popular Solyman-Perseda story, in which the latter has been followed at first, but soon merged into the former. The heroine of the story is here Persede,—the hero corresponding to Ibrahim of the romance, Eraste. The character and rôle of Solyman differ but little. There is one step nearer the Davenant plot in the circumstance that the lovers are Rhodians. This is the only gain, however, since, as noted, the drama is based almost entirely on Scudéry, and only takes its introduction up to the capture of its heroine, from the Solyman-Perseda branch. But while it offers little, if any, more probability as a source than the works already considered, it puts us on the track of the real solution of the problem, and we dismiss *La Perside* with the feeling that it may at least have given Davenant his first suggestion.

Following the thread afforded by Desfontaines, let us examine the Solyman-Perseda literature. This consists of a group of four works, two French and two English, Yver's *Le Printemps* and Mainfray's *La Rhodienne*, Wotton's *Cupid's Cautels* and Kyd's *Solyman and Perseda*. The first employment of the theme seems to have been *Le Printemps d'Yver*, which appeared in 1572. From this, twenty years later, Wotton made the translation which Schick and Sarrazin have shown to be the source of Kyd's play. Mainfray's drama, *La Rhodienne*, 1637, is based on Yver. Each of these has preserved the story as with Yver with remarkable fidelity, the only deviations of any importance being a slight alteration in the Perseda death scene by Kyd, and the abridgment by Mainfray for dramatic purposes, doubtless of the early history of the lovers.[7] For this reason the comparison with *Siege of Rhodes* may be made almost equally well with anyone of this group.

Erastus and Perseda, for such are the names of the lovers here, as with Desfontaines, correspond to Alphonso and Ianthe of Davenant. With the Yver-group, however, the whole story of their early life is related. They are natives of Rhodes, where early infatuated with each other, they grow up together. Perseda gives Erastus a chain in token of her love, and he in turn agrees never to part with it so long as life shall last; but shortly after, engaging in a tournament, in which he overcomes all his antagonists, the chain is lost and he is ren-

6 A dissertation devoted to Solyman literature in general has aided me materially in this study. It is entitled *Die Geschichte von Soliman and Perseda in der neueren Litteratur*, by Ernst Sieper, Weimar, 1895. The work also appears in the *Zeitschr. f. vergl. Litgesch.* ix, 33 f. To be compared also in this connection are *Thomas Kyd und sein Kreis*, by Gregor Sarrazin, Berlin, 1892, and the review of the same by Schick in Herrig's *Archiv* xc, 176 f.

7 I regret very much that I have been unable to consult Mainfray's work. There is no copy of it in the British Museum, but it may be found in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal (Sieper 6). I have handled all the versions of the cycle. Valuable abstracts of each are submitted by Sieper in his monograph *ut supra*. Watton's novel, which is not very accessible in America, is reprinted by Sarrazin in his *Thomas Kyd und sein Kreis*, pp. 12–40.

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dered most unhappy. It is found by one of the jousters, Fernando by name, who gives it to his lady-love Lucina. Perseda discovers the chain on the neck of Lucina, and immediately concludes that Erastus is false to her; nor can he convince her of the contrary. Erastus ultimately, by artifice, secures the chain again, but while on his way to Perseda with it, he is attacked by Fernando, whom he slays in self-defense. This act necessitates his leaving Rhodes, and it is to Solyman his arch-enemy that he goes. At the Turkish court, owing to his bravery and ingenuousness, he soon acquires much favor and distinction.—The Sultan's forces lay siege to Rhodes and carry away Perseda captive. She is presented to Solyman, who becomes desperately enamoured of her. All his proposals, however, she courteously but firmly rejects, assuring him that she will die sooner than prove faithless to Erastus. And here the magnanimity of Solyman asserts itself;—he sends for Erastus, presents him to Perseda, and ratifies their marriage. Erastus is now appointed Governor of Rhodes, but the happy pair have scarcely left the Turkish Court, when Solyman's baser nature regains supremacy over him, and he makes the fatal determination to have Perseda for his queen come what may. By the advice of Brusor, one of his bassas, who is jealous of Erastus, the newly-appointed Rhodian Governor is recalled, charges of high treason preferred against him, and with only the semblance of a trial, he is condemned to a disgraceful death. Solyman then proceeds towards Rhodes; but Perseda having heard in advance of the foul death of her lover, has hastily collected the Rhodians, and appears with them, at Solyman's approach, on the walls of the city, where being mistaken for a common soldier, she falls mortally wounded by a Turkish bullet. Comparing this story with the plot of the *Siege of Rhodes*, we find first of all that, with the exception of Solyman (whose name runs through the entire cycle), and the comparatively unimportant Villerius, there is a complete dissimilarity of names; while the following more or less important differences in narrative may be noted:

1. With the Yver-group the lovers grow up together in the city of Rhodes, whence Erastus flees on slaying Fernando; with Davenant they are Sicilians of whose early history no mention is made.

2. There is a reversal of the situation with regard to the hero: on the one hand, he is a general in the Turkish army; on the other, he is an ally of the Rhodian forces engaged against the Turks.

3. The same is true of the heroine. Perseda appears only once at Solyman's court—and that after having been taken prisoner in an attack on Rhodes, while Ianthe is twice in the Sultan's hands—once by capture while on her way from Sicily to Rhodes, again when she voluntarily yields herself hoping to obtain a cessation of hostilities.

4. There are *two* exhibitions of Solyman's magnanimity with Davenant as against *one* with the Yver-group, a difference growing out of the one just cited.

5. Lastly—the most striking variation of all—with the Yver-group the conclusion is tragic. Erastus suffers a violent death, while Perseda dies in defense of her native city. With Davenant, on the other hand, the story ends happily, the two lovers being permitted to return to Rhodes and the fate of the city left in their hands.

Examining next the points of agreement:

1. There is exact correspondence between the leading characters of the two stories. Solyman appears in both with the same name, and very similar rôles. Perseda corresponds to Ianthe, and Erastus with Alphonso. Villerius likewise agrees in general with the Villiers or Philippo of the Yver-group. To the subordinate characters, Lucina and Fernando, Davenant naturally offers no parallels, since he entirely passes over the early history of his two lovers. As for Roxolana and the remaining characters in Davenant, and not in the Solyman-Perseda story, these as will be subsequently shown, were taken from history.

2. Both deal with the same historical happenings, the Siege of Rhodes, which, however, they only use as a skeleton or framework in which they insert an unhistoric love episode from which the real action develops.

3. The main motives of the action are the same: *a*. Hero and heroine are separated by the fortunes of war; *b*. The heroine, falling into the hands of Solyman, is desperately loved by him; *c*. Her fidelity and general nobility of conduct arouses his magnanimity, and she is delivered over safely to her lover; *d*. Solyman subsequently changes his resolution, and endeavors to regain the person of

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the heroine; *e*. Both his efforts in this connection are futile—though in different ways.

4. It is not an altogether unimportant agreement that the heroine in each appears, on the approach of Solyman after his first change of resolution, on the walls of the city of Rhodes[8] and at the head of its defenders, whom she urges on in their combat with the Turks. In each case she is disguised,—in each she suffers defeat.

These coincidences cannot be accidental, but are significant as showing that Davenant got the main source of his plot (as far as the action is concerned)—the Alphonso-Ianthe episode—from some one of the Yver-group. As for the skeleton of his plot, it has already been seen that it is historical. The same holds for the characters which Davenant has added to those of his main source. Of these Roxolana alone plays an important part. She appears in history as the jealous queen, but rather of Mustapha, Solyman's favorite, who is a rival of her eldest son for the throne of Turkey. Davenant in making her jealous also of her rivals for Solyman's love has possibly leaned on Madeline Scudéry, although the latter professes to be based on history (Paolo Giovio), and it is more than probable that Davenant, too, found some hint of this in history. As to the remaining characters, Mustapha, Pirrhus, Haly, Rustan, Orchan and Zangiban, little need be said. They have been chosen at random, as is characteristic of Davenant in his *Albovine*, from history contemporary with that which forms the background of the story, and have been used largely as padding. None of them, save possibly Mustapha who is in charge of the naval forces which capture Ianthe and her galley, plays any significant part in the action. The theory of a Scudéry influence on Davenant may, to be sure, be advanced in consideration of the fact that many of these names appear in the *Ibrahim* romance; but it develops from an examination of that work that not all these additional names appear there; moreover, we have Davenant's own statement in his preface to the effect that he has made a partial use of history, and we have no reason to discredit him. The most, then, we can claim for the Scudéry-group is a possible suggestion of the subject as affording a good dramatic plot, with the chances in any case largely in favor of Desfontaines, rather than either Scudéry.

Turning again to the main source of Davenant's drama and instituting a search for the grounds of Davenant's variations from the basial stories, we discover two important conditions which led to these: 1. a desire to preserve the unities after the French fashion, a so-called dramatic law which Davenant had not too faithfully observed in his early dramas; and 2. a desire for a comic or tragi-comic *dénouement*. To the first may be attributed the omission of the early romantic history of hero and heroine; to the latter, the radical variation in taking Ianthe back to the Turkish Court a second time, thus affording a second exhibition of the magnanimity of Solyman's character and enhancing the figure of Ianthe.[9] The slight change of names may be accounted for in the pardonable inclination of the dramatist to conceal his sources.

A somewhat unsatisfactory result is obtained in that no one production is settled on as a source. This, however, is not altogether of great importance, and is, so far as can now be seen, unavoidable, since the several versions of the Yver-group agree most closely in incident, and there is almost no variation in names. The case for the English versions, Kyd and Wotton, and especially Kyd, would at first seem the stronger, but when it is borne in mind that Davenant had spent several years in Paris just prior to the composition of his play, the probability would seem to favor Yver or Mainfray. An agreement of the latter with Davenant in that he too passes over the youth of the lovers, is neither important nor in any way determining, since the change in both cases would naturally result from an effort to preserve the unities. Any attempt to show any particular one of these to be Davenant's source on the basis of internal evidence would, I believe, prove futile.

Our conclusion, then, may be summed up as follows: Davenant in his *Siege of Rhodes*, while employing a historical background, has

8 In the Yver-group in the Perseda deathscene; in Davenant at the first defense of the city, cf. *Dram. Rest.* iii, 290, where Ianthe appears in the English station, and is seen by Solyman and Mustapha. Cf. also *Dram. Rest.* iii, 292:

Admiral. "Haste, haste! Ianthe in disguise
At the English bulwarks wounded lies."

9 We have here a neat parallel to Davenant's later alteration of the *Two Noble Kinsmen*, his *Rivals*, in which he has also, by a simple change of the catastrophe, converted a tragedy into a comedy. Cf. Krasenbaum's Diss., *The Rivals and T. T. N. K.* Halle-Wittenberg, 1895.

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made use of the Solyman-Perseda episode for the body of his story. His deviations from this source have flowed from natural conditions, chiefly the desire to observe the requirements of the classic drama and to make out of his tragic original a comedy rather than a tragedy. Any apparent agreement with the Scudéry-group is only accidental. The question as to which one of the Yver-group, whether Yver or Wotton or Kyd or Mainfray, was used by Davenant is left open and most probably will always remain so.

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GERMAN LANGUAGE.

German Orthography and Phonology. A Treatise with a Word-List. By GEORGE HEMPL, Ph. D., Professor of English Philology and General Linguistics in the University of Michigan. Part i. The Treatise. Boston, U.S.A., and London: Ginn & Co., 1897. 12mo, pp. xxxii, 264.

PROFESSOR HEMPL'S treatise on *German Orthography and Phonology* deserves the highest praise for its scholarly thoroughness and accuracy. Not satisfied with giving a simple compilation of what others had done before him, the author has embodied in his book the results of much original work, and it will consequently claim the attention of students of German not only in this country, but also in the Fatherland.

For the second time within less than two years, Germany has had to thank American scholarship for a generous contribution toward the understanding of German speech and thought. Beside the present work I have, of course, in mind Professor Francke's admirable *Social Forces in German Literature*, of which I am reminded also by another consideration. The two books mark—it seems to me—an epoch in the study of German in this country: in each case an interesting struggle has been fought between the publisher and the author, and the author has carried the day. Originally, it was the publisher's desire to issue an inexpensive elementary school book, but in the hands of the author the book grew to be an independent work of original value. It is a good sign that the publishers should in each case have been willing to print a book which was not intended to be of immediate use in the class room. Let us hope that the buyers of such advanced works will prove numerous enough to encourage the publishers in their generous efforts.

Professor Hempl's book "aims to be a systematic and practical treatise on the subjects pertaining to the writing, printing and uttering of Modern German." (I should have preferred: "to the printing, spelling and uttering," etc.)

Of the four books which it is to contain the first three (Orthography, Phonology, Accent) have appeared, while the fourth one, a Word-List together with a complete Index, is to form the Second Part, which we hope will soon appear.

The chapters of the First Book, five in number, treat of the Alphabet, Spelling, Division of Words, Use of Capitals and Punctuation respectively; of these the chapter on the Alphabet in which Mr. Hempl sketches the development of the forms of German letters does not quite satisfy me. Why should we not be given the forms of *all* the letters of the early alphabets? Or—if space were lacking—why should anything be presented save the Roman, Schwabach and Fraktur alphabets? Furthermore, in the second chapter, we miss a systematic treatment of the varieties of spelling, interesting as are the twenty selections in § 30.

As to the German script, given on p. 12, the second forms of *M* and *N*, given in the list, I have seen only in letters of business men who, as is generally known, use a strange mixture of German and Roman script.

The Second Book, on Phonology, contains three chapters. In the first is given, in the narrow compass of less than thirty pages, an admirable abstract on Phonetics; then follows the chapter on German Speech-Sounds; the last chapter, treating of Pronunciation, is the most interesting of this Book. The author here takes up the questions of a Standard of Pronunciation, of Stage Pronunciation, of the Best German. To characterize his attitude, I quote from the Preface, pp. xiv sq.:

"I am not the advocate of the unique value of the German pronunciation of any one province. I have aimed to enable the learner to choose in each particular that usage that is most general—which not only will offend the fewest ears, but which also stands the best chance of ultimately prevailing. Such a 'Durchschnittsdeutsch' is most likely to find actual realization in the capital of the nation, especially if that

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capital like London and Berlin, stands on the border of the Midland and that part of the country that has chief political and literary importance."

The last sentence is 'Zukunftsmusik' and needs no discussion, but the same thought is expressed in a slightly different form in § 163, and it is against this modification that I wish to say a few words. Professor Hempl writes (p. 112):

"The speech of the upper classes in Berlin has much higher claim [namely, than Hanoverian German] to being 'the best German' for it agrees in most points with what is the more usual throughout the country; and if Berlin remains the capital of the Empire, it must ultimately have an importance and influence similar to that long exerted by the speech of London and Paris."

Of course, Mr. Hempl has a right to express some doubt as to whether Berlin is likely to remain the capital of the Empire, and it is not on that ground that I take exception to the above passage, although I cannot suppress a sad smile when I meet with such a suggestion in this place. "Es thut mir weh, dass ich dich in *der* Gesellschaft seh." Speaking seriously, however, it seems to me that there might have been mentioned a number of cities and towns in the Midland, that have the same claim as Berlin to represent 'the best German,' and where the mixture of dialectic shades in the speech of the upper classes is less confusing than in Berlin. And further, I might ask: Is there really such a strong analogy between the position of London and Paris on one side and Berlin on the other? What the author says himself, § 158, about the spread of education and the ever growing democratic tendencies, certainly does not strengthen his position.

After some very valuable paragraphs on the difference between German and English pronunciation—in which I miss only the warning against the use of the *th*-sound in German—we find more than forty pages devoted to the Values of the Letters Professor Hempl presents the pronunciation of the various letters in their usual alphabetical order, with numerous—shall I say, numberless?—references to the preceding sections in which the general subject and the governing principles have been treated systematically. For each letter, there is first given a general statement as to its value in the 'Durchschnittsdeutsch,' and then we have an almost confusing wealth of information poured out in the notes which treat of special modifications of the general rules. The sections on *A* and those on *G* show perhaps better than any others what an amazing amount of painstaking labor has been put into this work.

Before turning to the last Book of the First Part I wish to remark upon a number of details: p. 56, § 65, note, it ought to have been stated that in spite of the spellers, *Vossische Zeitung* is still the only form in which the name of that newspaper appears.—p. 96, § 141, *Rŭster* is wrongly given as local, while according to p. 155, § 237, note 2, *ŭ̄* is as frequent as *ū̆* in this word (Sanders has only *Rŭster*).—p. 109, note: That Schiller should be responsible for *Stralsund* seems somewhat doubtful. I, for one, must confess that I did *not* remember the stress of the word in Schiller. And the young Germans in general learn the name of the Pomeranian town in their geography and again in their history lessons long before they read Wallenstein. The stress is explained differently and according to more general principles p. 242, § 331, 2 (b).—p. 113, § 165 2 (*b*): Has German really no such low vowels as those in *hat*, *law*? The author states himself (p. 116) that *a* tends to become a front vowel resembling *a* in *hat*, for example in Hanover, and a vowel resembling *a* in *law* is heard in Silesian and also in South German and Austrian dialects.—p. 117, § 170, note 3: The pronunciation *Fiăk'er* is not the only one in use. I am familiar only with *Fi'aker*, which, if I mistake not, is also the pronunciation current in Austria; the word is unusual in North Germany. Professor Hempl has Sanders' authority on his side, but Flügel-Schmidt-Tanger has both forms giving the one with stressed *i* first; Sachs-Villatte also has both forms but in the reversed order.—p. 117, *ibid.*: Against *Kăkerlăk* (so also Sanders) I wish to state that I only know the form with two *ā*'s, which form is also given by Flügel, while Sachs has *Kākerlāk*.—p. 118, § 173, remark 2: Neither of the pronunciations given for *Nikolaus* appears to be correct, pronounce *Ni'kolaus*, cf. Flügel and Sachs, or *Ni'kolaus*? I know only a form with *ĭ* which must be quite frequent, cf. endearing form *Nickel* in Hessen and *Nickelsgraben* for *Nicolaigraben* in Lusatia.—p. 126, § 185, note 6, *Bēthlehem* seems to be the literary form. The common form is *Bĕ'thlehem*,

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cf. Flügel and Sachs. *Jetzt gehen wir nach Bethlehem* (=*zu Bett*) certainly never has *ē*.—p. 124, § 182, remark: The statement might have been added that there exists a dialectic *zĕ'ksēn* (=*sechzehn*) due to *sechs*. I have heard it in the pronunciation of people from Mecklenburg and from the Lower Rhine.—p. 141, § 209, note 1 (*a*): *Ungarn* may be pronounced in two ways, either with the *ng* of *singer*, or with that of *finger*; cf. also Vietor, *Phonetik*, p. 249, where the second form is mentioned as frequent, which implies that he considers the first form as the more common.—p. 142, § 210, note 3: *Zoologie* has only two narrow *o̯*'s; cf. also Vietor, p. 78. The first *o* is long.—p. 145, § 216, note 1: The author advises those who cannot pronounce *ö* properly, to use *ĕ*, as p. 155, § 237, note 1, he suggests the use of *ĭ* for *ü* in the same emergency. "All Germans," he adds, "would understand this and many use it." Yes, to be sure, but if ever that *real standard* of which Prof. Hempl speaks on pp. 109 f. has been emphatic in debarring provincial forms it has been so in regard to *ö* and *ü*. The "proper" pronunciation of *ö* and *ü* being a test for *good* German, it seems preferable to use any English sound rather than *e* or *i*. *Gurty* with *ur* as in English *fur* for *Goethe* will not grate upon the ears of educated Germans as much as would *Gēte*.—p. 145, § 217, note 2: *Comptoir* has two pronunciations: *Komtor* and *Kontor* (cf. Sachs; and Flügel, where the French pronunciation is also given), the latter being originally the pronunciation of *Kontor* only, which Italian form is older in Germany than French *Comptoir*; cf. Kluge, *Etym. Wb.*—p. 151, § 229, remark 1: *bisschen* is pronounced *bĭ-schen* only in North-West Germany, if I mistake not, and is considered dialectic, but not vulgar.—p. 155, § 237, note 2: I doubt whether *ū* in *Nüster*, *-wüchsig*, *wüchse*, *wüsche* has become quite rare. To me only *ū* is familiar, just as *u̇* in *Wuchs*, *wuchs*, *wusch*, but the author might refer me to what he has said in § 137, note 3 about, East-Middle Germany. Vietor, p. 66, however, gives *ū* for *Wuchs*, *wuchs* as frequent and *ü̇* as common before *ch* where the unmodified forms have *ü*; Flügel has *Nüster*, for *Wuchs*, *wuchs* he gives *ü* or *ŭ*, for *wusch ü* also *ŭ*, and Sachs agrees with him, except for *wüsch*, where he does not have the *ŭ* form at all.—*Ülzen* and *Üchtritz* I know only with *ü̇*.—p. 157, § 241: It ought to have been stated that in the Latin schools *y* is taught with the *ŭ* value; cf. the interesting form *lynchen* with *ŭ̈* which Professor Hempl mentions himself. *Cyklus* with *ŭ̈* seems an artificial form to use, but Vietor, Sachs and Flügel are against me, Sanders, however, has *ṻ*.—p. 160: The first line of *Faust* in the phonetic transcription representing the careful enunciation of the stage ought to be read as Minor, *Nhd. Metrik*, p. 24, directs; namely, with no stress on *nun* and a strong stress on *ach*. In the second line, *Juristerei* has no stress on the first, but one on the second syllable; cf. Sachs.

The Third Book, on Accent, contains a greater number of independent observations than the others, especially in regard to Sentence-Stress, where Professor Hempl found but little systematic work done. After a few words about the nature of Accent in general and short but valuable remarks on Pitch, he takes up the subject of Stress in the third chapter where he treats the five factors which form the basis of stress-placing: 1. tradition; 2. state of mind of the speaker; 3. his consideration for the mind of the listener; 4. analogy; 5. rhythm and other physical factors. The fourth chapter is given to Sentence-Stress which in modern German, especially in the North, shows a *crescendo* tendency, while the word-stress is *decrescendo*. The general principle is stated first; namely, "the psychological predicate is heavily stressed." Then the modifiers of verbs, of nouns and adverbs, as well as the group of anæmic words are discussed in detail. Lastly Transference of Stress in repeated sentences and also Displacement of Stress are taken up, the main difference being that in transference the stress falls on a word which one desires to emphasize, while this is not the case in displacement. Of especially valuable passages in this excellent chapter I mention § 282 (3), where one striking difference of sentence-stress between English and German is stated, the source of constantly recurring mistakes in the German of English-speaking people; and §§ 289 f. treating of the modifier preceding its noun. Here we get a happy explanation of the strange case that even when the modifier has become a full predicate the usual accentuation of modifier and modified word sometimes prevails; the fact being attributed to the concurrence of two influences, analogy and economy of force.

For the last chapter, on Word-Stress, the

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author found a good deal of work done as far as simple words and compounds were concerned, while he had to make many contributions of his own in the paragraphs treating of conglomerates. The emphasis, from the very beginning, is laid on the fact that a word does not stand by itself but forms part of a sentence and that therefore, the relation of a word to other words must not be ignored. Regarding compounds Professor Hempl again procedes from the general principle, which is that "compound nouns have the chief stress on the first member, while compound verbs have it on the second;" a long number of exceptions, among them the lawless crowd of adjectives and adverbs with *un-*, are then explained by the following influences: (*a*) change in the value of words and parts of words; (*b*) mental association, that is analogy and contrast, and (*c*) rhythm.

A special subchapter is devoted to Geographical Names. The conglomerates, which generally keep the old sentence-stress, are treated in three groups: nouns and verbs, pronouns, and particles; an enormous amount of work is compressed here into a few pages. With some general statements about secondary and weak stress the chapter closes.

I shall only add a few remarks in regard to minor points.—p. 217, § 310 (3): Two Latinized forms of *Kleinod* are given, but I think only one is used at present, namely, *Kleino'dien* (cf. Sanders, Flügel and Sachs) despite the statement in Grimm's *Wb.*—p. 225: Under *-or Tenor* (from the Latin) ought to have been given, as p. 226 *Tenor'* is mentioned.—p. 229, § 318, note 1: *zu missverstehn* ought to have the second place being the rarest form.—p. 238, § 330, note: *Monats-*, *Tages-a'bschluss* or *-schlusz'* show a stress quite unfamiliar to me.—p. 240: Minor's authority for *Wildenbruch'* ought not to be accepted.—p. 245, § 335: *Thaler* ought not to have been translated by 'dollars'.—p. 247, § 341: Against the statement that *hinüber-*, *herübersetzen* are more common than *ü'bersetzen*, I wish to put the assertion that in spoken language, *ü'bersetzen* is more common as far as my experience goes.—p. 258, § 360, 6: *gleichwohl* has stress on second syllable (cf. Flügel) also *gleichviel; wiederum* has usually the stress on the first syllable, cf. Vietor, p. 69. Sanders has *o'bgleich*, *we'ngleich*.—p. 263, § 366, note 2: Sanders and Sachs give *Ele'ktricität'* which is the only form I know. The explanation for the tendency to shift the secondary stress to the second syllable if that is a heavy syllable—if such a tendency does exist—seems to lie in the fact that the adjectives are much more common and so *authen'tisch*, *ela'stisch*, *elek'trisch* have influenced the rarer nouns.

Before I close my remarks about this book, which Professor Vietor calls "die beste deutsche Phonetik, im Sinne des Titels," I wish to express my appreciation of its fine typographical garb, which reflects great credit on the publishers. Only the row of strung-up fowl, vaguely resembling the Brandenburg eagle, does not seem appropriate in a treatise on language; it ought to be reserved for heraldic books.

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SHAKESPEARE.

The Diary of Master William Silence, a Study of Shakespeare and of Elizabethan Sport, by the Right Hon. D. H. Madden, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Dublin: Longmanns, Green & Co., 1898.

This book is the outgrowth of a scholarly love of Shakespeare and an appreciation of the pleasures of deer-hunting as carried on in the Forest of Exmoor in accordance with ancient usage. The Vice-Chancellor first collected numerous passages from the plays which are illustrated by hunting customs. Then it occurred to him to put together some of this knowledge in the form of a description of a hunt. The hounds must, of course, belong to *Shallow;* and who was so well fitted to write the diary as *Master William Silence?* One must not be hypercritical. If *Silence* did not write the diary, it is what he might have written; and if the family of *Shallow* is not in Camden's *Britannia*, it might have been, "the blood and quality of *Shallow* are widely diffused through the three kingdoms." Why insist upon facts when fiction is nearer the truth? Why limit one's belief to the uninteresting things that can be proved?

The people come together for the hunting in the park of *Justice Shallow*. This hunt is in honor of the home-coming of the *Lady Katherine*, bride of *Master Petre*, "a man of note in these parts," who has been masquerading as one *Petruchio*. In the diary there are

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frequent references to a stranger from a neighboring town who has made a strong impression on the mind of *Silence*, and we are encouraged to believe that this stranger is Shakespeare.

The story flows on gently: sometimes it disappears for many pages; then it comes to the surface with a little conversation borrowed from one of the plays, or with some of those realistic touches that prove Mr. Madden's power as a delineator of character. Thoroughly unobtrusive as he makes the story, he cannot refrain from stopping a moment to tell us of *William Silence's* repeating an ode of Horace instead of singing a song, and straightway incurring the learned wrath of the *Justice* because of his "calling a poet, a philosopher." "Quintus Horatius was a poet, he was no philosopher . . . . a poet's a poet, though he write the Latin tongue," says the worthy *Justice* indignantly.

It is at this same hunting supper that *Shallow* complacently names over his most valued books, the *Ship of Fools*, the *Book of Riddles*, the *Hundred Merrie Tales*, etc., and wicked *Master Petre* exclaims to *Silence* in affected admiration, "Would not learning like this amaze and delight thy fellow at Gray's Inn, Master Francis Bacon?"

A delightful air of leisure is given to the book by such details as the arrangement of guests at the table, by the reverential description of the arms of the *Squele* family—"In a field, *vert*, a hog, *squelant*, *proper*, charged with a pair of shears, gules; motto, *Great Squele*, *little wool*,"—and the solemn-faced arraignment of the false etymology on which this triumph of heraldry was founded. The author tarries to describe the effect that the fearful portent of the birth of a two-headed calf has on the county community, to whom everything unusual is a marvel. He can not forbear a touch of humor when *Mistress Slender* grieves that she is no longer "a papist, and not having so much as an agnus in the house," is defenceless against whatever evil this monster may portend. There is "that smell of brimstone as is not to be believed," and *Sir Topaz* is called upon to exorcise the evil spirit, while *Simple* considerately stands behind his mistress, "lest the foul fiend may perchance assault her when cast out." The next Sunday the parson preaches on the miracle, and during the sermon our friend *Antolycus* appears, calling his ballads in the church porch at the top of his voice. A vivid picture it is of the admiring crowd, simple village maidens gazing on his "glittering gewgaws," and the "simpler rustic swains" trying to cheapen his wares. Here, too, are rogues and vagabonds, *Dogberry's* "vagrom men," for whose escape he bids his watch thank God they are rid of a knave.

The author loiters by the way to picture the residence of a country gentleman, the long, low, gray stone house with its mullioned windows, its pointed gables, its unsanitary moat utilized as a fishpond, its little summer-house from which one could angle for carp, the "fair orchard," the garden whose walks and beds were arranged in quaint devices, even the eglantine and rosemary under the window, and the perfume of

> "Hot lavender, mints, savory, marjoram."

He is not in too great haste to question how it is

> "that in certain ages of the world the meanest man cannot do ill that which at other times the noblest fails to do well, save by way of imitation. Was ever parish church designed amiss in the thirteenth century, or dwelling-house in the sixteenth,"

he queries.

The story moves quietly onward to its end, when suddenly,—and "things were not expected to occur suddenly in Gloucestershire"—"*William Silence* and *Mistress Anne Silence*, formerly *Squele*," emerge from the shadow of the woodland path that leads from the church to the hunting-ground. On the authority of the genial editor of the diary, this scene is reproduced in the *Merry Wives of Windsor*, and *Anne's* selfish father accepts the situation in these words:—

> "What cannot be eschew'd must be embraced . . . .
> Heaven give you many, many merry days."
> V. 5.

So much for the story. Pleasantly as it winds its way through the chapters, and much as it sometimes makes us wish that its author would some day write an Elizabethan novel, no devotee of the average novel will ever read this book for the sake of the story. Indeed, the chief value of the story as a story is that it makes it possible to bring in the terms of the hunt and the lines from Shakespeare easily and naturally. Bits of the various plays help on the conversation; and even the description of the scenery is given in the words of *Romeo and Juliet*, the *Midsummer Night's Dream*,

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or the *Sonnets*, The laws of venery are strictly observed. We are carried on through the hunting and the hawking. We see how the hounds and hawks are trained and managed, and much of this is given us in Shakespeare's own words. Thus far the author has no theories, he is collecting facts. But he finds that while some of Shakespeare's characters use legal terms and some theological terms, while some talk like courtiers and some like countrymen, there are few who do not in direct quotation or indirect allusion make some reference to these out-of-door sports, few that manifest no familiarity with the technicalities of their language. This departure from verisimilitude is the more marked when we remember that in Elizabethan days a knowledge of venery was the shibboleth of the typical gentleman, and that the first English treatise on falconry bore the significant title, *The Institution of a Gentleman*. That with Shakespeare all classes speak the language, so that neither *Juliet* nor *Othello* nor *Pandarus* nor *Mrs. Ford* can express the feelings belonging to the part without making use of it, that it is here that Shakespeare turns for a much larger share of illustration and metaphor than he has allotted to any other branch of human work or play—this suggests inevitably that there was no other line of art in which he felt so much at home, no other amusement that he loved so well.

This is not an entirely new idea. Perhaps there is little hope of anything absolutely new in regard to Shakespeare. Perhaps there is small opportunity left to do more than to lay the emphasis on a different place. Mr. Madden, then, lays the emphasis on Shakespeare's love of sport, and even here his work is invaluable if only for reference; but he does more than that, for his collection of facts he brings to bear on various mooted questions of Shakespearian criticism so forcibly as to make his work approach the bounds of a veritable discovery.

While disclaiming the title of expert in criticism, he reminds us that expert judgment must depend primarily upon some matter of fact. Starting with the fact that Shakespeare's allusions to horse, hound, hawk, and deer contrast in mere point of frequency with those of any other writer in ancient or modern times, he makes a careful study of these allusions, and decides that to be distinctively Shakespearian one should contain:—

"I. A secret of woodcraft or horsemanship. II. An illustration therefrom of human nature and conduct. III. A lively image. IV. A conceit; or V. An irrelevance; that is, an idea somewhat out of place with its surroundings."

He applies this test to the question of the authority of the Folio of 1623. Comparing the terms of art of woodcraft, falconry, or horsemanship, in Folio and Quartos, he finds the Folio

"more in accordance with the language of ancient writers upon the mysteries of sport than either the readings of the Quartos or the conjectural alterations of the critics,"

while not one term of art which is incorrect in the Folio is rightly applied in the Quartos. Moreover, he finds that not one of the thirty-four plays of the Folio "fails to yield specimens of the true Shakespearian allusion."

He subjects to the same test the twelve plays sometimes attributed to Shakespeare, but not in the Folio. His result is substantially a confirmation of the conclusions stated by Professor Dowden in his *Introduction to Shakespeare*. Applying the test to the admitted plays of those dramatists whose work has been confused with that of Shakespeare, he concludes that while the Shakespearian work is never free from this distinctive note, it never appears in the dramas of Fletcher, Kyd, Greene, or Marlowe. Ben Jonson is surprised to find "a wise man seriously follow hawking," and Bacon leaves out of his "all knowledge" any word showing interest in horse, hawk, or hound.

Mr. Madden gives a special chapter to the horse, showing from numerous quotations Shakespeare's fondness for the animal, his exact knowledge of its habits, its training, care, food, and management, noting his references to the sympathy between horse and rider, and his frequent metaphorical use of the horse. He marks the fact that Shakespeare has nothing to say of the horse-race, though even Bacon recognized the sport. A little fanciful it is, perhaps, to suggest that the poet's judgment in horseflesh developed in harmony with his dramatic genius, and to permit this to be an aid in establishing the order of his plays; to classify the historical plays as the "roan Barbary group," and to accept the comparative absence of the Barbary horse from the tragedies as a confirmation of Professor Dowden's statement that they were written in a

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period of depression and gloom: but where so much is incontrovertible fact, one need not be jealous of one small fancy—which after all may be another fact.

A most interesting chapter is entitled "The Gloucestershire Justices." Here and in a note thereto appended, Mr. Madden has collected record and tradition bearing on the possibility of Shakespeare's having spent some part of his early life in Gloucestershire, probably that between his removal from Warwickshire and his arrival in London. He thinks that *Master Robert Shallow* and his fellows, *Slender* and *Silence* and others, were, in the first draft of the *Merry Wives of Windsor*, faithful portraits of Gloucestershire originals, and that it was at a later period that Shakespeare, for some unknown reason, was willing to identify the *Justice* with Sir Thomas Lucy. His chief argument for this theory is the fact that between the Quarto and the Folio the character of *Shallow* undergoes a great change not ascribable to mistakes of surreptitious copyists, and that the Quarto differs from the Folio, not as an imperfect copy from an original document, but as a rough draft from a completed work. In the Quarto, *Shallow* is a subordinate character, serving chiefly to introduce his nephew. He is "fussy, important in his way, and self-complacent, but deferential rather than self-asserting." In the Folio, "Shallow, the *custos rotulorum*, is decidedly pompous. He dwells on his dignities, and poses as a personage." The very identity of *Shallow* is gone. Some motive of resentment has arisen against a member of the Lucy family. Most improbable of all possibilities, the author thinks, is the notion that Shakespeare, twenty years afterwards and when Sir Thomas Lucy was dead, was avenging some punishment inflicted upon him for deer-stealing in his youth. The appearance of any poaching story in the Folio he accounts for by the fact that in the Quarto *Falstaff* stole the deer of *Shallow*.

This and some other points may well be left to the attention of the specialists; but no earnest student who loves Shakespeare, who wishes to understand what kind of man he was and just what he meant to say, can fail to be greatly benefited by the book. Worth far more than any discussion of mooted questions and genuineness of doubtful plays is the help that this book gives us to see Shakespeare at work, to recognize the very touch of his hand. Comparing, for instance, the *Taming of the Shrew* with the *Taming of a Shrew*, we find the references to horses and hunting in the older play to be merely such as would grow almost inevitably out of the action. While in the newer play many of these are retained, there are many more that are casual and independent of the plot, "stray thoughts of horse and stable," of hunting and of falconry, that are "forever recurring to all sorts of people," and these show the distinctively Shakespearian touch, and came straight from Shakespeare's love for out of door life and his familiarity with its sports. The explanation of the exact meaning of these sporting terms adds a new vividness and often an entirely new interpretation to Shakespeare's imagery, and gives clearness and force to many a passage that the complacent editors have labelled hopelessly corrupt.

Too much can hardly be said in praise of the general tone of fairness of this book. It is a model of inductive reasoning. The author does not start out to prove a theory, but simply to ascertain facts and whatever truths there may be to which these facts point the way. The whole air of the book is of sincerity and honesty. There is never the suppression of opposing fact of the poorly prepared contestant, never the heated argument of the too ardent controversialist. If we accept the author's conclusions, it is because we have seen that it is to these that the facts lead.

If one closes the book with the feeling that the terms of the proverbial "dog's life" are amply sufficient to express the various incidents and passions of the life of man, that it is safer to call an unknown word a term in falconry than a corruption of the text, and that what the nomenclature of the hunting field will not explain is unexplainable, this is a proof, not that the Vice-Chancellor has stretched his facts to cover his theories, but that he has laid before us so lavish a fulness of matter as to leave us without opposing argument.

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GERMAN LITERATURE.

A. *Three German Tales.*—Goethe's *Die neue Melusine;* Zschokke's *Der tote Gast;* Kleist's *Die Verlobung in St. Domingo.* Edited with Introduction, Notes and a Grammatical Appendix by A. B. NICHOLS. New York: Henry Holt & Co.

B. *Das Abenteuer der Neujahrsnacht* und *Der zerbrochene Krug* von Heinrich Zschokke. Edited with Notes by A. B. FAUST, Ph. D. New York: Henry Holt & Co.

C. *Der zerbrochene Krug*, Novelle von Heinrich Zschokke. Edited with Introduction, Notes and Vocabulary, and Paraphrases for Retranslation into German by E. S. JOYNES. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co.

HEINRICH ZSCHOKKE is an excellent story-teller, always ingenious and versatile in his plots, attractive and interesting, full of genial humour, vivacious and sprightly, never dull. Large-hearted and liberal-minded, free from cant and prejudice as he is, he still now-a-days endears himself to thousands of readers, who realize only with difficulty and surprise that nearly a century separates them from this writer whose prose, apart from a few obsolete expressions, reads as if it were a production of our own time.

The three selections mentioned above deserve full recognition for fulfilling the chief desideratum—they are truly representative of Zschokke's style, and particularly of his comic vein, which is really his richest, although he excels also in the serious and pathetic genre. Moreover, the editorial work is most carefully done and is of a high character throughout. The chief merit of Mr. Nichols' notes consists in the masterly treatment of the particles sometimes called 'expletives,' with their delicate shades of meaning, the interpreting of which may be considered as the touch-stone of an annotator's familiarity with the German idiom; but the grammatical appendix also is valuable.—Professor Joynes has provided his text with a vocabulary, which will make it acceptable to students, and with easy and well devised paraphrases for retranslation, which may be welcome to many instructors.

For future reprints the following suggestions in regard to the notes are offered:

In A.—p. 36, 28: The statement "*umher* denotes aimless movement; *herum*, movement toward a more or less definite goal; for example, the starting-point" is only half true and therefore misleading; for *herum* is often used synonymously with *umher* and *er ging im Zimmer herum* does not differ in meaning from *er ging im Zimmer umher*. Besides, Faust, just to emphasize his aimlessness, says that he has been pulling his students *an der Nase herum*.—p. 75, 31: The statement,

"The German uses a past participle with a verb of motion to denote the *manner* of motion, where the English uses a present participle,"

is not comprehensive enough inasmuch as it does not include such phrases as *er kam gesungen, gepfiffen*, etc., where the *manner* of motion is not denoted.—p. 91, 1: The origin of the phrase *sich aus dem Staub machen* might have been explained:—p. 105, 21. *wird* in *wie wird sie so schnell mit ihm vertraut* denotes gradual progress and must not be rendered 'has become' but 'is getting:'—p. 114, 25. *Besteifen* ought to be marked as obsolete.

In B.—p. 1. 15. *Es schneit, wie es mag* scarcely means 'it snows at its own sweet will,' but *mag* is used in its former meaning of 'can,' cf. *da keiner sie ergründen mag*. Faust, l. 248.—p. 39, 26: *Frauenzimmer* at the beginning of our century had not yet any 'derogatory sense.'—p. 40, 28: Read *Reiszaus* for *Reiszsaus*.—p. 70, 11: *Eine Erbschaft machen* cannot be rendered 'to acquire by inheritance,' because the direct object is wanting in this translation.

In C.—p. 3, 4: *Hin* in *sie nickte rechts und links hin* does not mean 'along,' but merely denotes direction.—p. 6, 3: *Inzwischen* with the meaning of 'while' ought to be marked as obsolete.—p. 10, 2: The phrase *zürn ich's dir* ought to marked as obsolete in its syntax.—p. 27, 1: *Gelt?* does not necessarily 'imply a wish that something may be true,' but indiscriminately seeks assent to, or confirmation of, all sorts of statements.

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GERMAN LITERATURE.

Charles Sealsfield (Carl Postl) der Dichter beider Hemisphären. Sein Leben und seine Werke von ALBERT B. FAUST, Ph. D., Associate Professor of German, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn. Mit dem Bildniss des Dichters und den Ansichten seines Geburts- und Wohnhauses. Weimar: E. Felber, 1897. 8vo, pp. vi, 295.

CHARLES SEALSFIELD, whose fame as a novelist was once so great in Germany and who in this country was regarded as a literary 'lion' and was a 'favorite' of Longfellow, has been sadly forgotten. He is almost entirely unknown in the United States and in Germany is but a literary memory. The reasons for this oblivion are not only those mentioned by Professor Faust in his Introduction to the above biography, namely that the Revolution of 1848 'blasted like a frost the growth of literary talents,' and that afterwards mistaken business judgment kept the author from republishing his works with a different publisher, thus failing to keep himself before the public. Nor is the reason to be found in the fact that the German novel and German novelists of the Nineteenth Century have not received proper attention and study. There are other and more effective reasons. In the very first place, the whole body of German novel literature, as compared with that of the drama and other poetry in German, occupies a far inferior position in importance and literary value. The same is true when compared with the same form of literature in French and English. And even among German novelists Sealsfield does not rank among the greatest. Then all novels are more or less ephemeral in their character, because they deal with passing phases of human development, and are so apt to lay all the stress on these passing phases rather than on the lasting 'human' elements. This is particularly the case with Sealsfield's novels which owed most of their interest to their setting and background. Furthermore, as the author himself says, character-analysis is not the strong point of Sealsfield and now-a-days character study above everything else is demanded of the novelist who expects to interest the public. To be sure, there is a temporary revival of interest in the novels of adventure and in the historical novel, but it is as true today as it ever was, the 'proper study of mankind is man.' There are minor shortcomings besides in Sealsfield's writings. A number of his works were left unfinished and incomplete, even though they are longer than novels generally are, hence the reader is left unsatisfied. Almost all lack artistic form and a clear central action which gives unity and concentration to the story. And, whatever may be said to justify the novelist's peculiar style on grounds of realism, vigor and rhetorical effect, his attempts to reproduce in German the dialect and personal peculiarities of speech of his characters, in the opinion of most critics, frequently evolve a weird jargon and do grow tiresome.

And yet Sealsfield deserves to be better known and to be read more widely than he is, and especially in our country, as Professor Faust makes clear. While not a writer of the greatest power, there is a great deal in his writings that is of lasting literary value, particularly his magnificent descriptions of nature in its various manifestations of beauty and grandeur, his creations of character which are not only local types but also thoroughly human, and his fascinating charm of story telling which makes up for much that is defective in form and structure. His novels are interesting also from the standpoint of literary history, as they are the first of the 'ethnographic' novels, that is, novels which have a people and not individuals as their heroes. And finally, his books give excellent pictures, based upon keen personal observation, of the life, manners and customs of the people in the United States during the first decades of this century. Merely from the standpoint of history, these novels deserve to be read more than they are, at least by Americans.

It was quite proper, then, that an American should undertake the task of writing the first complete biography of Sealsfield and reviving the memory of the author who did so much to acquaint Germany with America. It is equally proper, on the other hand, that this biography be written in German, for Sealsfield wrote for the Germans and, though some of his works were originally written in English and others have been translated into English, yet he was pre-eminently a German author; he wrote chiefly in German, and among Germans he obtained his fame and success. The materials for this biography have been most diligently and carefully collected by Professor Faust, who has not only gathered and sifted everything which has been published on this

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subject hitherto, but for some years has been making a most careful study of his works and life. By personal visits to the localities where Sealsfield lived, by inquiries from personal friends of the novelist and by the discovery of a considerable number of letters, he has been able to get together a good deal of new material which throws a flood of light upon many obscure events of the "Great Unknown's" life, and disproves beyond all doubt the damaging tales which hitherto have cast a shadow upon his personal reputation.

The task which the biographer undertook was not an easy one. It was difficult to obtain personal information about the novelist so many years after his death. Those who knew him at all well have either died or have only dim recollections of the man. All his personal literary effects and letters he destroyed before his death, and only a comparatively small number of letters written by him have been preserved by chance. And even they give us little personal information. Anyway, he never did attach himself strongly to either persons or places, he was too much of a cosmopolitan and too reluctant to let anyone inside the mystery and secrecy of his life. In spite of all these obstacles, Professor Faust has succeeded admirably in gathering all the information which could be obtained, though possibly the exploitation of these materials leaves something to be desired. The arrangement of the biography is simple and lucid. The Introduction discusses Sealsfield's position in literature, shows his influence upon American writers such as Wm. Gilmore Simms and Mayne Reid, who plagiarized from him with unblushing effrontery. It establishes, too, his relations to his predecessors and models, Scott, Cooper and Irving, and gives in broad outlines his peculiar literary merits and contributions to the stock of the world's literature by his new literary creation which the Germans call the 'exotic' and 'ethnographic' novel—a form of the novel imitated in Germany by Gerstäcker, Mügge and others. His novels mark the beginning of the realistic movement in novel writing, for unreal as Sealsfield's portrayal of American character and American life may now seem to the American, to the European of that time they seemed intensely realistic, as they were indeed in spirit and intention.

In the four chapters into which the Biography proper is divided, the events of Sealsfield's life are taken up in chronological order, the first chapter unraveling the story of his early life, clearing up much that has hitherto been in a hopeless tangle. It covers his early life until his flight and mysterious disappearance in 1823. The second chapter deals with the period of his early travels in America and of his first literary productions, that is from 1823–1832. The third takes up the period of his greatest literary activity from 1832–1848, and the last the old age of the author, the period of decreasing popularity, physical decline and personal isolation, until his death in 1864. In connection with each novel, as he treats of it in its place, Professor Faust gives an outline of its contents with a critical survey of the book, and in the third chapter presents a brief summary and review of Sealsfield's style and literary qualities based upon the author's doctor's thesis.[1]

The book contains an appendix of some sixty-odd letters of Sealsfield, most of which have been published before by Professor Faust and others, while seven are published here for the first time. Most of them are business letters and contain little that is personal, but the strictly personal letters and the personal opinions and views in the others make us regret that there is not more of the same kind. The poems of Elise Meyer, Sealsfield's friend during his last years, which conclude the biography are hardly important enough to be included, even as an appendix.

Sealsfield's life is full of interest, because full of mystery, romance and adventure. He must have been an interesting character, a man of strong personality, even though absorbed in self and unpleasantly self-assertive, a man delightful to meet because of his knowledge of the world and his experiences in life, though not the sort of a man to attach yourself to. As indeed he seems to have had few close friends, and none whom he took into the intimacy of his life and heart. It is because of the romance of Sealsfield's life that the present biography is interesting, but hardly because of the literary merits of the book. This is the one important criticism to be made on this volume. It is learned, thorough and clear, and has no vices of style, but it also has no stylistic virtues. The narration lacks effective arrangement, it runs along in an even, but for that reason dull, tone, the important features

1 A. B. Faust, *Charles Sealsfield (Carl Postl). Materials for a Biography, a Study of his Style, etc.* Baltimore; 1898.

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are not forcibly presented, every fact seems as important as every other, and some of them, giving details of investigation (for instance, p. 76 near the top), might be relegated to the footnotes. Nowhere is there any real vigor or cogency of thought or expression. The literary characterizations and analyses scattered throughout the book are open to the same criticism, they are good, as far as they go, but they show no deep penetration, nor are they keen and discriminating. In the entire book there is no characterization of Sealsfield, either as an author or as a man, that is adequate or complete. Tabulated statements from a doctor's thesis convey no impression of an author's style to one who has not seen the entire thesis, which will be the case with most readers of this biography. Of course, in a book which is strictly scientific, style is not the chief essential, but it is an essential, and an essential of some importance in a work of literary biography and criticism. It is style and *esprit* which give the French critics, and the English critics too, their great preëminence and their literary influence, and it is the lack of these qualities which keeps the Germans from attaining to the high position to which their deeper thinking and profounder knowledge entitles them. It is to be regretted that there should be these pervading defects in a book which on the whole is so excellent, and which is a valuable contribution to the history of the literary relations of Germany and the United States, which again is so important a chapter in the history of the influence of German thought and culture upon the civilization of this country.

GUSTAV GRUENER.

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SPANISH POETRY.

Poem of the Cid. Text reprinted from the unique manuscript at Madrid, by ARCHER M. HUNTINGTON, A. M. Vol. I. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1897. 4to, pp. ii, 148.

NEVER has the *Poem of the Cid* appeared in so elegant a dress as in the first American edition lately presented to the public by Mr. Huntington. This volume, containing the text, is to be followed by two others, one of notes and manuscript readings, the other a translation of the poem into English. Although the book, bound in parchment and printed in large Gothic type upon hand-made paper, presents a most beautiful appearance, yet the price, twenty-five dollars per volume, and the fact that but one hundred copies have been printed, will necessarily limit its circulation. The text is, as the introduction states, "a line-for-line and page-for-page reproduction of the original," while throughout are interspersed full-page illustrations of scenes described in the poem. The frontispiece by William Marshall representing the Cid clad in armor is especially worthy of mention.

It is interesting to compare this new edition with that of Prof. Vollmöller,[1] containing the text upon which all criticisms of the poem have hitherto been based, and also with the various photographic facsimiles that have been published[2] and which represent some ten of the single-column pages, or about one-fifteenth of the entire manuscript. If we may judge by these few sheets both editions seem to be carefully copied; we note, however, in verses 3592 and 3667, that Prof. Vollmöller follows the manuscript in writing a tilde in the words *aconpañados* and *compaña*, while Mr. Huntington omits it. Mr. Huntington has evidently collated the text of Prof. Vollmöller with the manuscript, and in this way he has occasionally been led into error: for example, in verse 3491, Prof. Vollmöller makes the mistake, for perhaps the only time in the poem, of writing *rey* for *rrey*, and he is followed in this by Mr. Huntington, although the facsimile shows *rrey*. Also, in verse 3589 Prof. Vollmöller reads:

Todos tres son acordados los del de Campeador,

and Mr. Huntington reads the same; yet the facsimile, which is especially clear at this point, contains no *de* whatever, reading simply; . . . *los del Campeador*. It may be noted that Mr. Huntington, whose policy is to retain the tilde in all cases, writes with Prof. Vollmöller in verse 1771, *commo* for the manuscript form *como*. In the doubtful verse 2264 Mr. Huntington reads:

1 *Poema del Cid.* Nach der einzigen Madrider Handschrift mit Einleitung, Anmerkungen und Glossar, neu herausgegeben von Karl Vollmöller. I. Theil: Text. Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1879. 8vo, pp. 94.

2 *a. Facsimili di Antichi Manoscritti per Uso delle Scuole di Filologia Neolatina*, pubblicati da Ernesto Monaci. Fasc. iii. Roma: Martelli Tipografo Editore, Via Babuino 52. 1887. Plates 61–64. These facsimiles reproduce the manuscript folios 69vo to 73ro inclusive.

b. The Most Famous of Spanish Manuscripts, by A. M. Huntington, in *The Bookman*, September, 1896, pp. 31–34. This article contains a reproduction of folio 46vo and also a portion of folio 36vo.

c. The Cid Campeador, and the Waning of the Crescent in the West, by H. Butler Clarke, A. M. New York, 1897, pp. vi, 382. Page 296 reproduces folio 16vo.

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Ea todas las dueñas e alos fijos dalgo.

while Prof. Vollmöller prints:

De todas las dueñas e de los fijos dalgo.

A comparison of the two printed texts in the portions of the poem where we have no photographs of the manuscript to aid us reveals the following variant readings: Mr. Huntington reads *mugier*, *mugieres*, Prof. Vollmöller *muger*, *mugeres*, in verses 16, 1179, 1484, 1522, 2076, 2233, 2543, 2562, 2581, 2703, 2710, 3347. Most of these cases, however, had already been corrected by Prof. Baist.[3] In verse 286, Hunt. *tañe*, Voll. *tañen;* verse 635, Hunt. *ffera*, Voll. *ffara;* verses 683 and 684, which were intermixed by Prof. Vollmöller, as is well-known, have been written correctly by Mr. Huntington; verse 774, Hunt. *Ea*, Voll. *Ca;* verse 964, Hunt. *enpara*, Voll. *anpara;* verse 1141, Hunt. *cuerda*, Voll. *cuerta;* verse 1525, Hunt. *gerra*, Voll. *guerra;* verse 1870, Hunt. *e ea*, Voll. *e (e) a;* verse 1897, Hunt. *Per*, Voll. *Pero*.

In the much discussed verse 3732 Mr. Huntington reads: cc xlv. In three cases of doubtful reading, owing to the blotted condition of the manuscript, Mr. Huntington has omitted the word, or words, and left the space vacant in the verse. They will, doubtless, be discussed in the volume of notes and manuscript readings. These verses are; 2047, [*di*]*xo* omitted; 2275, [*ouo en*] *algo*, omitted; 2788, *Mio trapo* omitted. These few variants, with some thirty cases in which a tilde or a cedilla has been omitted or misplaced, constitute the textual differences in the two editions. In no place, I believe, has a disputed reading been clarified or the sense of a passage been changed, assuring us once more of the extreme care with which Prof. Vollmöller's copy was originally made.

In order to see what new light has been thrown upon the translation of the difficult passages we turn our attention to the punctuation of the text. An examination shows that this differs in no way from that adopted by Prof. Vollmöller, with the exception of verse 1061 where his superfluous quotation marks have been omitted. Prof. Vollmöller's punctuation is extremely negligent and faulty, and numerous passages have received the most painstaking corrections by Profs. Baist, Cornu, Lidforss and Restori, yet not once has the present editor taken advantage of these emendations. The reason for this is difficult to understand after reading in the introduction: "Especial care has been given to the punctuation." A few examples will illustrate the point: verse 3114 reads:

El rrey dixo al Cid: "venid aca, ser Campeador.

Prof Baist was the first one to point out, in a review of Prof. Vollmöller's edition,[4] that *ser* here has the meaning 'to sit,' and is not equivalent to French *Sire*. This interpretation has since been adopted by editors and critics of the poem, and the comma is placed after *ser* instead of after *aca*, while the period at the end of the verse is replaced by a comma. In verse 3432, Prof. Vollmöller writes:

Bien uos di vagar en, toda esta cort,

the comma after *en* being plainly a misprint,[5] for the editor would scarcely separate a preposition from its object, yet Mr. Huntington has divided this verse in the same manner. Again, in verse 3611, both editors transcribe:

Salien los fieles de medio ellos, cara por cara son,

ellos being thus separated from its verb *son* by a comma, and yet the verse has already been corrected by Prof. Lidforss.[6]

This new edition, then, differs from that of Prof. Vollmöller but slightly in the text, and practically not at all in the punctuation. That the copying has been carefully done is shown by this very similarity. The value of the whole edition can, of course, be judged only after an examination of the subsequent volumes, whose appearance will be awaited with especial interest.

GEORGE G. BROWNELL.
Johns Hopkins University.

NOTE TO LA MARE AU DIABLE.

TO THE EDITORS OF MOD. LANG. NOTES,

SIRS:—At the head of the first of the two thoughtful chapters which serve as preface to Mme Dudevant's immortal study of Germain, *le fin laboureur*, stands this quatrain[1] "en vieux français":

A la sueur de ton visaige
Tu gagnerois ta pauvre vie,
Après long travail et usaige,
Voicy la *mort* qui te convie.

3 According to the statement of J. Cornu in *Literaturblatt für Germanische und Romanische Philologie*, vol. xviiii, col. 330..

4 *Literaturblatt für Germanische und Romanische Philologie*, vol. I, col. 342.

5. *Propugnatore*, vol. xx, Part ii, p. 433.

6 *Los Cantares de Myo Cid*. Con una introducción y notas por D. Eduardo Lidforss. Lund: 1895. 4to, pp. viii, 164. See p. 162.

1 Quoted as in the Calmann Lévy edition, 1896.

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The conditional *gagnerois*, in the second line, seems out of keeping, and, very naturally, it has somewhat puzzled recent editors of the text. If a full stop were assumed at the end of the second line, a future would not be inadmissible, so far as the sense goes, and, no doubt with this idea, Prof. Sumichrast[2] has translated: "By the sweat of thy brow thou shalt make a wretched living; after ....", etc. But where and when, in what dialect, patois, or even argot, can be found a 2d. sg. future in *-ois*? A 2d. pl. future in *-ois* is, of course, common enough; but I believe there is no instance recorded where the anomalous *j'étions trois capitaines* is found in the second person; besides, the singular is unmistakably called for here. This substitution of the future, which Prof. Joyness[3] partially approves, seems to me further discredited by the traditional punctuation, which points clearly to a very intimate connection between the first two, and the last two lines.

Perhaps the only way of retaining the conditional as it stands, is that suggested to me, in a recent private letter, by Prof. A. Horning. From this letter I take the liberty to quote:

"Il se peut (he says) que le quatrain ne soit qu'une partie d'une chanson existant avant le dessin de Holbein. Alors le sens serait: tu gagnerais (conditionnel) encore maintenant, au moment présent, ta pauvre vie, si la mort ne venait t'enlever. Ce sens me paraît fort satisfaisant, tandis que le futur semble convenir moins bien ...."

This is an interesting interpretation, and, in regard to it, I can only remark that, to my mind, it is extremely difficult to construct a protasis from such a direct phrase as: *Voici la mort*. Following now a suggestion of Prof. Horning's own, I wish to propose what seems to me, on the whole, a more satisfactory solution of the difficulty.

My correspondent further says:

"Si les vers ont été faits pour le dessin,[4] le sens demanderait un imparfait (tu gagnais ta pauvre vie, au moment où la mort t'a surpris). Cet imparfait est exclu, il est vrai, par la mesure du vers."

But it is not necessary to go back many decades[5] before the time of Holbein (1497?–1554?) to find the infinitive *gaaignier* trissyllabic, and the imperfect trissyllabic also: *gaaignois*. This reading not only satisfies the measure, but the sense also in a very striking manner. If the imperfect be the correct reading, the verses were certainly not made for the engraving, but the engraving for the verses, and surely the complete accord of the two may be as reasonably explained one way as the other.

It remains to account for the substitution of the conditional for the old imperfect. But what proceeding is more common—being indeed inevitable—in the rejuvenation of old poetry, than the liberal use of just such *chevilles*—both words and syllables—to fill in, more or less skillfully, the gaps left by disappearing vowels? I choose, almost at random, a trio of examples—two from the MSS. of the *Lays*, and one from those of the *Fables*, of Marie de France.[6]

Lays, p. 68, text:

que li produme n'unt sell.

MS. S:

que li produme n'orent seu (=su);

p. 161, text:

Puis si le laist tant jeſſner.

MS. S:

Puis si le laisse tant jeuner (2 syls.)

Fables, p. 89.

MS. P has: *Par* (*Car*?) *plusors fies* (for *fiées*) *morderoie* (for *mordroie—mordrois*).

Finally, the apparent indifference to the damage wrought to the meaning by the change from imperfect to conditional, would be only another indication of the wholly popular character of the quatrain at the time when Holbein took it up and used it with such effect.

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GERMAN LITERATURE.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes,

Sirs:—Our school editions of Storm's *Immensee* have given currency to a very prevalent misconception by locating the scene of the body of the story near the author's birthplace, in Schleswig, or at least somewhere in North Germany.

In the Introduction to the edition published by Messrs. D. C. Heath & Co. (p. iv), Dr. Bernhardt says:

"In his landscape drawing, Storm never leaves the limits of his native district; but in this he shows his unexcelled talent in picturing

2 See his edition, Heath's *Modern Language Series*, 1892.
3 In his edition, H. Holt & Co., 1896.
4 It would be very useful, at this point, to refer to G. Sand's description of the Holbein engraving—too long to quote here.
5 For the chronology of the phonetic changes involved, see Suchier, in Gröber's *Grundriss* i, pp. 576, 587. Cf. Schwan-Behrens, § 365.
6 Warnke's editions, *Bibliotheca Normannica*, iii, vi, 1885 and 1898.

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the sunburnt heath, where the bees are humming, the dusky woods, through which the fair Elizabeth strolls; or the rolling sea, that yonder near the old gray town breaks with tumultuous waves upon the sandy shore."

In a note on *in einem etwas südlichen Accent* (p. 1), he says (p. 47):

"This remark suggests the idea that the old gentleman of our story for many years had been away from his home in Northern Germany."

In the Introduction to the edition published by Messrs. Henry Holt & Co., Mr. Burnett says (p. iv):

"Storm is a thorough realist and draws upon the resources of his native district for the material of his sketches. He is fond of heightening the effects of his stories by a simple but effective local background. His love of nature is a prominent characteristic of all his writings, and appears very conspicuously in *Immensee*."

On the 'southern accent' the note (p. 50) is:

"The scene of the story is presumably laid in Schleswig, or somewhere in North Germany, and the implication is that after the melancholy ending of this episode of his youth, the hero of the story spent several years, or perhaps the most of his life, in South Germany."

In a note on p. 58, *Immensee* is spoken of as a "fictitious North-German country seat."

Mr. Dauer in the edition published by the American Book Company, makes no statement on the subject (but locates Husum, Storm's birthplace, in Holstein instead of Schleswig).

In the English edition published (also in New York) by Maynard, Merrill & Co., Mr. Beresford-Webb says (p. iii):

"The author was brought up in the surroundings he so vividly and picturesquely describes."

All this is about as logical as to place the scene of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in New England because the author was born there. The distinctness of color and exactness of detail in the scenic background of *Immensee* is one of its most striking literary characteristics, especially in contrast to the intentional indefiniteness of much of the human foreground. The emotional aspect of this treatment is colored by Storm's own personality, and this, in turn, doubtless by his early surroundings, but the scenic detail is definitely and intentionally Southern German. One feature is absolutely decisive, and a number of others are sufficiently characteristic to complete the local color, though not to make it realistically provincial, as would have been the case if the author were describing his native district. The large open vineyards of *Gut Immensee* are as out of place in Schleswig-Holstein as a cotton plantation in Maine. Grapevines are grown all over Germany, and even in Denmark, by training them on the south sides of whitened walls, which reflect the sun, just as cotton might be grown in Maine, if it were worth while, but *vineyards* belong exclusively to Middle and Southern Germany, in fact, are the very feature by which, to the German imagination, the South is chiefly distinguished from the North. The northern limit of vine-culture in Europe crosses Central Germany in an irregular line, whose landmarks are Bonn on the Rhine, Frankfurt on the Main, Naumburg on the Saale, and Grünberg and Bomst on the Oder—the most northern point being considerably south of the latitude of Berlin. This fact makes the question of location fundamental and not a mere detail.

The scenery of *Immensee* contains none of the characteristic features of a Schleswig landscape; all of its features may be southern, and some of them must be. Ninety-five per-cent of the hops in Germany are grown in the South, though they are found in limited districts further North. The *aufgebundene Pfirsisch- und Aprikosenbäume* might, in favorable locations, belong to any part of Germany. The *Spritfabrik*, if intended for the distillation of spirits from grain or potatoes, might be northern, but if for the distillation of fruit brandy it would have to be southern, and would not be characteristically German at all. The *Heidekraut* openings are not the 'sunburnt heath' of the North, and the description of the forest vegetation points to an earlier ripening of flowers and fruits than belongs to the northern region.

The scenery of *Immensee* is too mountainous for Schleswig-Holstein, whose only hill region would hardly offer a distant view which *durch blaue Berge geschlossen wurde*.

The use of dialect is sparing and not realistic. The peasant's speech is colloquial rather than pure dialect, but it is distinctly not North German, and the address to Reinhardt as *der Herr* is a southern usage, as is Erich's exclamation *gelt* and Reinhardt's greeting *Gott grüss dich*. The derivation of the word *Immensee* (*Imme*, 'bee,' common in northern and southern, but not in central dialects) is of less importance in an imaginary than in a real place. Storm probably took the name from that of a well-known Swiss lake without reference to its derivation.

The songs which Reinhardt receives from his country friend are southern, for they include Tyrolese *Schnaderhüpferl* (which, by the way, Erich seems to be able to understand). Of the two songs of this collection given in our story, one is common all over Germany, the other is Storm's own composition.

The native city of Reinhardt and Elizabeth is located by the fact that it is near enough to *Immensee* for Erich to send the canary and to come himself as a frequent and over-persistent lover. The city in which we first meet the hero as an old man, on the other hand, is defi-

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nitely located in North Germany by the mention of the 'southern accent,' and by the North German words *Pesel* and *Hausdiele*.

In view of the number of students who get their first knowledge of Germany as well as of German from the story of *Immensee*, it seems to me that attention should be called to this prevalent misconception.

CHESTER H. ROWELL.
University of Illinois.

RICHARD MULCASTER.

TO THE EDITORS OF MOD. LANG. NOTES,

SIRS:—In the March number of the last volume of this Journal (xii, 1897) Mr. Leo Wiener has devoted several pages to Richard Mulcaster. He regrets that this pioneer of English Philology in the sixteenth century has been entirely forgotten, and he concludes by saying that "it is now time to open for him the gates of the histories of language and literature." I beg to state that Mulcaster is not unknown to those who have studied the history of Modern English sounds on the basis of Ellis' admirable work *On Early English Pronunciation*. In the third volume of this store-house of information, published 1871, he gives on pp. 910–915 copious extracts from Mulcaster's *Elementarie*, and those materials have been made use of; for example, by Kluge in Paul's *Grundriss der Germanischen Philologie* i, 859, and by myself in *Anglia* xiv, 277, 295, xvi, 463.

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SPANISH READINGS.

TO THE EDITORS OF MOD. LANG. NOTES,

SIRS:—Upon preparing the corrections for the second edition of my *First Spanish Readings*, I have worked carefully through the lengthy review given it in your columns (vol. xii, Dec. 1897, 499-511; vol. xiii, Jan. 1898, 39-59) by Dr. De Haan, and I feel that I ought to say a few words in answer to the serious charges brought forward by him.

My plan in preparing the *Reader* was to give in the Glossary only the literal meaning of the words and to leave all additional help to the teacher, the Notes and the Grammar. For this reason no attempt was made to translate idioms, where the subjective point of view is of such prominence, and where the best translation is so often merely a hindering crutch. I see now that it would have been better to be less conservative, and I have made use of Dr. De Haan's criticisms, wherever it was possible to do so.

There is, however, a very large number of instances, where either the Glossary or the Notes were quite sufficient, and where it would be impossible to accept the translation suggested by Dr. De Haan. I will cite a few typical cases; p. 4, l. 2: al volver una calle de rosas, "upon turning around the corner of a path of roses" (Note, 'upon turning into a path of roses'); p. 13, l. 20: mañana sobreviviremos los dos á la batalla, "to-morrow we two shall live longer than the battle;" (Gloss., 'to-morrow we two shall be surviving the battle'); p. 36, l. 13: en el colmo de los dias, "in the superabundance of his days" (Gloss., 'in the prime of his days'); p. 49, l. 12: fué ludibrio y befa, "he was the laughing-stock and the laughing-stock" (Gloss., 'he was the derision and the scorn'); p. 51, l. 18: el corralón se venia abajo de aplausos, "the court tumbled down with applause" (Gloss., 'the court came down with applause'); p. 106, l. 32: el súbito apagarse del universo, "the sudden snuffing-out of the universe," (Gloss., 'the sudden destruction of the universe.')

The following instances, where the Glossary is deficient, show the some unacceptable English: p. 57, l. 17: domada á la alta escuela, "trained in high horsemanship;" p. 67, l. 26: y cuando el toro tira la cabezada, "and when the bull lets fly the blow with the head;" p. 72, l. 1: por una corrida de toros dejo yo la gloria eterna, "for a bull-fight I forsake eternal glory;" p. 72, l. 13: estirar la pata, "to kick the bucket."

In another large number of cases Dr. De Haan merely adds an unnecessary synonym: p. 3, l. 26: tornar, "to go back," (Gloss., 'to return'); p. 13, l. 3: murmurar, "to whisper" (Gloss., 'to murmur'); p. 37, l. 33: sayón, "henchman" (Gloss., 'executioner'); p. 51, l. 19: corrido, "filled with shame," (Gloss., 'ashamed'); p. 61, l. 11: solicitar, "to seek to obtain," (Gloss., 'to court'); p. 84, l. 23: dejar, "to abstain," (Gloss., 'to leave off'); p. 95, l. 5: dar rienda suelta, "to give vent to," (Gloss., 'to give free rein to'). The review is filled with instances of a similar nature.

JOHN E. MATZKE.
Paris.

BOIL, JOIN, AN' BILE, JINE.

TO THE EDITORS OF MOD. LANG. NOTES,

SIRS:—It was not until now that I became acquainted with Mr. Edwin W. Bowen's article on "The history of a Vulgarism" in vol xi (1896) of your Journal, p. 185 (col. 370), discussing the pronunciation of *boil, join*, etc., like *bile, jine*. Allow me to call Mr. Bowen's and your readers' attention to the fact that this subject was treated by me six years ago in the *Anglia* (vol. xiv, p. 266–302). I tried to show that *oi* (*oy*) in Middle English as well as in Early Modern English had two pronunciations answering the different sounds of their Anglo-Norman (and French) bases. The one was [*oi*], which is general now; the other was [*iu*], which in the first half of the seventeenth century developped into [*ɔi*], just as *u* (in *but, sun*) into [*ɔ*], and so became identical with the sound of M. E. *i* as in *time*. This pronunciation was gradually supplanted in educated speech by the sound [*oi*] suggested by the spelling, but it is still alive in the vulgarisms *jine, bile*, etc.

KARL LUICK.
University of Graz (Austria).

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VOL. XIII. NOVEMBER, 1898. No. 7.

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

A. MARSHALL ELLIOTT, MANAGING EDITOR.
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(CONTINUED ON PAGE 8.)

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MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES.

Baltimore, November, 1898.

THE UNITY OF PLACE IN THE CID.

It is usually conceded that the unity of place is not observed in the *Cid*, that its non-observance was one of the points criticised by Scudéry, and that this criticism together with the Academy's sanction of it was one of the many causes all working together towards the final establishment of the law of the strict observance of the unity of place in the French theater.

This criticism of Scudéry in his *Observations sur le Cid* follows after a lengthy examination of the action of the play, and is couched in the following often cited words:

". . . . . disons encore que le théâtre en est si mal entendu, qu'un même lieu représentant l'appartement du Roi, celui de l'Infante, la maison de Chimène et la rue, presque sans changer de face, le spectateur ne sait le plus souvent où sont les acteurs."[1]

The Academy pronounced as follows:

"Quant au théâtre, il n'y a personne à qui il ne soit évident, qu'il est mal entendu dans ce poëme, et qu'une même scène y représente plusieurs lieux. Il est vrai que c'est un defaut que l'on trouve en la plupart de nos poëmes dramatiques, et auquel il semble que la négligence des poëtes ait accoutumé les spectateurs. Mais l'auteur de celui-ci, s'étant mis si à l'étroit pour y faire rencontrer l'unité du jour, devoit bien aussi s'efforcer d'y faire rencontrer celle du lieu, qui est bien autant nécessaire que l'autre, et faute d'être observée avec soin, produit dans l'esprit des spectateurs autant ou plus de confusion et d'obscurité."[2]

Before entering into the discussion of the intention of these criticisms it will be necessary to call attention again to the scenic conditions under which the first representations of the *Cid* were given. There can be no longer any question, that the *Cid* was written for and played with the so-called multiplex decoration, which may be looked upon as an indoor adaptation of the old mystery stage, and which had been in use ever since the Confrères de la Passion established their theater in the Hôpital de la Trinité and later in the Hôtel de Bourgogne. The old mystery play could represent many different localities, and these would be all before the eyes of the spectators during the whole of the representation. The actors would appear in the different localities represented, and the action would thus be transferred from *mansion* to *mansion*, as the play might demand. This was all well enough on a larger open air stage, where space could be had at will. When, however, the theater found its home within the narrow rectangular limits of the Hôtel de Bourgogne or some tennis court, the scenery became necessarily cramped and compressed. The effect was shown in two ways; namely, the number of *mansions* was lessened, (usually there were five or six), and the scenery, which had heretofore been parallel with the front of the stage was broken, so as to accomodate itself to the three sides.

This new stage setting brought with it fundamental changes in the manner of acting, and the most important of these was the following. Since the best seats were in the gallery which extended along the sides of the rectangular hall, it followed that the occupants of these seats could never see the action, as long as it progressed in those *mansions* which were on the same side of the hall as their seats. In consequence the actors would step forward from their particular *mansions* to the front of the stage, where the whole audience could see them, and by general consent the central portion of the stage was then accepted as that particular locality where the actors in reality ought to be. Thus in spite of the position of the actors, the action still went from one side of the stage to the other as before. The technical term for this progress of the action was "la scène change de face," that is, by the arrival of new actors from a different portion of the decoration, the action was transported to a different locality.

As the classic notions gained adherents among actors, authors and the audience, this mode of playing according to Rigal[3] was utilized to give the appearance of a certain fictitious unity of place to the play. This was

1 Marty-Laveaux, *Œuvres complètes de Corneille*, xii, p. 455.

2 Marty-Laveaux, *l. c.*, p. 482.

3 Alexandre Hardy, p. 206.

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constructed as though it were to be played with multiplex decoration, but the divisions in the decoration were badly defined and the different *mansions* were scarcely distinct. The actors then stood in the front of the stage and paid no attention to the decoration. This, Rigal thinks, had been the method in the early representations of the *Cid*, and will explain the criticisms of Scudéry and the Academy.

The explanation is accepted by Prof. Warren,[4] who then proceeds to interpret the strictures of Scudéry and the Academy on this basis. His conclusions are as follows. Just as Corneille had invented a new interpretation for the unity of time in *La Veuve* (that is, a day for each act), so he attempts here to find a new interpretation for that of place, "a compromise between the requirements of the purists and the freedom of Hardy's scenery." Surrounded by such an indefinite multiplex decoration as Rigal supposes, "the characters in *le Cid* came entirely away from their respective abiding-places, and stood in the middle of the stage." Thus the open square in the play was both the real and the assumed place of action and the result was "a 'theatrical fiction,' a unity of place which satisfied neither the crowd fond of spectacular effects, nor the strict disciples of Aristotle and Horace. And so it had to go the way Corneille's compromise for unity of time had gone."

The arguments brought forward in support of this explanation are, however, not convincing, nor does it seem to bring out the true meaning of Scudéry's criticism. That such a mode of playing as Rigal describes was actually in vogue seems reasonably certain, but whether it was or was not used for the *Cid* depends entirely upon the meaning of Scudéry's remark, and the considerations brought forward in this paper will prove, I hope, that its best explanation is found from the point of view of a logical use of the multiplex decoration and from the structure of the play. Nor do I think that the often-cited passage from Mondory's letter to Balzac of Jan. 18, 1637, which seems to prove that the custom of allowing a part of the audience to sit on the sides of the stage dates from the early representations of the *Cid*, can be advanced in support of this opinion. The language of that passages is quite dark and does not necessarily have the meaning which is often given to it. On the other hand, we have definite evidence that the custom did not become established for several years after the appearance of the *Cid*. That it did not yet exist in 1640 seems to appear from the remarks about stage decoration in chapter eleven of Mesnardière's *Poëtique*, and this date is confirmed by d'Aubignac's silence on this matter in his chapter entitled 'Projet pour le rétablissement du théâtre Français,' at the end of his *Pratique du Théâtre*. This 'Projet' was written at the suggestion of Richelieu and approved by him,[6] hence it must have been completed before the end of the year 1642. The rest of the *Pratique*, though published only in 1657, was written between the years 1640 and 1650.[7] A passage in Tallemant des Réaux,[8] which can be cited next, however, proves that the custom had gained a firm foothold in 1657.

The arguments which Warren brings, to prove his thesis that Corneille in the *Cid* attempted a new interpretation of the unity of place, fail to be convincing. The only documents upon which conclusions as to the dramatic theories of Corneille in 1636 can be based are his plays, and the various prefatory epistles which precede them. The *Examens* and the *Discours des Trois Unités* were written in 1660 after years of thinking and writing, when d'Aubignac's *Pratique* was still fresh from the press, and are in many instances an answer to d'Aubignac, though his name is never once mentioned by Corneille. In his early practice we find him varying for the unity of place between different localities in the same town (*Mélite*, *la Veuve*, *la Galerie du Palais*), buildings around an open square (*La Place Royale*, *Médée*), places that can be reached in twenty-four hours (*Clitandre*) and a single locality (*la Suivante*, *l'Illusion Comique*).

4 Mod. Lang. Notes, Vol. x (1895), cols. 1–10.

5 La foule a été si grande à nos portes, et notre lieu s'est trouvé si petit, que les recoins du théâtre qui servaient les autres fois comme de niches aux pages, ont été des places de faveur pour les cordons bleus, et la scène y a été d'ordinaire parée de croix de chevaliers de l'ordre.

6 Cf. Arnaud, Étude sur la vie et les Œuvres de l'abbé d'Aubignac, Paris, 1887, p. 185.

7 Cf. Arnaud, *l. c.*, p. 216. 8 *Historiettes*, vii, p. 178.

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Of early theoretic utterances on the subject we have only the 'Épître au lecteur' of *la Veuve*, written in 1634 and the 'Épître' of *la Suivante*, written in 1637. In the former occurs the following passage:

"Pour l'unité de lieu et d'action, ce sont deux règles que j'observe inviolablement; mais j'interprète la dernière à ma mode; et la première, tantôt je la resserre à la seule grandeur du théâtre, et tantôt je l'étends jusqu'à toute une ville, comme en cette pièce. Je l'ai poussé dans le Clitandre jusques aux lieux où l'on peut aller dans les vingt et quatre heures; mais bien que j'en pusse trouver de bons garants et de grands examples dans les vieux et nouveaux siècles, j'estime qu'il n'est que meilleur de se passer de leur imitation en ce point. Quelque jour je m'expliquerai davantage sur ces matières; mais il faut attendre l'occasion d'un plus grand volume: cette préface n'est déjà que trop longue pour une comédie."

The passage in the 'Épître' of *la Suivante* reads as follows:

Son lieu [that of *la Suivante*] n'a point plus d'étendue que celle du théâtre . . . . . J'espère un jour traiter ces matières plus à fond . . . . Cependant mon avis est celui de Térence; puisque nous faisons des poëmes pour être représentés, notre premier but doit être de plaire à la cour et au peuple, et d'attirer un grand monde à leurs représentations. Il faut, s'il se peut, y ajouter les règles, afin de ne déplaire aux savants, et recevoir un applaudissement universel; mais surtout gagnons la voix publique; autrement notre pièce aura beau être régulière, si elle est sifflée au théâtre, les savants n'oseront se déclarer en notre faveur, et aimeront mieux dire que nous aurons mal entendu les règles, que de nous donner des louanges quand nous serons décriés par le consentement général de ceux qui ne voient la comédie que pour se divertir."

Inasmuch as this 'Épître' appeared in 1637, when the Quarrel of the *Cïd* was at its height, it is here that we should expect some allusion to or defense of his new fictitious unity of place, had he had such an object in view in writing the play, as he had mentioned his compromise for the unity of time in the prefatory letter to *la Veuve*. In place of that the letter reads like a victorious outcry against his critics, that in spite of their criticisms the *Cïd* had pleased the people.

Warren's supposition is further invalidated by Corneille's actual practice for years to come. We find the same wide interpretation of the unity of place in nearly all of his plays up to the time when the 'Examens' and the 'Discours' were written. Only *Horace*, *Polyeucte* and *Pompée* are strictly regular. In his other plays we find an interpretation of the term regulated by the exigencies of the plot. The action now takes place in different wings of a palace as in *Cinna*, *Rodogune*, *Héraclius*, *Théodore*, or in different localities in the same town as in the *Menteur*, the *Suite du Menteur* and *Don Sanche d'Aragon*. And that his theory remained in accord with his practice appears from the third 'Discours.' There he speaks of the difficulties which are encountered in a strict observance of the unity of place, maintains that it is not always possible to introduce it, and defends his own interpretation, which he reiterates in the following sentence: "J'accorderais très-volontiers que ce qu'on feroit passer en une seule ville auroit l'unité de lieu." But in 1660 the battle for a narrow unity of place, in theory at least, had been won and he is conscious that his arguments will not be found convincing. Hence he is ready to look for a compromise, and this he offers in the following words:

"Les jurisconsultes admettent des fictions de droit; et je voudrois à leur exemple introduire des fictions de théâtre, pour établir un lieu théâtral qui ne seroit ni l'appartement de Cléopatre, ni celui de Rodogune dans la pièce qui porte ce titre, ni celui de Phocas, de Léontine ou de Pulchérie, dans Héraclius; mais une salle sur laquelle ouvrent ces divers appartements, à qui j'attribuerois deux priviléges: l'un, que chacun de ceux qui y parleroient fût présumé y parler avec le même secret que s'il étoit dans sa chambre; l'autre, qu'au lieu que dans l'ordre commun il est quelquefois de la bienséance que ceux qui occupent le théâtre aillent trouver ceux qui sont dans leur cabinet pour parler à eux, ceux-ci pussent les venir trouver sur le théâtre, sans changer cette bienséance, afin de conserver l'unité de lieu et la liaison des scènes."

All of which sounds like a cry of despair and is equivalent to saying: 'I can't see how you are going to construct a play according to your notions, but if you must have unity of place, this is the only kind of unity which will do.' It was, however, accepted and Mahelot's *Mémoire*, where the decoration of the *Cïd* in 1673 is described as: "Le théâtre est une chambre à quatre portes. Il faut un fauteuil pour le roi," shows its application.

We might continue to show that an attempt

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on the part of Corneille to introduce a compromise for the unity of place in the *Cid* in 1636, would place him quite in advance of his time, but such a discussion would take us too far afield. The truth of this assertion is made evident from the investigations of Otto in his introduction to Jean de Mairet's *Silvanire*, Bamberg, 1890, and Stieff, *Corneille's seiner Vorgänger und Zeitgenossen Stellung zu Aristoteles und den drei Einheiten, und Corneille als Theoretiker bis zum Erscheinen seiner drei Discours im Jahre 1660*, Breslau, 1893. What is of importance, however, is to point out that Scudéry was not a person who could criticise Corneille even theoretically for his lack of observance of the unity of place.

Scudéry's *Ligdamon* appeared in 1631, and in the preface to this tragi-comedy he takes occasion to touch upon the question of the unities. The passage in point is printed by Otto, *l. c.*, p. cxiii. His object is to guard himself against the accusation of ignorance of the pseudo-Classic rules, but he adds:

"j'ai voulu me dispenser de ces bornes trop estroites, faisant changer aussi souvent de face à mon théâtre, que les Acteurs y changent de lieux; chose qui selon mon sentiment a plus d'esclat que la vieille Comédie."

In a later play, the *Comédie des Comédiens*, played in 1634 and printed the year following, he even goes so far as to make sport of the rules. In the *Prince déguisé* (1636) we meet with the same licence. In the preface to this play occurs the following sentence:

"Le superbe appareil de la Scene, la face du Théâtre, qui change cinq ou six fois entièrement, à la représentation de ce Poëme . . . . . tout cela (dis-je) estant joint ensemble, est capable de donner des graces à ce qui n'en a point."[9]

In his next tragedy, *La Mort de César* (1636) he seems to have reached a different attitude, for he can say of it:

"je sçais bien que cette Tragédie est dans les regles, qu'elle n'a qu'une principale action, où toutes les autres aboutissent, que la bienséance des choses s'y voit observée, le Théâtre assez bien entendu."

But in the very next piece entitled *Didon*, a tragedy written in the same year, and which left the press on May 23, 1637, he shows plainly that his change of attitude was only temporary.

[9] Otto, *l. c.*, p. xciv.

In the 'Avertissement' of this play he says:

"Après cela, il ne me reste plus qu'à vous confesser ingenuement, que cette piece est un peu hors de la severité des Regles, bien que je ne les ignore pas: mais souvenez vous (je vous prie), qu'ayant satisfaict les sçavans par elles, il faut parfois contenter le peuple par la diversité des spectacles, et par les differentes faces du Théâtre."

The *Cid* had appeared in print on March 23, 1637, only a few weeks before, and the *Observations* of Scudéry followed it very closely. The exact date does not seem to be known as Picot, *Bibliographie Cornélienne*, does not mention it, but in the beginning of June, 1637, Scudéry wrote a letter to the Academy concerning their authority to pass judgment on the merits of the *Cid*, and in it he mentions incidentally that three editions of his *Observations* were exhausted and promises a fourth one—which, however, never appeared. It is evident that Scudéry could not criticise Corneille for non-observance of the unity of place. The very tone of his 'Avertissement' to *Didon*, which appeared practically at the same time as his *Observations*, laid him open to criticism, which would certainly have been given, had not his strictures been intended and understood differently. Scudéry's criticism must, therefore, have been directed against another supposed weakness of the play, and that was, as I shall show, the technique, or handling of the multiplex decoration, which as a matter of fact is in several instances open to serious criticism. To make the truth of this assertion evident, it will be necessary to examine in detail the action of the *Cid*. Before doing that, however, another statement of Prof. Warren's must be examined. In the article cited above, col. 7, he makes the assertion: "What was unusual in *le Cid* was the position of the actors in the middle of the stage, whatever might be the spot, where they were supposed to be." This statement is misleading. Rigal, *l. c.*, p. 188, cites numerous passages proving that this custom was in vogue already in Hardy's time. The additional evidence, that it was used also in the Galerie du Palais is, therefore, of small moment, but it is interesting nevertheless to quote the passage which contains it. It is found in the 'Examen' of that play:

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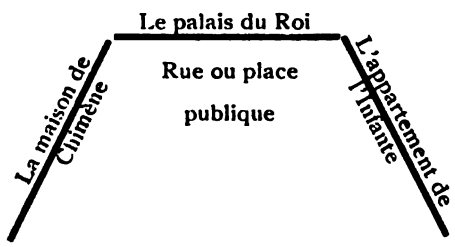
"Célidée et Hippolyte . . . ne sont pas d'une condition trop élevée pour souffrir que leurs amants les entretiennent à leur porte. Il est vrai que ce qu'elles y disent seroit mieux dit dans une chambre ou dans une salle, *et même ce n'est que pour se faire voir aux spectateurs qu'elles quittent cette porte, où elles devroient être retranchées*, et viennent *parler au milieu de la scene*; mais c'est un accomodement de théâtre qu'il faut souffrir pour trouver cette rigoureuse unité de lieu qu'exigent les grands réguliers."

Thus the *Cid* was played with a multiplex decoration, the actors standing in the middle or front of the stage, but indicating to the audience the particular locality of each scene by some remark at its beginning or by the direction from which they entered on the stage. An examination of the action of the play from this point of view will show that the criticisms of Scudéry were well-founded. The localities necessary for the play are four in number; Corneille in the 'Examen' of the *Cid* names them as follows: *Le palais du Roi, l'appartement de l'Infante, la maison de Chimène* and *une rue ou place publique*.[10] These may have been arranged in the following manner.



The palace of the King occupied the back of the stage, and the sides were filled up by the *appartements* of the Infanta on one side and the house of Chimène on the other. Which of these two occupied the right wing of the stage and which the left, it is impossible to decide and is a matter of no consequence. The open space between these three *mansions* is the fourth locality, the *rue ou place publique*.

Act I. The first scene, as it was arranged by Corneille in the edition of 1664 and as it reads to-day, seems to take place in the room of Chimène. This, however, was not the original opening of the play. The original play, and this is the one for us to consider, began with two scenes, which Corneille in 1664 consolidated. The first of these evidently takes place in the open square before the house of Chimène, and is a dialogue between her father the count, and Elvire her confidant. Elvire mentions the two suitors for Chimène's love, but adds that the latter expects the decision to come from her father. The count shows that he favors the selection of Rodrigue. He authorizes Elvire to tell Chimène of his choice, and leaves her to enter the palace, where the council of the King is to meet. Before Elvire can turn into the house, Chimène comes out to inquire after the result of the interview. (Scene 2). The scene ends with Chimène's saying:

> "Allons, quoi qu'il en soit, en attendre l'issue" (58).

Both turn and enter the house of Chimène. Curiously enough this line has remained in the revised first scene, and now makes an unlikely end to a scene which takes place in the room of Chimène.

Scene 3 showed the Infanta, her confidant Léonor and a page stepping out of the house of the Infanta. The opening lines apprise the audience of the reason why the Infanta appears in the open square:

> "Page, allez avertir Chimène de ma part
> Qu'aujourd'hui pour me voir elle attend un peu tard,
> Et que mon amitié se plaint de sa paresse." (59–61.)

The stage direction, "Le page rentre," which now follows directly after this speech, was lacking in the first editions of 1637 and 1638; in the edition of 1644 it stood three lines further on after Léonor's answer. Evidently, however, the page here entered the house of Chimène to carry the message. In the dialogue which follows we learn of the love of the Infanta for Rodrigue, the wise counsel of Léonor to battle against this love and the Infanta's resolution to further the marriage between Chimène and Rodrigue as a safeguard against herself. Before she can compose her features the page brings the news that Chimène is coming (136). Léonor is sent ahead to prevent her appearance (137–140), and after a short monologue (141–150) the Infanta also enters the house of Chimène.

Scene 4 showed the Count and Diègue, the

[10] They are again referred to in the *Discours des trois unités*, and are the same as those mentioned by Scudéry.

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father of Rodrigue, coming out of the palace of the King. The council is over and Dièguе has been appointed preceptor of the young prince. The quarrel between the two reaches its climax almost instantly, and after a dialogue of seventy-five lines the fateful blow is given (226). Ten lines more and the count turns to his own house, while Dièguе is left alone. After a pathetic monologue (Scene 5) in which the old man bemoans the weakness of his age, Rodrigue comes up (Scene 6), and he is at once charged with the duty of avenging the insult to his aged father. After line two hundred and ninety Dièguе leaves him alone and in Scene 7 we have a monologue of Rodrigue full of pathos for the sad obstacle that has come to thwart his passion. The act ends leaving Rodrigue thus in the open square.

While the unity of place has been kept intact and was evidently the open square throughout the act, the arrangement of the last four scenes is nevertheless open to criticism. Dièguе and the Count appeared from the palace of the King, thereby leading the audience to suppose that the locality had changed, and nothing in their dialogue could correct this impression. This may, therefore, be one of the faults criticised by Scudéry, but Corneille's later statements in the 'Discours' and the 'Examen' can have no reference to this criticism. In the 'Discours' he says:

"Comme la liaison des scènes n'y est pas gardée, le théâtre, des le premier acte est la maison de Chimène, l'appartement de l'Infante dans le palais du Roi et la place publique; le second y ajoute la chambre du Roi; et sans doute il y a quelque excès dans cette licence."

This sentence can refer only to a later period when the multiplex scenery had been abolished and when the *Cid* was played in simpler setting. And the same is true of his remark in the 'Examen.' After mentioning the different localities of the play. he continues there:

"On le détermine (the place of each scene) aisément pour les scènes détachées; mais pour celles qui ont leur liaison ensemble, comme les quatre dernières du premier acte, il est malaisé d'en choisir un qui convienne à toutes."

This and the suggestion which follows, that the spectators should 'help the scenery' and suppose people walking who are standing still, or that a character (Don Dièguе, for instance) has entered his house, while he is still at the same place on the stage as before, receives its true meaning only when considered in connection with the simpler conditions which prevailed when the 'Examen' was written.

Act II. The act opens with a scene between the Count and Don Arias, who comes as a messenger from the King to induce him to make the necessary overtures, so that the quarrel may be settled amicably. There is no indication of the particular place of action, and since the scene may reasonably take place either in the house of Chimène or in the open square, the audience might be uncertain unless the position of the actors at the opening of the act was sufficient to make the locality clear, which was evidently the open square. After line three hundred and ninety-two Don Arias leaves and the Count remains alone. Before he can enter his house Rodrigue comes up, who has been looking for him to provoke him to a duel. The scene continues in the open square, which is its most natural place of action. In the duodecimo edition of the year 1637 in line five hundred and three the page in describing this scene to the Infanta said: "Hors de la ville ils sont sortis ensemble," which was perfectly clear and in harmony with the progress of the action. But curiously enough in the earlier quarto editions of the same year and in all later versions this line reads: "De ce palais ils son sortis ensemble," thus confusing the place of action from the point of view of a multiplex decoration, to say nothing of the improbability that Rodrigue should have come to challenge the Count within the palace of the King. It seems probable, therefore, that the duodecimo edition, which was put on the market because it was more readily sold on account of its price and size,[11] contains the version in use on the stage while the multiplex decoration lasted. That it did not become the final reading must be due to the fact that the multiplex decoration began to fall into disuse soon after the year 1637. Rigal maintains that it was no longer used for *Cinna* (1640).[12]

Scene 3 is acted by the Infanta, Chimène and Léonor. The quarrel is discussed and

11 Cf. Picot, *l. c.*, p. 17. 12 *L. c.*, p. 206, note.

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the Infanta suggests as a possible remedy that tragic consequences might be avoided if she would retain Rodrigue as her prisoner until the difficulty could be arranged. The scene itself contains no indication as to its place of action, but this was evidently made sufficiently clear by the appearance of the actors from the *appartements* of the Infanta. The page is then called (Scene 4) to fetch Rodrigue, and he relates the action of Scene 2. Chimène returns promptly to her own house (Scene 5), leaving the Infanta and Léonor alone. They discuss the new turn which the matter has taken and the Infanta gains fresh hope for a happy realization of her own love for Rodrigue. The end of this scene must have tended to trouble the spectator. The Infanta says (555):

"Viens dans mon cabinet consoler mes ennuis."

But the place of action had not changed since the beginning of Scene 3, and the impression had been created that it was the appartment of the Infanta, and now she says to her confident: 'Let us return to my appartment to talk the matter over.'

With Scene 6 the place of action changes again ("le théâtre change de face"). Don Fernand, Don Arias and Don Sanche come out of the palace, hence the action is supposed to take place within it. Since in line seven hundred and sixty-five it is said that "Chimène est au palais," with reference to Act II, Scene 8, this point of view is evidently correct. Don Sanche reports the unsuccessful result of his mission. In Scene 7 the same place of action is continued. Don Alonse comes up to announce the death of the Count and the approach of Chimène. The latter appears at once (Scene 8) and demands justice. The king promises to take the matter under consideration, and sends her home under the escort of Don Sanche.

Act III. Scene 1 takes place in the house of Chimène, where Rodrigue has come to seek an interview with her. To make the place of action clear both Rodrigue and Elvire must enter on the stage from the house of Chimène. When she and Don Sanche appear, Rodrigue hides "derrière une tapisserie," that is, behind the scene, as appears from the *Observations* of Scudéry.[13] There is no indication how Chimène entered on the scene; the presumption must be that it was from the palace, for Elvire had told Rodrigue in Scene 1: "Chimène est au palais" (765). No confusion as to the place of action could arise, however, because the presence of Elvire in both scenes establishes a continuity of locality. Chimène now avows to Elvire her intention to avenge her father's death (Scene 3), when Rodrigue comes out from his place of hiding (Scene 4.). Line eight hundred and fifty-two: "Rodrigue en ma maison," recalls the scene to the audience. He begs for instant death at the hand of his mistress, but is refused, and when he goes (997) Chimène says to him:

"Adieu: sors, et surtout garde bien qu'on te voie."

He passes behind the scenery, and the women enter the house of Chimène.

Don Diègue now appears (Scene 5), and we have a complete change of scene. The front of the stage which had just now represented the house of Chimène, becomes the open square, without notice to the audience, and here, I think, is the first of the serious lapses criticised by Scudéry. To be sure, in line ten hundred and ten,[14] that is, in the middle of the scene, the confusion is cleared up, but this information should have been given at the beginning of the scene. Don Diègue, having no particular abiding-place in the decoration, could not by his mere presence make evident the place of action. Rodrigue now comes up (Scene 6) and learns from his father that his arm is needed in defense of his king. Both leave the stage to return to their home, and the act is ended.

Act IV. The entrance of Chimène and Elvire from the former's house indicates the place of action. They discuss the news of Rodrigue's victory. When in the next scene (Scene 2) the Infanta and her confident appear, evidently from their side of the stage, the very first line of the scene tells the audience that the place has not changed.[15] At the end of the scene the Infanta returns to her appartment[16] and Chimène, after remaining a few moments longer, passes through the door of her house.

13 Marty-Laveaux, *l. c.*, xii, p. 452.

14 Tout cassé que je suis, je cours toute la ville.

15 Je ne viens pas ici consoler tes douleurs (1143).

16 Adieu: tu pourras seule y penser à loisir (1207).

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With Scene 3 the place of action changes to the palace of the King, but the change is sufficiently indicated by the entrance of the actors. Don Fernand, the King, appears with his following and Rodrigue relates his victory over the Moors. The coming of Chimène to demand justice (Scene 4) is announced as in Act II, Scene 7, and Rodrigue hides behind the stage. Then Chimène appears (Scene 5) followed by Elvire. She reiterates her plea, and Don Sanche is authorized to fight a duel with Rodrigue as her champion.

Act V. In the first scene the stage represents the house of Chimène, where Rodrigue has come to offer his life to his mistress again. The opening lines explain the situation to the audience:

"Quoi! Rodrigue, en plein jour! d'où te vient cette audace?
"Va, tu me perds d'honneur; retire-toi, de grâce (1465-66).

Rodrigue answers:

"Je vais mourir, Madame, et vous viens en ce lieu
"Avant le coup mortel, dire un dernier adieu (1467-68).

The end of the scene, however, is open to criticism. Chimène leaves Rodrigue (1557) and, of course, enters the door of her house. Rodrigue must now for the remaining seven lines of the scene be supposed to be, where he actually is, in the open square, but then the place of action has changed, "et le théâtre n'a pas changé de face," so that here we have another of the flaws criticised by Scudéry.

Scene 2 is a monologue spoken by the Infanta, and the place of action is again sufficiently indicated by her appearance through the door of her appartment. The entrance of Léonor (Scene 3) does not change the place of action and this scene ends with an indication that the Infanta is again going to visit Chimène in her own house. She says to Léonor:

"Allons encore un coup le donner à Chimène.
"Et toi, qui vois les traits dont mon cœur est percé,
"Viens me voir achever comme j'ai commencé." (1642-44).

The place of action now changes again, and Scenes 4 and 5 must be supposed to take place in the house of Chimène. The appearance of Chimène and Elvire from their side of the stage (Scene 4) is sufficient to make clear the change, and when Don Sanche comes in with the sword of Rodrigue (Scene 5) the place of action does not change. The remaining scenes of the play, however, must have completely bewildered the audience. The King and his count appear from the palace (Scene 6) and Chimène confesses her love for Rodrigue. Since this and the remaining scenes must be presumed to take place in the palace of the King, the place of action has changed again, "et le théâtre n'a pas changé de face." Thus the play ends with a serious blunder as far as the technique of the multiplex decoration is concerned.

The meaning of Scudéry's criticism is clear from this analysis of the action. It is not probable that he had in mind the minor inconsistencies which have been pointed out. He meant to say:

"The technique of the stage is so poorly understood that the same place represents the appartment of the King, that of the Infanta, the house of Chimène and a street, often without indication of a change of side, and in consequence the spectator for the most part does not know where the actors are."

That the criticism is too sweeping, is evident from what has been said. It can refer with justice only to Acts III. 5, V. 1, and V. 6; but Scudéry probably used the term "le plus souvent" for the reason that the worst confusion occurs at the end of the play, and he wrote under the sway of the impression with which he left the Théâtre du Marais.

The criticism of the Academy, however, has not the same meaning at all. A careful reading of it in the present light shows that the attack is directed against the multiplex decoration in general without reference to the flaws in the structure of the *Cid*. The further remark that Corneille, since he tried to observe the unity of time, ought also to have made the same endeavor to observe that of place, follows naturally, and the resulting confusion in the mind of the audience is here attributed directly to the lack of unity of place in the play. When we take into account that Chapelain was the author of the *Sentiments* of the Academy, and that he was one of the most pronounced advocates of the time for the strictest observance of the unities,[17] this difference cannot appear strange. Either he misunderstood Scudéry, or he saw here a capital chance to further his own objects.

The results of this detailed examination of the *Cid* agree, therefore, in general with the

17 Cf. Arnaud, *l. c.*, pp. 326-347.

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statement of Lotheissen, Geschichte der französischen Litteratur im xvii. Jahrhundert, vol. ii, p. 386. Only Lotheissen's statement is too general, and attributes to the play a much looser construction than it has in reality.

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SPENSER AND The Theatre of Worldlings.

UNTIL 1891 the consensus of critics of Spenser ascribed to him two sonnet-sequences entitled *Visions of Bellay* and *Visions of Petrarch, formerly translated.* Both series were first published by Ponsonby in his collection of "stray leaves" of Spenser, the *Complaints* of 1591. We do not know that Ponsonby apprised Spenser beforehand; his apologetic preface points the other way. Previously, however, Ponsonby had enjoyed Spenser's confidence, since to him Spenser entrusted the *Faerie Queene.* We have no reason to doubt Ponsonby's good faith.

English criticism has contented itself with a general argument from antecedent probability, backed up by the asserted Spenserian 'color' of all the "Visions," not only of the '91 versions, but also of the indisputable originals in the *Theatre* of '69.[1] In 1891, however, Prof. Koeppel[2] applied "rigid philological" tests to the several series, as well as æsthetic tests, and concluded that only the "Visions of Bellay" of '91 were by Spenser. I am not aware that he has been answered.

The original of the translations from Petrarch in the *Theatre of Worldlings*, 1569, is really Marot's version of Petrarch's *Canzone III in morte Laura.* Koeppel's proof is final. The translator, whoever he was, employed by Vander Noodt (or Roest?) follows Marot accurately. His translation, though rhymed, is surprisingly literal.

The same literainess is true, *mutatis mutandis*, of the Bellay series of '69.

The revised versions in the *Complaints* of '91 are of different calibre. The Petrarch series are "improved" for the worse; the Bellay series likewise, and the four additional, newly translated sonnets from Bellay betray "crass ignorance" of French. Koeppel asks:

Kann ein schriftsteller aus derselben sprache einmal genau, in ängstlichem anschluss an das original, und richtig, das andere mal ungenau und falsch übersetzen . . .?

Prof. Koeppel answers in the negative, and denies the Spenserian authorship of all except the Bellay series of '91. These *den stempel Spenser'scher mache in unverkennbarster weise tragen*, and they are badly enough translated to have been by the author of the "Shepheards Calendar" and "The Ruines of Rome."

Waiving the perhaps sufficient rejoinder that a translator's conditions may vary,—in the temporary possession of a "trot," in being fresh in the subject, etc.—let us examine the alleged *mangelhafte kenntnis* of the translator of '91.

In *VP.* (*Visions of Petrarch*) '91 there are no errors. The only objection urged against their Spenserian authorship, besides the absence of *mis*translation, is the occurence in '69 and '91 of the licentious rhyme *floure: endure* (Son. VI, v. 79)

Dieser bindung lässt sich weder aus Spenser's Complaints, noch aus seinen dichtungen Colin Clouts Come Home Againe, Amorelti, Fowre Hymnes, Daphnaïda, Prothalamion und Epithalamion ein entsprechender reim zur seite stellen. Spenser hält die -oure und -ure worte streng geschieden, beide klassen reimen nur unter sich.

It is a pity, having sought so far, Dr. Koeppel did not also test the *Faerie Queene.* Here I find the rhymes *towre: endure: sure* (*F. Q.* II. ix, st. 21), *bowre: coniure: recure* (V. x, 26), also the approximates *bowres: yours* (I. v, 14), *bowre: doore* (I. viii, 37), and the very common coupling *bowre: haviour* (II. ii, 15).

The *VB.* (*Visions of Bellay*) '91 had to transfer blank verse into sonnets; they also include original rhymed translations. To consider the latter first: Son. VI unquestionably mistranslates Bellay:

Et d'un col allongé la Louue les lecher—

by

While she her neck wreath'd from them for the nones.
Throwing out thousand threbs in her owne seyle.

Also misses

Poussant mille sanglots, se neautrer en son sang.

But, on the other hand, can any translator, however bad, not know the word "*sang?*"

1 Summed in Grosart, ed. Spenser I, iii.

2 *Eng. Stud.*, xv. 53-81.

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Surely "soyle" is a deliberate change, actuated perhaps for the rhyme. Or may "soyle" mean 'blood-soiled state?'

In Son. VIII the rendering

> I saw it cover'd all with griesly shadowes
> That with black horror did the ayre appall—

of

> *Ie le uy tout couuert d'une obscure bruine,*
> *Qui s'eleuoit par l'air en tourbillon fumeux—*

is a hyperbolic change in bad taste, but not a misunderstanding necessarily of the French.

In Son. XIII, version '91 renders

> *Plus riche assez que ne se monstroit celle*
> *Qui apparut au triste Florentin,*
> *Iettant ma ueue au riuage Latin,*
> *Ie uy de loing surgir une Nasselle.*

by

> Much richer then that vessell seem'd to be,
> Which did to that sad Florentine appeare,
> Casting mine eyes farre off, I chaunst to see
> Upon the Latine Coast herselfe to reare.

Koeppel complains that *Spenser wollte diese* [Bellay's] *Konstruktion nachbilden, ist dabei aber unverständlich geworden . . . Das pron. refl. herselfe schwebt vollkommen in der luft.* Spenser's "construction" is a simple, though awkward ellipsis: supply "A vessel" at the beginning, and all is clear. "Herselfe" is of course in apposition with the implicit first term of the comparison, that is, "a vessel much richer . . . . . I chaunst to see reare herselfe, etc." Clumsy, but not *unverständlich.*

In Son. XIV,

> *Il sembloit que son chef touchast au firmament,*
> *Et sa forme n'estoit moins superbe que belle:*
> *Digne, s'il en fut onc, digne d'estre immortelle,*
> *Si rien dessous le ciel si fondoit fermement—*

becomes

> It seem'd her top the firmament did rayse,
> And no lesse rich than faire, right worthie sure
> (If ought here worthie) of immortall dayes,
> Or if ought under heaven might firme endure—

Koeppel: *Von der sonderbaren übersetzung des verbums toucher und dem missverständlichen or abgesehen, sind im englischen text die worte sa forme estoit nicht wiedergegeben, sodass dieser satz ohne subjekt und verbum ist.*"

"Rayse" for *toucher* is simply heightening the hyperbole; "Or" explicates an implicit parallelism in meaning and construction; "her top" is the subject of the sentence; "it seem'd" is the principal verb with "did rayse" and "was' [understood] "right worthie" as dependent predicates. Ellipsis of dependent forms of the verb "to be" surely needs no defence in Elizabethan English.

In the '91 working over into sonnets (rhymed) of *VB.* '69, there is, as Koeppel admits, an evident effort to correct inaccuracies of detail in the '69 form. There are also, as might be expected from rhyme exigencies, occasional unimportant variations from the letter. The only error that Koeppel has noted is the change from "gladsome shade" ('69) [Bellay: *umbrage*] to "gladsome gleame." There must be a reason for this, since "shade" is no troublesome rhyming-mate. Perhaps the sanctity of "the Dodonian tree," or the fact that the tree itself was drawn in a high white light in the cuts to the *Theatre*, combined with the taking alliteration, may explain. In any case, it does not show *sehr mangelhaft kenntnis* of French.

Analysis would, I think, similarly resolve Dr. Koeppel's animadversions on "the Ruines of Rome," but it is unnecessary. *Streng philologische vergleichung* of the Petrarch-Bellay Visions leaves us precisely where we started: with all the antecedent probability in favor of the Spenserian authorship, but nothing *proved.*

There remains the "æsthetic" argument:

die gedichte des 'Theatre' von 1569 zeigen keine spur der so augenfälligen färbung der Spenser'schen sprache, während die 'Visions of Bellay' von 1591 den stempel Spenser'scher mache in unverkennbarster weise tragen.

Here is an important assertion, of which no proof, worth the name, is offered. What are the facts? Obviously only the hint of an analysis is here possible. It is sufficient however.

In all four series we have Spenser's characteristic archaised spelling; we have archaic forms peculiarly his (for example, *VP. mought, Yshrounded, outbrast*; *VB.* '69 *mought, though* (for *then*), *stroke* (for *struck*); Spenserian phrases (for example, *VB.* '69 i. 3 *drowne in . . . sleepe*—cf. *FQ.* I. i, v, 326 *FQ.* II, v, 365; *FQ.* I, iii, v, 143); Spenserian imagery, for example *VP.* IV, 5–7.

> But manie Muses, and the Nymphes withall,
> That sweetly in accord did tune their voyce
> To the soft sounding of the waters fall—

Compare *Sh. Cal.* IV. 35–6:

> Which [his laye] once he made as by a spring he laye,
> And tuned it unto the Waters fall.

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And *Sh. Cal.*, VI. 7–8:

". . . . . where Byrds of every kynde
To the waters fall their tunes attemper right.

Also *FQ.* VI. x. vv. 65, 68:

But Nymphes and Faeries by the bancks did sit . . .
. . . to the waters fall tuning their accents fit.

Dr. Koeppel, however, cannot have overlooked this "æsthetic" evidence[3] against his view, and must, therefore, hold his view in the face of it. There is a test, however, that he perhaps has not applied, and which seems conclusive. I mean the 'metrical test' as applied to the blank verse translations of Bellay. The application of this test moreover is rendered easy by the recent excellent study of Spenser's decasyllabic verse in the *Shepheards Calendar* by M. Émile Légouis.[4] I must here content myself with summarizing his results so far as they are pertinent to the present issue.

Pseudo-classical tendencies in earlier Elizabethan literature had a fossilizing effect upon verse, especially 'heroic verse.' Gradually rules, reducible in effect to three, were evolved, namely: 'heroic verse' must have (1) just ten syllables, (2) feet invariably iambic so-called, and (4) the cæsura always after the fourth syllable. Gascoigne (1576),[5] James VI (1584),[6] Puttenham (1589),[7] explicitly lay down these rules. Surrey and the other "Courtly Makers," Sackville, Gascoigne, Googe conscientiously observe them.[8] Googe even is at pains to have his conventionalized cæsura marked by a printer's device,—thus

The Muses joye,
1 2 3 4
and well they may to see,
So well theyr la—
1 2 3 4
boure com to good successe,
That they sustay—
1 2 3 4
ned long agoe in the. (Ed. Arber, p. 75.)

Spenser in the *Sh. Cal.*, on the other hand, revived for 'heroic verse' the neglected variety in unity of his self-acknowledged Master-Chaucer. With the nicest tact he constantly varied his cæsura, did not hesitate to introduce in fit places trochees, spondees, and even anapaests, by the last making verses of eleven syllables. Feminine endings also occur to make an additional syllable.

The first printed exception to the fossilized 'heroic verse' universally current in Elizabethan poetry before Spenser is the blank verse translation of Du Bellay's *Songe*—printed in the *Thertre of Worldlings*, *1569*. In this blank verse alone is to be found the same nicely calculated variety in the feet and in the cæsura which obtains of the *Sh. Cal.* One or two examples from many:

Trochee (spondee?) with caesura (6+4):

Áll ŏf / fine Diamant | dĕcking / the front— (Son. II. 3).

Trochee with cæs. (5+5):

Gŏlde wās / the parget; | and the sielyng eke— (Son. II. 9).

Anapæst with cæsura (4+6):

I saw raisde up|on pil /lĕrs ŏf fv / orie— (Son. IV. 1).

Cæsura (2+8):

On hill, | a frame an hundred cubites hie
I sawe, | an hundred pillers eke about— (Son. II. 1, 2).

Cæsura (3+7) [or perhaps (5+5)?]:

On eche side | portraide was a victorie— (Son. IV. 5).

Cæsura (7+3):

The chapters Alabaster,[9] | Christall frieses— (Son. IV. 3).

Cæsura (8+2):

A sudden tempest the heauen, | I saw— (Son. III. 13).

But there is further proof, approximately mathematical, of the identity of the poets of the *Sh. Cal.* and the *VB.* '69. I can best exhibit this evidence by a diagram:

3 As a further bit of evidence by parallelism, cf. with the three 'visions' based on the 'Apocalypse,' for which four newly translated 'visions' of Bellay were substituted in '91, a similar 'apocalyptic' vision of Duessa on the Seven Headed Beast. (*FQ.* I vii, Sts. 16–18).

4 Quomodo Edmundus Spenserus ad Chaucerum se fingens in Eclogis "The Shepheardes Calender" versum heroicum renoverit ac refecerit. Thesim fac. litt. Paris. doct. grad. adept. propon. Émile Légouis, Paris, 1896.

5 *The Steele Glas* etc. ed. Arber, p. 60 (Certayne Notes of Instruction).

6 *Essaies of a Prentice* etc. ed. Arber, p. 60.

7 *Arte of Engl. Poesie*, ed Arber, pp. 88–9.

8 See Legouis, *op. cit.* for proofs and illustrations.

9 This is not Spenser's later spelling, nor the usual Elizabethan, which is "alablaster." Cf. *VB.* '69. Son. IV. 3; *FQ.* VI. viii. v. 375; etc.

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Cæsura	(2+8)	(3+7)	(4+6)	(5+5)	6+4)	(7+3)	(8+2).	
Son. I	2	1	7	1	2	1		
II	3		3	5	3			
III	1		6	1	3	1	2	
IV		1	7	2	3	1		
V			8	4	1	1		
VI			11	2	1			
VII			6	4	3	1		
VIII	1		6	3	5			
IX		1	9	2	1	1		
X			8	2	3	1		
XI	1		5	2	6			
	8	3	76	28	31	7	2 —	155 vv.
	.05	.019	.49	.18	.20	.045	.013	%in *VB.* '69.
	.02	.03	.55	.15	.22	.02	0035	%in *Sh. Cal.* '79. (562)

The above percentage of times that the several types of cæsura occur in the decasyllabic verses (562 in all) of the *Sh. Cal.* is the calculation of M. Légouis; the percentage and enumeration of variation in the *VB.* '69 I have counted independently. The resulting comparison by percentages is instructive. The slight, very slight difference, may be easily accounted for by a slightly increased conservatism of the maturing Spenser. At 27 he adheres a little more closely to the norm (4+6) than at radical 17. Now even at another richer period of literature, when search for cæsural variety was the rule, such a mathematical equivalence in variation in the verse-schemes of two independently working poets would be little less than a marvel; in the pseudo-classically fossilized third quarter of the sixteenth Century in England the coincidence was a miracle. On this evidence alone, waiving all antecedent probability, all "æsthetic" proof by color of word, or phrase, or figure,—however, cumulative these evidences may become,—I submit that the 'metrical test' at once proves Spenser the one possible poet of the *Visions of Bellay* of '91 *and* the *Shepheards Calendar*, and further the lad of seventeen, Dan Chaucer leading, the most finished maker of blank verse before Marlowe.

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ADAUTAN, CAROUS.

MINSHEU gives in his *Spanish Dictionary* (1599) *adautan bever*, I. bever tutto, A. to carrouse; in another place he gives *beuer autan*, "to drinke as much as another drinks to him." Both seem to be borrowed from French *autant* and *d'autant*, which were in use in France before the German *gar aus* made there its appearance. The latter was known in England as early as 1559, to judge by a quotation in Murray's dictionary. It reached France previous to 1578, for there is mention made of it in Henri Estienne's *Deux dialogues du nouveau langage françois italianizé* which appeared in that year: "I'ay ouy dire souventes fois depuis mon retour, *Faire carous*: & quelquefois tout en vn mot aussi *carousser*. & n'est ce pas la raison de retenir le mot propre des Alemans, puisque le mestier vient d'eux? Comme aussi desia nos ancestres auoyent pris d'eux ce prouerbe, Bon vin, bon cheval. Car ceci est l'interpretation du proverbe Allemand . . . . gut uuein, gut ross." It is strange that Estienne should not have known the real origin of the word. "Et ce qu'on diset ia du temps de nos ancestres, *Boire d'autant*, ne reuient il pas à ce graecari, & à ce Faire carous?" This *boire d'autaut* is evidently the origin of *bever autan* and *adautan*. Neither Minsheu (in the first ed. of his *Spanish Diction-*

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ary of 1599), nor Oudin (1607) and Victor (1609), give the German form *caraus* for the Spanish. The first mention of it is in Covarrubias (1611), where it is given as "palabra Tudesca," but with a Greek etymology; he gives correctly *autan* as "palabra Francesa," and mentions *beber de autan*.

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CARADOS AND THE SERPENT.

THERE are four versions of the story of Carados and the serpent. Two of them exist in French and retain the name of Carados for their hero. They have been known as part of the Arthur cycle, but their relation to each other has not, I think, been discussed. The other two versions, which have not the name of Carados, have hitherto passed unnoticed in this connection. One is the ballad, *The Queen of Scotland*, which calls the hero, "Troy Muir." The other is a Highland tale given by Campbell, with the name of "Sheen Billy" for its hero. There is no doubt, however, that they represent the same story. My object in this paper is to bring together these four versions, and trace, so far as I can, their relation to each other.

The first version of the story is found in the first continuation of Chrétien's *Perceval le Gallois* (ed. Potvin, Vol. II pp. 191 ff.). As this part of the *Perceval* has never been rendered into English, I give here, for purposes of comparsion with later versions of the story, a somewhat detailed abstract.

Carados is the son of the enchanter Eliaures and Ysaune, the wife of King Carados. When Carados is grown to manhood he meets his father in an adventure similar to that of Gawain and the Green Knight. He cuts off his father's head, and a year later presents himself to undergo the same test. But, after a trial of his courage, his father contents himself with telling him the story of his birth. Carados, in great indignation, informs King Carados. Ysaune is shut up in a tower, and young Carados travels in search of adventure. Recalled by the king, he discovers Eliaures in the tower with his mother. To avenge her disgrace, Ysaune appeals to Eliaures, who offers to punish Carados in this way: he will create a horrible serpent and shut him up in her cupboard. When Carados visits her, she is to send him there immediately for her mirror. As soon as he puts in his hand, the serpent will wind about his arm. His flesh will then waste away, and in two years he will die. The mother agrees to this and carries out her part. The serpent winds about the arm of Carados, and his mother, Ysaune, then tells him that he has got what he deserves and that the best thing for him to do is to go forth and repent of his sins during the two years of life left to him.

Carados goes out into the forest and wanders about, seeking hermitages and religious foundations, everywhere confessing his sins. News of his trouble reaches his uncle, King Arthur. There is great grief in the court. Cador of Cornwall is especially moved and takes an oath not to spend more than one night in a place until he has found Carados. He searches through many countries, until, one evening, he finds him in an abbey. He offers to kill the serpent, but Carados will not allow it, for that would cause his own death.

The next morning they start for Nantes together, but Cador leaves his companion outside and enters the city alone. He makes his way to Queen Ysaune's tower. She faints at the sight of him. When she recovers, he reproaches her for her cruelty to her son. She admits that she is sorry, but she cannot undo what she has done. Cador then asks if there is no possible cure. She promises to consult Eliaures.

That night, as usual, Eliaures comes to the tower, and Ysaune fulfills her promise. Eliaures tells her that he himself has no power to cure Carados, but that a cure is possible if there can be found a beautiful, well-born maiden who loves Carados loyally. She can cure him. She must prepare two caldrons and fill one with milk and the other with the sourest wine she can find. She must get into the caldron of milk and Carados must get into the caldron of wine. Then she must show her breast over the edge of the caldron and pray to God to cure Carados immediately. The serpent, disliking the wine and tempted by the sweet milk, will then leave Carados and seize her breast.

Cador returns in the morning and learns what Eliaures has said. He then joins Cara-

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dos again, and the two go to Cador's native land, where Cador's sister, Guinor by name, awaits them. She is a very beautiful maiden and she loves Carados. She is in a church, praying for him and for her brother, when Cador enters. She springs to greet him and asks news of Carados. Her brother asks her why she cares. She confesses her love. Her brother, much pleased, tells her how she can save the man she loves, and she consents to the ordeal.

The baths are made ready and Carados and Guinor enter them. Guinor calls on the serpent, in the name of Jesus, to leave Carados. The serpent will no longer endure the sour wine. He unwinds from the arm, and fastens upon the maiden. But Cador, who has been standing sword in hand, strikes on the edge of the caldron and cuts off part of his sister's breast. The serpent falls to the ground between the caldrons, and Cador cuts him in pieces. He then has his sister's wound looked to. Carados bathes, and remains with Cador and his sister until he, too, is cured. News then comes that King Carados has died and that Carados has inherited his kingdom. He promptly marries Gunior and has her crowned queen at Nantes. His arm, however, was never entirely healed, but always remained smaller than his other arm. He was therefore known as Carados Brisie Bras.

This, perhaps, is the end of the serpent story proper, but there is an epilogue to it. One day Carados goes out to hunt and follows a miraculous stag, which disappears, leaving him lost in the forest. He then sees a great light and hears the singing of birds. The light approaches and passes him. In the midst of it he sees a knight leading a maiden on a white mule. He accosts the knight, but receives no reply. He then follows him until he arrives at a castle. The knight there dismounts, greets Carados by name, and welcomes him as his guest. He has taken this way to secure an interview with Carados. His name is Alardin del Lac.

Carados is disarmed, clad in rich garments and led into the presence of the women. One of them, who is especially beautiful, embraces and kisses him, bidding him welcome. She seats him beside her and asks after Queen Guinor and especially about her wounded breast. Carados declares his love for his wife. They talk for a while, then dine and sleep.

In the morning Carados prepares to return home. Alardin brings out a shield, the buckle of which has wonderful power. If a knight has lost half of his nose, a touch of this buckle will make a golden nose just like the one he had before. With other wounds it acts in the same way. Alardin offers the shield to Carados, who refuses it, but says he will gladly accept the buckle from it. Alardin tears off the buckle and gives it to him, with the remark that he knows how it will be used.

Carados, on his return home, goes immediately to his wife. He leads her into a room alone and applies the buckle to her breast. As soon as it touches her she has a breast of gold, in shape as it was before. Carados then tells her that no one must know the secret of her breast. He makes it a test of her chastity. He warns her, as an additional precaution, never to undress before women. For all his advice she thanks him.

Just after this, in the *Perceval*, comes the story of the wonderful horn, from which no man can drink without spilling, unless his wife has always been true to him. Carados alone is able to drink from it.

Potvin, in printing the *Perceval*, followed the Mons MS. In this part, however, the Montepelier MS. is fuller. It differs in some particulars and adds many details, some of which are given in Potvin's notes. To these it will be necessary to refer later.

The second version of Carados and the serpent is found in the *Roman de Renart le Contrefait*, written by the Clerk of Troyes. Two manuscripts of this exist. One manuscript is in Paris and is referred to as MS. A. The other MS. is in two volumes, the first of which is in Vienna, the second in Paris. It is known as MS. B. The two manuscripts stand in a somewhat curious relation to each other. They contain practically the same material, but the order of it has been changed freely, details have been added or omitted at will, and the wording has at times been exactly retained, and at other times, with no apparent reason for preference, it has been altered. There seems to be no doubt, however, that MS. B is a re-

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working of MS. A by the author of MS. A, the Clerk of Troyes. Statements made in the text bear this out.[1] Certain dates are given, 1319 as the date when MS. A was begun, 1322 when it was finished, and 1328 when MS. B was begun. On B the author says that he worked thirteen years. It happens fortunately that we have the story of Carados as it is written in both manuscripts. Tarbé printed it from MS. A in his *Poetes de Champagne Anterieurs au siècle de François Ier*, Reims, 1851, p. 79–82, and F. Wolf printed it from the Vienna MS. in his *Le Roman de Renart le Contrefait*, Vienna, 1861, p. 8.

As given by Tarbé the story runs in this way:

To King Arthur was presented a cup, from which no man could drink if his wife had another lover. First the king tried, and then all the knights of his court, and they all failed, excepting Quarados, known as Quarados Brunbras, a knight of great fame. He kept himself in the forest a long time because of a serpent that remained on his arm for two years. He got it through his cruel mother. She sent him to her cupboard for her comb, and she had previously put the serpent there. Quarados unsuspiciously reached in and the serpent wound about his arm. There was no help for him, so he fled to the woods. He had a large mantle made and under it he always kept his arm. He lived in the woods and no one heard news of him. He grew very pale, for the serpent caused him great agony. There was a hermit to whom Quarados went every morning to hear mass. Often he prayed for death, for he had no longer blood nor flesh.

Meanwhile the maiden whom he loved, with her brother, was seeking him everywhere. Finally they came to the chapel of the hermit. They questioned him and he led them to Quarados. But Quarados, when he saw them, ran away. Nevertheless, the maiden called after him that she would never leave him until she had cured him,—that she would rather die than have him suffer. She stood beside him, naked to the waist, that the serpent might see her. Her brother stood between them, sword in hand. "Serpent," she called, "look at me. See my white breasts. Leave that poor arm, that bone, and come to me." The serpent was about to throw himself on the maiden when the brother struck and cut the serpent in two, and then into more than ten pieces. They did not delay. Quickly afterward Quarados married the maiden. He was a guest at Arthur's court and he could drink from the cup without spilling. For this the other women hated his wife and spoke evil of her.

In MS. A this story fills one hundred and twelve lines; in MS. B it occupies but eighty-eight. It is nevertheless substantially the same. MS. B adds a reason for the mother's unnatural conduct, saying that she did it at the instigation of her lover, who wished to be revenged on her son because he would not allow sin to be committed. MS. B also omits the hermit's part in the story. But the wording of the two manuscripts remains the same even to the extent of whole lines and groups of lines.

There can be no question that the Clerk of Troyes derived his story from the *Perceval*. He gives a shortened and perhaps a rationalized version. He omits all of the introductory details concerning Ysaune and Eliaures; he omits most of the story of Cador and Guinor previous to the discovery of Carados; he omits the two baths, and, finally, he says nothing of the restoration of Guinor's breast.

The desire to shorten the story accounts for all the changes except the last two and may account for them. As the story is told in *Renart le Contrefait*, it is a parenthesis to the story of the magic horn or cup, and any degree of compression can be understood. Furthermore, in the *Perceval*, the restoration of the breast is told at great length, and as an independent story rather than as a pendant to the serpent story. The long introduction, containing the miraculous means of conducting Carados to the court of Alardin, is alone enough to separate it from what precedes. Its omission in an abstract of the serpent story, then, is not surprising. We should expect, however, the retention of the two baths, as they are a striking feature of the ceremony, and could be described in a few lines. The personal prejudice of the author, or the taste of a later

1 *Le Roman de Renart le Contrefait*, (nach der Handschrift der K. K. Hofbibliothek, Nr. 2562, früher Hohendorf, Fol. 39) von Ferdinand Wolf, Wien, 1861.

Alexandre le Grand, par Paul Meyer. Paris, 1886, Tome II, 334-5.

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generation, must account for their omission. Excepting the baths, all the salient points of the serpent story itself are retained in *Renart le Contrefait*. Further than that, there is nothing in *Renart le Contrefait* that is not covered by the *Perceval*.

We can even go a step beyond and say that the Renart version is derived from the Montpelier or from some allied manuscript, rather than from the Mons manuscript. It will be noticed that in the *Renart le Contrefait* Cador and his sister start together to search for Carados, while in the Mons MS. Cador goes alone. But in the Montpelier MS., as in the Renart, the two start together and actually arrive at the hermitage in which Carados is hidden. In the Montpelier MS. they do not find him in his hiding place, so they separate and Cador continues the search alone, as in the Mons MS. This second search, probably for the sake of brevity, is omitted in *Renart le Contrefait*, and and the discovery of Carados ends what is, in the Montpellier MS., the first search.

Again, in *Renart le Contrefait*, an important part is played by the hermit, who is not mentioned at all in the Mons MS. In the Montpelier MS., however, he is prominent, although in a somewhat different way. The two lovers arrive at a church where the hermit carries on services for them and takes part in the process of freeing Carados. Given this, the use of the hermit in *Renart le Contrefait* to bridge over the omission of the details of Cador's search is very simple.

Finally, we have the actual words of the Montpelier MS. retained in *Renart le Contrefait* in the maiden's speech to the serpent. In the Mons MS. she says:

> "Serpens, sès-tu entendre?
> Lai Caradot, jel te comant
> De par Jhésu le tout-poisant
> Qui fist quanqu'il vot, sus et jus!"

In the Montpelier MS. her speech is:

> "Esgarde, dist el, mes mamelles,
> Com eles sont tendres et beles;
> Esgarde com blanche poitrine
> Qu'est plus blanche que flor d'espine;
> Esgarde com ce vin est aigre,
> La vie Carados est mègre
> Si que n'a mès en lui que prendre;
> Ne te lai a celui sospendre,
> Par toi d'ilec, tu feras sen.
> Vien ça à moi, et si te pren;
> Ge te conjiur, diva, serpent,
> De par le roi omnipotent
> Du braz mon ami te despent
> Ft à ma mamele te pent;
> Quar je sui moult et blanche et tendre;
> Bien te porras a moi entendre."

In MS. A of *Renart le Contrefait* the speech is this:

> —Serpens, dist elle, esgarde moi;
> Et mes mamelles blanches voi,
> Qui sont blanches, jeunes et tendre;
> Tu n'as en cel chétif que prendre:
> Il n'i a mès que le maigre os;
> Bien peuz veoir que tu es fos.
> Vien toi à moi aerdre, et le laisse;
> Rien n'a mes en lui, qui te paisse.
> Lais ses os; prens ces blanchs choses.
> Or m'est il avis que tu n'oses."

MS. B of the Renart is shorter, but similar:

> —Serpent—dist-elle—esgarde moy;
> Et mes blanches mamelles voy,
> Qui sont belles, et la char tendre;
> Tu n'as en ce chetif que prendre.
> Viens t'en prendre à moy et le laisse;
> Rien n'y a mais de quoy te paisse.
> Laisse-le, preng ces belles choses.
> Or me semble bien, que tu n'oses!—

Of these two last, the Montpelier rather than the Mons MS. is clearly the original.

We may conclude, then, that the story of Carados and the serpent in *Renart le Contrefait* is derived from the *Perceval*, and from the Montpelier rather from the Mons MS.

The third version of the story of Carados is found in a late English or Scotch ballad, *The Queen of Scotland*, No. 301 in Professor Child's collection.[2] It is my impression, from the language, that this is nothing but a late English imitation of a Scotch ballad; but it may possibly preserve fragments of an older ballad on the same subject. Professor Child advances no opinion, saying merely, "The insipid ballad may have been rhymed from some insipid tale."

Of the ballad's actual source we know nothing; but, whatever the source, the ballad undoubtedly preserves the kernel of the tale of Carados and the serpent. It begins with the Potiphar's wife story, so common as an introduction. Troy Muir, after refusing to gratify the queen's desire, is asked by her to lift a stone in the garden. Under the stone he will find a pit filled with red gold, enough to buy

2 Vol. v, pp. 176–7.

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him a dukedom. The next morning he lifts the stone, but instead of gold he finds a long starved serpent which winds about his middle. He exclaims that he must die by the serpent, but a beautiful maiden passes that way and cuts off her fair white pap to allay the serpent's rage. Troy Muir is immediately released. The maiden's wound is healed in an hour, and before the day has passed Troy Muir marries her. On the birth of her son she gets a new pap.

We have here the essential parts of the story. A woman, for revenge, sends a man to a place where a serpent is confined, that the serpent may wind about his body. A girl entices the serpent from the man by offering her breast as a dainty morsel. The man marries the girl who has saved him. In course of time her breast is restored.

Although the outline of the story remains, the details are lost. Not even the name of the hero is retained. This, however, is not surprising, when we remember that in *Renart le Contrefait*, which follows so closely after the *Perceval*, only one name is kept out of the many in the original.

The one important change in the ballad is the cause for the restoration of the breast. This is a folk-tale element which replaces the story of the miraculous buckle. Perhaps the best instance of it is found in the story of *William of the Tree*, given by Douglas Hyde in his collection, *Beside the Fire*. The king's daughter, in that story, has her hands and feet, which had been cut off by her father, suddenly restored on the birth of her children. It is a similar case.

The fourth version of the Carados story is found in Campell's *Popular Tales of the West Highlands*, pp. xcv and xcvi of the introduction. A step-mother gave her step-son, Sheen Billy, a magic shirt which turned to a great snake about his neck. Then he was under spells and wandered about until he came to the house of a wise woman who had a beautiful daughter. This daughter fell in love with him and wanted him for her husband, though the wise woman warned her it would cost her much sorrow, her hair and her breast. But she cared not, so the wise woman helped her.

"A caldron was prepared and filled with plants; and the king's son was put into it, stripped to the magic shirt, and the girl was stripped to the waist. And the mother stood by with a great knife, which she gave to her daughter.

Then the king's son was put down in the caldron, and the great serpent. which appeared to be a shirt about his neck, changed into its own form, and sprang on the girl and fastened on her; and she cut away the hold, and the king's son was freed from the spells. Then they were married, and a golden breast was made for the lady."

This story was told to Campbell by "old MacDonald, travelling tinker." Other adventures followed which Campbell did not remember and which he was unable to get from the tinker's son. The story possessed no particular significance to him. He quoted it merely as having one scene which represented an incantation more vividly than anything else he knew. But the story is evidently the same as that in the *Perceval*, and as I shall point out presently, it contains elements not found in the two versions later than the *Perceval*. It is peculiarly unfortunate that the concluding adventures are lost, for if it could be established that they were identical with the following adventures in the *Perceval* we should have a most significant fact, which might throw some light on the troublesome questions of Gaelic Folk-Lore and the Celtic sources of *Perceval*.

As it is, we have something of importance, for the most noticeable thing about this Highland tale is that we have here retained two parts of the story that are found only in the *Perceval*. I refer to the bath in the caldron and to the golden breast. Instead of the two caldrons, we have but one, and that filled with plants, but it evidently corresponds to the caldron filled with sour wine. The other caldron has been introduced into the original story, or omitted from it, according as we accept the Gaelic or the French as representing the older form.

As the story is told by Campbell, the golden breast is mentioned but no details are given. Campbell ends abruptly, "And then they went through more adventures, which I do not well remember."

These two incidents, the caldron and the

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golden breast, do not appear in *Renart le Contrefait* nor in the English ballad. They are peculiar to the *Perceval* and the Highland tale. They show conclusively, therefore, that these two versions stand to each other in some close relation, from which the other two versions, intermediary in time, may be excluded.

But no direct relation between the *Perceval* and the Highland tale can be established. When we pass beyond the two incidents that they have in common, we find, not only that the Highland tale is strongly Gaelic in coloring and expression, but that the details of the plot are widely different.

As for the Gaelic coloring, one may mention the game of shinny, the hen-wife, the magic shirt, and the wise woman, but when one undertakes to enumerate the divergences in the plot it becomes necessary to recapitulate the whole of both stories. Four points, however, may suffice for our present purpose. The step-mother is substituted for the mother; the snake is combined with a magic shirt; the girl has no previous acquaintance with the hero, and the part of the girl's brother is played by the wise woman, her mother.

These differences and the strong Gaelic coloring make it certain that the tale has had an independent existence for some years and is not recently derived from the *Perceval*. Indeed, circumstantial evidence shows that any recent use of the *Perceval* as a source is impossible, for the *Perceval* exists only in manuscript, and, since 1845, in Potvin's limited edition. When a special student of the subject like Campbell was ignorant of the contents of the French romance it is not probable that the Gaelic peasant was better informed.

It remains to be explained, then, how it happens that we find two versions of the same story in the French of the twelfth century and in Gaelic of the nineteenth, so like that we cannot deny some connection between them, so unlike that we know there can be no direct and recent connection.

There are two conjectural explanations. One is that the two stories come from a common source, the other that during the thirteenth, fourteenth or fifteenth century, the story spread from the *Perceval* until it reached the Scotch Highlands, where it was kept in circulation until this century.

Direct evidence cannot be brought to uphold either explanation, but there are two points which create a persumption in favor of the former. In the first place, we have clearly an old tale of magic, with adequate machinery for delivering the hero from the spell. There is no need for the divine interposition. The Christian element that we have in the *Perceval* is, without doubt, an interpolation, entirely unnecessary for the development of the action. The Highland tale, which is without the Christian element, is nearer the original form, and while it is possible that the Gaelic has returned to the original by the process of omission, it is more probable that it represents a form into which Christianity has never entered,—that is, a form independent of the *Perceval*.

The second argument in favor of the independent origin of the Highland tale springs from the position of the Caradȯs story in the *Perceval*. It is there preceded, as has already been said, by the story which we have in English in *Gawain and the Green Knight*, and is followed by the story of the marvellous horn, which we have in the English ballad, *The Boy and the Mantle*. But the story of Gawain and the Green Knight as it exists in English is certainly not derived from *Perceval*, and the story in the *Boy and the Mantle* is also probably not from the *Perceval*. There is some reason to think in both cases that the origin is Celtic. This being so, it becomes even more probable that the Gaelic tale is an independent version of the intervening Caradȯs story.

The outlines of the ballad story are so vague that it seems impossible to fix its relation to the other versions. But the fact that it mentions the restoration of the breast, even though it be in a different manner, shows a connection with the *Perceval* or with the Highland tale, and not with the *Renart*; and the fact that the girl has had no previous love for the hero and that she has no brother to help her, connects the ballad with the Highland tale rather than with the *Perceval*. The probabilities are that the ballad is a part of the the same floating tradition that we have in the Highland tale and has no closer connection with the French.

This, then, is the most that we can conclude

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concerning the four versions of Carados and the serpent. The version of *Renart le Contrefait*, of the first quarter of the fourteenth century, is derived directly from the *Perceval*, of the last half of the twelfth century, and from the Montpelier or some allied manuscript rather than from the Mons manuscript. The late English or Scotch ballad has only the merest outline of the story, but seems to belong with the Gaelic version that we have in a still later form, rather than with the French. And finally the Gaelic version, told in the first half of this century, may be an independent form of the story, or may be derived from the *Perceval*, but is certainly not derived from the English ballad or from *Renart le Coutrefait*, and is certainly not recently derived from the *Perceval*.

No other form of the story has come to my notice, although, in pursuance of the hint given in Professor Child's "some insipid tale," I have carefully examined the chap-books and broadsheets in the Harvard Library. The steps of the story's progress cannot be traced.

An added significance is given to these four versions by the fact that the story as a whole is entirely unlike any other story. F. Wolf, it is true, thought that he saw here, and in *Der Arme Heinrich*, "eine gemeinsame traditionelle Grundlage." But I think this can hardly be maintained. The two central points in *Der Arme Heinrich* are: first, that a maiden is willing to sacrifice her life to cure the man she loves; and second, that, at the last moment, he refuses to allow the sacrifice, but is cured by his very denial. Now in the story of Carados I cannot see any indication that the maiden is to sacrifice her life. On the contrary, preparations to kill the serpent are made in the beginning. The breast is to be cut off, the serpent destroyed. The girl merely accepts mutilation, and the lover has no thought of preventing her.

I have not met with another instance of enchantment where the serpent is about the body of the person enchanted. There are innumerable cases where the person is turned into a serpent, as in *Libeaus Desconus*, and in the three ballads, the *Laily Worm*, *Allison Gross* and *Kemp Owyne*. So also, in cases of retransformation, such as *Tam Lin*, one of the changes is almost always to the form of a serpent. There are, too, many cases where the serpent is inside the body.

These last possess some interest in connection with the Carados story. The serpent inside the body is but another form of the hunger-demon story. This demon may take the form of any reptile. In its simpler forms the story is wide-spread and still persists. Children are still warned not to drink from brooks and springs, lest they get a little snake in their stomach, which will grow there and eat their food. Even so late as Feb. 23, 1898, the *Chicago Chronicle* published the account of a woman, who, according to her physician's statement, had a frog in her stomach. It was supposed that she swallowed a tadpole in spring water. There are innumerable similar cases given in the Folk-Lore Journals.

These stories connect with the Carados story in the devices used to free the person who is possessed by the hunger-demon. Invariably the appetite is appealed to. In the story of the *Alp Luachra* given by Douglas Hyde in *Beside the Fire*, the man was fed on salt beef and then made to lie with open mouth over a brook until the Alp Luachra and its twelve young came out to quench their thirst.

In Campbell's *Popular Tales*, vol. 11, p. 366, a reptile called "lon craois" is tempted from a girl's stomach by the odor of roasting sheep.

But the most elaborate story of this kind is found in *The Vision of MacConglinne*, translated from the Irish by Kuno Meyer. Cathal MacFinguine ate apples on which spells had been laid and through the poison-spells little creatures were formed in his stomach and they came together and formed the demon of gluttony. MacConglinne cured him by making him fast thirty-six hours and then binding him and eating before him and describing foods and drinks before him until the demon came to the mouth of MacFinguine and was licking its lips outside his head. Then pieces of meat were held to the fire and then to the king's mouth. One of these the demon seized and carried to the fire. The caldron fell on him there. The property was removed and the house burned, but the demon was unharmed and escaped to a neighboring ridgepole. He was finally driven off by the power of the Christian religion.

In all such stories the serpent is tempted forth

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by the offer of something that his appetite craves. He is then at the mercy of the bystanders. In the same way the serpent is enticed from Carados by the offer of the maiden's breast as a dainty morsel. This idea is prominent in all of the versions.

The bath in milk which occurs in the *Perceval* is there intended as an additional incentive to the serpent's appetite, just as the sour wine is meant to make his situation on Carados especially offensive. Milk is proverbially tempting to serpents. We have even the case of a serpent near Deerhurst in Gloucestershire which was gorged on milk until it was easily killed.[3] But we may have something more than temptation to appetite in the two baths. Professor Child says, in his introduction to *Tam Lin* (*Ballads*, vol. III, P. 338):

"Immersion in a liquid, generally water, but sometimes milk, is a processs requisite for passing from a non-human shape, produced by enchantment, back into the human, and also for returning from the human to a non-human state, whether produced by enchantment, or original."

There may have been formerly some such idea in the Carados baths.

The resemblances to other stories which I have been able to point out are not very striking, but they serve to show that the Carados story, although unconnected with other stories, is not apart from them. There is a popular element in it. Careful study reveals inconsistencies and incoherences even in the oldest and fullest version, the *Perceval* showing that we have a transmitted, not an original story. There is undoubtedly an older and simpler story behind it, and although in the *Perceval* it receives literary elaboration, it is certainly no literary invention.

We are left with two unsolved problems, the source of the story in the *Perceval*, and the connection between the *Perceval* story and the Highland tale. They are not unimportant. On the contrary, they form part of the greatest questions that occur in the study of mediæval literary history.

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3 *A new History of Gloucestershire*, printed by Samuel Rudder, 1779. Quoted by E. Sidney Harland, in *The Legend of Perseus*, vol. iii, p. 54.

GOETHES HOMUNKULUS.

I.

UNTER diesem Titel hat A. Gerber in No. 2, Vol. xii (Februar, 1897) eine Abhandlung veröffentlicht, deren Doppelzweck die Zurückweisung meiner Auffassung dieses eigenartigen Wesens in Goethes Faustdichtung und die Darlegung seiner eigenen Auffassung der dichterischen Gestalt ist. Soll eine Diskussion über einen so schwierigen Gegenstand Aussicht auf Verständigung haben, so gilt es zunächst, sich über die Methode der Untersuchung zu verständigen. Auch Gerber geht von diesem Grundgedanken aus, findet sich aber auffälliger Weise so damit ab, dass er sich ausschliesslich an einen Aufsatz von mir im *Goethe-Jahrbuch*, Vol. xvi, S. 127–148, hält, der nur eine Ergänzung, eine Weiterführung der in meinem Buche *Goethes Faustdichtung in ihrer künstlerischen Einheit dargestellt* (Berlin: E. Felber, 1894) dargelegten Auffassung ist. Dieses Buch wird ausdrücklich *Goethe-Jahrbuch*, S. 130, angeführt, und im Anschluss daran heisst es: der Beweis "soll hier auf analytischem Wege angetreten werden"—"hier," in der Abhandlung des *Goethe-Jahrbuchs*. Diese darf also nur im Zusammenhang mit dem Buche selbst betrachtet werden, zu dem sie eine nach ganz bestimmter Seite gehende Ergänzung bildet und zu diesem Zwecke eine gerade hier giltige Methode verwendet. Gerber erwähnt dieses Buch mit keiner Silbe; er betrachtet die Abhandlung daher auch nicht als eine Ergänzung, sondern als eine selbständige, als ob die von ihm kritisierte Auffassung hier sich zum ersten und einzigen Male darstellte. Dadurch entzieht er sich und seinen Lesern die Möglichkeit das, was "hier" zu dem besondern Zwecke "analytisch" dargelegt wird, in seiner ursprünglich synthetischen Gestaltung zu betrachten. Es unterliegt nun aber keinem Zweifel, dass, wenn es sich um die Auffassung einer Einzelheit innerhalb einer grossen Dichtung handelt, die Frage, was die Einzelerscheinung aus dem Zusammenhang für eine Beleuchtung gewinnt, die Hauptfrage ist, zu der ein aus besonderen Verhältnissen hinzukommender analytischer Beweis hinzutreten kann, aber nicht muss. Und gerade dieser Hauptgesichtspunkt, der schon im Titel meines Buches klar und deutlich

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angegeben ist ("in ihrer künstlerischen Einheit dargestellt"), lässt Gerber vollständig bei Seite. Er hätte wenigstens so viel Rücksicht auf seine Leser nehmen müssen, dass er ihnen diesen Hauptpunkt zur Gewinnung der richtigen Einsicht in die Lage der Sache nicht vorenthalten hätte.

Eine Untersuchung, die in erster Linie darauf ausgeht, die Bedeutung der Teile eines künstlerischen Ganzen für die Gestaltung eben dieses Ganzen darzulegen, ist eine "ästhetische" Untersuchung. Gerber knüpft an diesen Ausdruck an (der Titel der Abhandlung im *Goethe-Jahrbuch* heisst: "Homunkulus und Helena. Eine ästhetische Untersuchung") und schliesst daraus:

"Valentin thereby intimates that he does not pay attention to the historical development, if I may use this term, of Homunculus and Helena in Goethe's mind" (S. 69–70).

Gerber irrt mit dieser Annahme sehr gründlich. In *Goethes Faustdichtung* (=*G. F.*) hätte er auf Seite 152 den Satz finden können:

"Es ist begreiflich, dass diese Klarheit der Verhältnisse nicht auf einmal sich gestaltet hat, sondern erst ganz allmählich als Ergebnis eines vieljährigen Prozesses entstanden ist."

Eine Darlegung dieses "vieljährigen Prozesses" hätte Gerber auf S. 153–155 finden können. Gerber geht dabei noch von der falschen Annahme aus, dass historische und ästhetische Betrachtung Gegensätze seien, die sich nicht vereinigen könnten. Thatsächlich ist es so, dass es keine solide ästhetische Untersuchung über ein einzelnes Kunstwerk geben kann, die dessen historische Verhältnisse ausser Acht liesse, so wie es keine dem Wesen eines Kunstwerks gerecht werdende historische Untersuchung eines solchen geben kann, die die ästhetische Seite der Frage nicht behandelt.

Über diesen Punkt der methodischen Frage liesse sich indessen mit Gerber wohl eine Verständigung finden. Über einen zweiten Punkt sehe ich jedoch keinen Ausweg als den der Kapitulation von der einen oder der anderen Seite. Es handelt sich um die Frage: Lässt sich für eine einzelne Gestaltung einer grossen Dichtung ein Verständnis gewinnen, wenn man sie aus dem Zusammenhang der in der Dichtung dargestellten Entwicklung reisst und sie betrachtet, als ob sie etwas für sich Bestehendes wäre—oder muss nicht vielmehr das Verständnis der Einzelgestalt gerade aus diesem Zusammenhang, gerade aus der Stellung gewonnen werden, die die Einzelgestalt in der Gesamtentwicklung einnimmt, so dass ihre Bedeutung aus der Aufgabe erkannt wird, die sie im Zusammenhange des Kunstwerkes einnimmt? Wer von dem Hermes des Praxiteles, von der Venus von Milo nur die Büste kennt, wird über die starke, ungewöhnliche Erhebung der einen Schulter, dort der rechten, hier der linken, keine Einsicht gewinnen können, wenn er sie ausserhalb des Zusammenhangs mit dem ganzen Körper und dem aus dessen Gesamthaltung deutlich erkennbaren Hauptmotiv betrachtet. Diesen Weg befolgt aber Gerber, wenn er ohne sich um den Zusammenhang der Dichtung zu kümmern, untersucht, was der Dichter mit Homunkulus bezweckt, und es ist ein Irrtum, wenn er sich rühmt, er verfahre damit historisch, nicht philosophisch (S. 75). Sein historisches Verfahren, so weit es überhaupt ein solches ist, beschränkt sich auf die Gestalt des Homunkulus, während gerade der wichtigste Punkt auch für die historische Untersuchung von ihm gänzlich unberührt bleibt. Was vertrat in den früheren Entwürfen die Aufgabe, die jetzt innerhalb der ausgeführten Dichtung Homunkulus zu erfüllen hat? Für die historische Entwicklung war also der Entwurf, in dem Homunkulus mit diesem Namen überhaupt noch nicht erscheint, darauf hin zu untersuchen, was dort die Stelle des Homunkulus in Bezug auf die von ihm ausgehende Wirkung einnimmt. Daraus wird sich ergeben, was der "Zweck" des Homunkulus ist und was an ihm nur dichterische Gestaltung und Einkleidung dieses Zweckes ist. Über diesen Hauptpunkt geht Gerber mit vollkommenem Stillschweigen fort. Er erwähnt den ersten Entwurf, in dem Homunkulus fehlt—es fällt ihm aber nicht ein, dass eine wahrhaft historische Untersuchung in diesem Entwurf den Keim für den späteren Homunkulus aufzusuchen hätte. Gerber wird diese Untersuchung bereits in meinem Buche *Goethes Faustdichtung* finden, das er zu seinem Schaden unbeachtet gelassen hat; er wird sie in der inzwischen erschienenen *Erläuterung zu Goethes Faust* (Dresden: L. Ehlermann, 1897—auch unter dem Titel *Deutsche*

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Schulausgaben von H. Schiller und V. Valentin, N. 25–26) finden, wo sie auf S. 84–85 klar und deutlich dargelegt ist. Gerber weist es zwar zurück, dass seine Untersuchung "philosophisch" sei, und ich will ihm darin auch nicht widersprechen. In seiner Methode jedoch steht er ganz auf dem Standpunkt der "philosophischen" Betrachtungsweise, mit der die Hegelianer zuerst an die Erklärung von Goethes *Faust* herangetreten sind. Man fragte bei allen Gestalten zuerst: Was bedeuten sie?, während nach meiner Auffassungsweise gefragt werden muss: Was sind sie innerhalb der Dichtung? Solange diese realistische Betrachtungsweise nicht durchdringt, die die Gestalten der Dichtung als reale Wesen zu erfassen sucht und die falsche Frage nach ihrer über den Rahmen der Dichtung hinausgehenden "Bedeutung" bei Seite lässt, so lange kann von einem wirklichen Verständnis der Dichtung nicht die Rede sein. Wenn Gerber erklärt: "The main purpose of Homunculus is . . . to embody one of his long cherished scientific ideas, the grand idea of evolution," und er kann nicht nachweisen, was die Idee der Entwicklung in dem dramatischen Verlaufe der Faustdichtung zu thun hat, so bleibt diese Erläuterung eine solche, die ausserhalb der Dichtung steht, die sich willkürlich die eine Gestalt herausgreift und ihr eine Bedeutung zuspricht, die mit der sonstigen Dichtung nichts zu thun hat. Sie ist weder historisch noch ästhetisch, sie rangiert unter die frühere "philosophische" Betrachtungsweise, muss aber, da sie nur ein willkürliches Spiel mit Worten ist, ausrangiert werden. Ob nun der Homunkulus als Humanismus oder als das Wachstum des dichterischen Genius Goethes, was alles im dramatischen Gange keine Stelle hat, oder als der Führer Fausts zu der in Helena verkörperten Schönheit der Antike, was dem Verlaufe der Dichtung geradezu widerspricht, aufgefasst wird—eines ist so falsch wie das andere, weil keines die Stellung, die Homunkulus in der dramatischen Entwicklung der Dichtung einnimmt, auch nur im mindesten berücksichtigt. Dies ist auch Gerbers Standpunkt. Der meinige ist der, dass ich von dieser dramatischen Wirkung des Homunkulus ausgehe. Ganz abgesehen von dem Ergebnis der Erklärung möchte es doch ohne weiteres klar sein, welcher Standpunkt der Dichtung und dem Dichter einzig und allein gerecht wird und daher auch einzig und allein die Aussicht hat, die Absicht des Dichters zu erforschen. Hier ist also ein Gegensatz, der eine Vermittelung nicht zulässt. Hier heisst es, sich auf den einen oder den andern Standpunkt stellen—welches in jedem einzelnen Falle die Ergebnisse der Untersuchung sind, ist dann eine Frage für sich.

Die positiven Erörterungen Gerbers über das Wesen des Homunkulus fallen somit in sich selbst zusammen. Die Voraussetzungen widersprechen der Natur des künstlerischen Schaffens ebenso wie der Natur des Faustwerkes selbst. Sie sind ebenso falsch, wie wenn Gerber meint "that several hundred lines in the second and fourth acts refer to geological problems." Diese Verse sind nicht da, um die geologischen Probleme darzulegen, sondern der Dichter verwendet umgekehrt seine naturwissenschaftlichen Erkenntnisse zu dichterischen Zwecken. Wo er wissenschaftliche Zwecke verfolgt, da schreibt er wissenschaftliche Abhandlungen, wie das vernünftig ist. Eine dramatische Dichtung schaffen, besondere Figuren und Hunderte von Versen in sie einschieben, die mit dem dramatischen Verlauf nichts zu thun haben und die nur den Zweck verfolgen, eine wissenschaftliche ganz ausserhalb des Themas stehende Ansicht darzulegen, wäre aber unvernünftig, und einem Künstler wie Goethe ein solches gänzlich unkünstlerisches Verfahren zuzutrauen, heisst in die Zeiten zurückfallen, in denen man aus "philosophischen" Gründen annahm, der ganze Faust, besonders in seinen späteren Teilen, sei ein unentwirrbares Konglomerat von philosophischen, naturwissenschaftlichen und sonstigen Aperçüs, mit deren absichtlicher Dunkelheit der Dichter die Leser habe narren wollen. Die Dunkelheit entspringt jedoch nur aus der falschen Voraussetzung. Man betrachte resolut die Dichtung als das, was sie sein will und ist, als Drama, suche den dramatischen Gang zu erkennen und gehe von der Voraussetzung aus, dass man es hier überall mit durchaus realistisch gedachten Gebilden zu thun hat, so wird die Spukgestalt der Undeutlichkeit verschwinden—es werden sich aber auch die Wege zum Verständnis der

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einzelnen Gestalten zeigen, und auf ihnen zu gehen, ist dann nicht allzu schwer. Das ist freilich eine neue Methode in der Betrachtungsweise von Goethes Faust. Sie verweist manche liebgewordene Annahme, mit der mancher gross geworden ist, ins Nichts—aber das Ziel der Forschung ist nicht das Festhalten vorgefasster Meinungen, sondern die Erkenntnis eines Dichtwerkes. Ein Kunstwerk aber muss in erster Linie als solches aufgefasst werden.

Wie steht es nun aber mit den negativen Ergebnissen Gerbers? Sie richten sich natürlich gegen mich, was an und für sich ihre Berechtigung nicht in Frage stellt. Aber sie richten sich gegen einzelne Punkte, statt dass von vornherein der entscheidende Punkt herausgegriffen wird. Dieser besteht darin, dass Gerber behauptet, die Gestalten des Helenadramas, "Helena and her women are not material beings, but phantoms, shades that have been granted a temporary lease of life." Ist das der Fall, so bleibt nach Gerber keine Schwierigkeit, nämlich für seine Annahme, und "Valentin's hypothesis is overthrown," was durchaus richtig ist—wenn seine Behauptung richtig ist. Sie ist es aber nicht, und so ist es auch seine Folgerung nicht. Gerber irrt zunächst darin, dass er behauptet, ich gründe meine Auffassung "principally on the line: 'Folge mir in starre Grüfte.'" Ich gründe sie vielmehr auf den Gang des Dramas, auf den Gesamtzusammenhang, der für Gerber leider keinerlei Bedeutung hat. Er übersieht gänzlich, dass Helena zweimal und in ganz verschiedener Wesenheit erscheint—zuerst in der Geistererscheinung am Hofe des Kaisers und dann in dem Helenadrama. Bei der ersten Erscheinung Helenas kann der durch sie entzückte Faust es nicht ertragen, dass Paris Helena forttragen will. Sobald Faust sie berührt, trübt sich die Gestalt, und wie er den Schlüssel dem Paris zukehrt, entsteht eine Explosion und die "Geister gehen in Dunst auf." Eine körperliche Berührung zwischen der Geisterwelt und der Körperwelt ist nicht möglich. Ist schon eine solche Berührung unausführbar, so wird Gerber nun begreifen, dass eine Gewinnung Helenas durch Faust zu körperlicher und ehelicher Vereinigung in noch höherem Grade unmöglich ist. Diese Helena hätte allerdings dem Faust nie einen Sohn gebären können, da die Möglichkeit der von einem körperlichen Wesen ausgehenden Erzeugung durch die Geistnatur der Helena ausgeschlossen ist. Will Faust sie aber doch als Weib gewinnen, so muss diese Geistnatur in eine körperhafte Menschennatur übergeführt werden. Aber

"Helena gehört dem Orkus und kann durch Zauberkräfte wohl herausgelockt, aber nicht festgehalten werden .... Helena erscheint: durch einen magischen Ring ist ihr die Körperlichkeit wiedergegeben"—

sage nicht ich, sondern sagt Goethe in der Skizze der Urgestalt, die für *Dichtung und Wahrheit* bestimmt war. (W. Ausgabe, Bd. xv, 2, S. 175–176.) Gerber zitiert sie aber nur, um zu sagen, dass Homunkulus darin nicht erwähnt wird. Er geht daher nicht weiter darauf ein, und fragt auch in seiner weiteren Untersuchung nicht, was später an Stelle des magischen Ringes getreten ist, durch den Helenas Verkörperung hier erlangt worden war und der weiterhin nicht mehr vorkommt. Gerber hat seine guten Gründe dazu. Er leugnet schlechtweg Helenas Verkörperung, behauptet gegen Goethes Autorität, Helena habe bei ihrer zweiten Erscheinung überhaupt nichts Körperliches, sie sei "not a material being, but a phantom," und nennt dies eine historische Untersuchung! Ich dagegen, dem er den Mangel historischer Betrachtungsweise vorwirft, lege dar, wie an Stelle des magischen Ringes, in einem späteren Entwurfe, in der *Ankündigung* vom 17. Dezember 1826 (W. Ausgabe, xv, 2, S. 198–212), zwar bereits das chemische Menschlein vorkommt: aber es wird nur benutzt, um Faust, dessen Wunsch, Helena zu besitzen, Mephistopheles nicht erfüllen kann, zu zerstreuen und seine Absicht auf Helena zurückzudrängen. Aber vergeblich! Die klassische Walpurgisnacht führt Faust in die Unterwelt:

"hier findet sich nun, dass Helenen das vorige Mal [als sie in das Leben zurückkehren durfte, "um sich mit dem frühgeliebten Achill zu verbinden"] die Rückkehr ins Leben vergönnt worden, unter der Bedingung eingeschränkten Wohnens und Bleibens auf der Insel Leuce. Nun soll sie ebenmässig auf den Boden von Sparta zurückkehren, um, als wahrhaft lebendig, dort in einem vorgebildeten Hause des Menelas aufzutreten."

"Als wahrhaft lebendig," sagt Goethe—Ger-

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ber weiss es besser. Helena ist nichts Körperliches an sich, sondern ist nur ein Phantom und also nicht "wahrhaft lebendig," nicht "verkörpert!" Dass Goethe dies ausdrücklich behauptet, bildet weiter kein Hindernis! Auch in diesem Entwurfe Goethes hat Homunkulus mit Helena nichts zu thun. In einer, von der schliesslichen Ausführung sehr abweichenden Weise treibt er sein eignes Wesen. Er zersprengt gleich nach seiner Schaffung den leuchtenden Glaskolben und wird von Wagner, der hier nach Thessalien mitwandert, in die rechte Brusttasche gesteckt; in die linke steckt Wagner "eine reine Phiole, um, wenn es glückte, hie und da die zu einem chemischen Weiblein nötigen Elemente zusammenzufinden." Bei Homunkulus kann somit von dem Streben nach eigenem Entstehen hier keine Rede sein, und der in seinen Folgerungen höchst konsequente Dichter spricht auch mit keiner Silbe davon. Wohl aber lässt er das am Boden hinschleichende Menschlein "eine Menge phosphoreszierender Atome aufklauben, deren einige blaues, andere purpurnes Feuer von sich strahlen." Das Leuchten ist die erste Stufe des Sichverkörperns und somit des Sichtbarwerdens der geistigen Wesen, der geistigen Substanz, zu deren Erfassung noch nicht jeder ohne weiteres im stande ist. Der Dichter macht durch sein ganzes Werk hin den reichsten Gebrauch hiervon. Diese leuchtenden Atome kommen in Wagner's Phiole: vielleicht—es erscheint aber Homunkulus selbst zweifelhaft,—dass

"daraus künftig ein chemisch Weiblein zu bilden sei. Als aber Wagner um sie näher zu betrachten, sie stark schüttelt, erscheinen, zu Kohorten gedrängt, Pompejaner und Cäsareaner, um zu legitimer Auferstehung sich die Bestandteile ihrer Individualitäten stürmisch vielleicht wieder zuzueignen."

Also nicht Homunkulus, der hier noch nicht in dem Sinne wie in der Ausführung als ein geistiges Wesen, in seiner vorläufigen Existenz auf den Aufenthalt innerhalb der Flasche angewiesen ist, sucht zu entstehen, d. h. sich mit körperlichen Bestandteilen zu erfüllen und eine bestimmte individuelle Gestaltung anzunehmen, sondern die entkörperlichten geistigen Substanzen der ehemaligen Römer suchen sich zu verkörpern und "beinahe gelänge es ihnen, sich dieser ausgegeisteten Körperlichkeiten zu bemächtigen"—aber diese körperlichen Substanzen sind längst in andere Gestaltungen übergegangen. Daher "nehmen die vier Winde, welche diese Nacht unablässig gegen einander wehen, den gegenwärtigen Besitzer in Schutz." Die Wiederverkörperung kann somit nicht vor sich gehen, da die geistigen Substanzen darauf ausgehen, die ihnen einst zugehörig gewesenen körperlichen Bestandteile wiederzuerhalten, also nicht etwa irgend welche körperliche Substanzen—es soll vielmehr eine reguläre Auferstehung sein, so dass Seele und einstiger Körper sich wiederfinden: eine "legitime Auferstehung." Dies ist hier unmöglich und

"die Gespenster müssen sich gefallen lassen, von allen Seiten zu vernehmen, dass die Bestandteile ihres römischen Grosstums längst durch alle Lüfte zerstoben, durch Millionen Bildungsfolgen aufgenommen und verarbeitet worden."

Hier blitzt schon die Verwendung des Gedankens auf, dass der belebte Stoff, von seiner ursprünglichen Gestalt getrennt, in die grenzenlose Reihe der organischen Neugestaltungen sich ausbreitet, von deren jeder er neu "verarbeitet" wird. Aber mit Homunkulus selbst hat dies nichts zu thun. Er betrachtet und erlebt die Dinge, nimmt aber an der Handlung selbst nicht Teil. Da tritt nun, um diese Teilnahme zu ermöglichen, die geniale Umgestaltung ein, die wir in der ausgeführten Dichtung besitzen. Die Verkörperlichung der Helena findet nicht mehr statt durch einen magischen Ring, auch nicht durch den Aufenthalt an einem bestimmten Orte, was an Stelle des Zwanges durch den Ring getreten war, sondern durch eine geistige Kraft, die nun ihrerseits an Stelle des äusserlichen Motives des Aufenthalts an einem bestimmten Orte tritt und dadurch dem natürlichen Verlaufe weit näher kommt. Sie zeigt sich deutlich bei der Auflösung der Helena, wie ihr Schatten zu Persephone zurückgeht: ihr Körperliches verschwindet, Kleid und Schleier bleiben in den Armen Fausts zurück. Sofort zerren die Dämone daran, um die in dem Kleide zurückgebliebene dämonische Lebenskraft zu sich hinüber zu ziehen, aber Faust hält sie auf den Rat des Mephistopheles fest. Aber durch das Entschwinden des Schattens der Helena und die Trennung der stofflichen Elemente ist die

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dämonische Lebenskraft in ihrer Umgestaltungsfähigkeit frei geworden und sie macht davon sofort Gebrauch. Helenas Gewande bilden sich zu Wolken um. Sie tragen Faust fort und wie Faust die Wolken dieses Dienstes entlässt, gestaltet sich die lebenschaffende Kraft in andere rasch verschwimmende Gebilde um. Aber auch so dienen sie noch dem Ziele der Dichtung: in ihren Umgestaltungen offenbart sich der Aufstieg von der Körperschönheit zur Seelenschönheit, womit Faust die letzte und höchste Stufe seines Strebens und Wirkens vorbildlich gezeigt wird. Solche auch inhaltlich bedeutungsvolle Wandelungen sind aber nur möglich, wenn es sich um eine geistige Substanz edelster Art handelt. Wenn wir nun sehen, dass Helenas Schattenbild, das die individuelle Gestaltung gebende Element, in die Unterwelt zu Persephone zurückkehrt, wenn das Körperliche in seiner Besonderheit verschwindet, wenn diese beiden Bestandteile in ihrer Herkunft klar sind—aus der Unterwelt und den gestaltlosen materiellen, einer für Annahme von Gestaltungen den toten Stoff belebenden geistigen Kraft bedürftigen Elementen—so fragt es sich nun nur noch: Wo kommt denn dies geistige Element her? Da ist es der geniale schöpferische Gedanke des Dichters, der es fertig bringt, eine bis dahin in seinen Entwürfen nur nebensächlich und retardierend eingreifende Gestalt in der endgültigen Ausführung zu einem hauptsächlichen, die Handlung fördernden Teile, zu einem organischen Gliede der Handlung selbst zu machen, so dass diese ohne dies neue Element überhaupt nicht zu ihrem Ziele gelangen könnte: Goethe macht den Homunkulus zu der eine vorläufige Gestaltung annehmenden —ohne Gestaltung irgendwelcher Art konnte die Mitwirkung im Drama überhaupt nicht stattfinden—sichtbar und thätig eingreifenden Lebenskraft. Sie ist natürlich dämonischen Ursprunges, aber sie hat ausser dem ihrem Wesen untrennbar verbundenen und daher ununterdrückbaren Triebe zur Bethätigung nichts Individuelles an sich. Von der dämonischen Natur des Mephistopheles hat sie deshalb nur das Dämonische, das Geistige, nicht das Individuelle, also auch nicht das Böse. Nun muss Homunkulus in der Flasche bleiben, bis der Augenblick kommt, in dem sein Streben nach Verkörperung Thatsache wird. Dies geschieht aber, wie er in Galathea die Verkörperung der höchsten Schönheit erblickt. Da vermählt er sich den Elementen. Die Gestaltung, die diese in tausend Funken—also tausenderlei Möglichkeiten der Belebungskraft—erfasst, ist der Schatten der eben aus der Unterwelt entlassenen Helena. So wird ihr Schatten mit den durch die Lebenskraft neu erfüllten und hierdurch nun zu organischer Lebensthätigkeit befähigten Elementen verkörpert, zu einem legitimen Leben befähigt. Und wie es ihr geht, so geht es mit allen anderen, aus der Unterwelt mit Helena entlassenen Schatten. Ihre Mädchen, die als Gefolge die Königin begleiten, Menelas und seine Krieger, kurz, alles was zu der antiken Welt gehört, entsteht auf die selbe Weise. Homunkulus hat seine vorläufige Gestalt mit Zersprengung des Glases aufgegeben—er lebt fort in all diesen der Unterwelt entstiegenen Schatten und verlässt sie, sobald diese ihre Aufgabe erfüllt haben. Dieser künstlichen Entstehung gemäss können alle diese Wesen auch nicht natürlich sterben. Sie lösen sich in ihre Bestandteile auf, die Schatten kehren in die Unterwelt zurück, wie bei Helena, bei dem von Euphorion verfolgten Mädchen, bei Panthalis. Die übrigen Mädchen des Chores wollen dagegen in die Unterwelt nicht mehr zurück. Sie verschmähen das Schattendasein —so geben sie lieber die Persönlichkeit auf und leben in den Verkörperungen der vier Elemente in immer neuen Gestaltungen weiter. Sie suchen also das, was die Cäsareaner und die Pompejaner von den entgeisteten Körperlichkeiten erfahren müssen, wie sie ihre früheren Individualitäten zurücksuchen: der belebte Stoff, der von der ursprünglichen Gestalt getrennt, fortlebt, nimmt immer neue Gestaltungen an, die die ursprüngliche Individualität ausschliessen. So verläuft—und dies ist das richtige Verständnis der auch von Gerber angeführten Stelle—die klassische Walpurgisnacht allerdings "ins Unendliche." Der Ausdruck bedeutet keine künstlerische Unendlichkeit—eine solche ist ein Widersinn, und Goethe wusste von den unendlichen Methoden noch nichts. Für ihn verlangte das Künstlerische begränzten Raum, während die Natur ins Unendliche geht, und davon ist hier die Rede.

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In diesem Sinn schreibt Goethe in sein Tagebuch schon am 17. mai 1808:

"Über Metamorphosen und deren Sinn: Symbole und Diastole des Weltgeistes; aus jener geht die Spezifikation hervor, aus dieser das Fortgehen ins Unendliche."

Das ist ein Gedanke, der durch Goethes Denken geht und ihn, seitdem er über das Wesen der Metamorphosen sich klar geworden war, nicht mehr verlässt. Er führt ihn auf den verschiedenen wissenschaftlichen Gebieten durch. Diesen Grundgedanken verwendet Goethe hier nun auch dichterisch. Homunkulus ist ein Ausfluss dieses Weltgeistes, dessen Wirken durch die immer neue Verarbeitung der Materie zu neuen Gestaltungen ins Unendliche geht. Dies aber ist der Sinn des Aufgehens der Mädchen in die Verkörperungen auf den Gebieten der vier mittelalterlichen Urstoffe unter Aufgebung ihrer Persönlichkeit, ihrer Individualität. Sie werden jedoch keine "spirits of the trees, the mountain springs, the brooks and the rivers;" und wenn Gerber gar meint, "they are to preside over the material parts of these things," so entspringt dies ausschliesslich seiner Phantasie. Die Dryaden, Najaden, Oreaden, die ihm hier aus der griechischen Mythologie verschweben, sind individuelle Wesen. Aber gerade das Individuelle wird aufgegeben, und das Hexenspiel der griechischen Mythologie mit ihrer persönlichen Auffassung muss fern gehalten werden: an ihrer Stelle ist hier der weite, grosse Ausblick in die Unendlichkeit des Naturschaffens und des Naturlebens getreten, das seine Daseinsformen, das das individuelle Moment Bildende, unaufhörlich wechselt, selbst aber ewig ist.

VEIT VALENTIN.

Frankfurt am Main.

THE EDITIONS OF MINNA VON BARNHELM PUBLISHED DURING LESSING'S LIFETIME.

WHEN some years ago I was working on the text of Lessing's *Minna von Barnhelm*, I took pains to get hold of all the editions published during the lifetime of the poet. Of these, only those published with the sanction of the author have any importance so far as the text is concerned; still, when we remember what a torment the pirate publisher was to the popular writer of the last century and to Lessing in particular, there is a real interest attaching to the pirated editions of his works. Nor is it always easy to tell whether an edition is genuine or pirated, as I shall show below.

The basis of the first edition is the manuscript, a copy in Lessing's hand, now in the library of the poet's grand nephew, Landgerichtsrat Robert Lessing in Berlin. The cleanness of the manuscript forbids it having been in the hands of the printer, but it is without question the original from which the printer's 'copy' was transcribed.

GENUINE EDITIONS.

There are five editions that were issued with the imprint of the author's Berlin publisher, Voss, three in 1767 and two in 1770:—

1767 *a*, at the end of vol. ii. of the *Lustspiele*.

1767 *b*, in a volume by itself, but from the same forms[1] as 1767 *a*, the paging and a number of the readings in the text being changed.

1767*c*, a copy of 1767*b*, but not from the same forms. It is clear that the printer tried to imitate the setting of 1767 *b* as faithfully as possible. Close examination reveals the fact that the type is not quite the same and that there are numerous misprints, besides what may be intentional changes. The edition is now extremely rare: I know of but two copies, both in the possession of Robert Lessing, who kindly gave me every opportunity of studying them, as well as the manuscript. It is strange that this edition was not designated as 'Zweyte Auflage' and 1770 *a* as 'Dritte Auflage.' The publisher could hardly have had reason to conceal the fact that a new edition was so soon called for. One cannot help suspecting that 1767 *c* was a piratical reprint made to pass for the original authorized edition. In favor of this idea, is not only the failure to designate it as the second edition, but also the fact that, as stated above, it is so remarkably careful an imitation of 1767 *b*. Against the idea, is the necessity of supposing that the counterfeit succeeded in deceiving the author himself (or his brother?), for a copy of it was used as the basis of 1770 *a*.

1 By 'forms,' or 'Satz,' in meant the type set up and ready to be printed.

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1770 *a*, in a volume by itself. It is a copy of 1767 *c*, from newly set type, and contains numerous changes. It is designated as 'Zweyte Auflage.'

1770 *b*, at the end of vol. ii. of the *Lustspiele*, and from the same forms as 1770 *a*, the changes from this being only corrections of two or three typographical defects.

PIRATED EDITIONS.

Of these I have found nine. As some of them are very rare, I state below where copies may be found. Of 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 8 *a*, I know of the existence of only one copy each; of 6, 7, 8 *a*, 8 *b*, I possess copies. Two of the unauthorized editions (No. 2 and No. 5) were printed on the occasion of the appearance of the play in the theatre at Vienna; and one (No. 4) was printed for a special performance at the court in Gotha, in which the actors were drawn from the nobility and included members of the reigning house.[2]

1. Theater | der | Deutschen.| Fünfter Theil.| Berlin und Leipzig,| bey Johann Heinrich Rüdigern,| 1767. [8°, pp. 205–336. Based on 1767 *b*. Copy in the City Library at Hamburg.]

2. Minna von Barnhelm,| oder das | Soldatenglück, | ein Lustspiel | in fünf Aubzügen | von| Gotthold Ephraim Lessing. | Aufgeführet | auf der Kais. Königl. privilegierten deutschen | Schaubühne in Wien| Im Jahre 1767.| Gedruckt mit v. Ghelischen Schriften. [8°, 118 pp. Based on 1767 *b*. Copy in the University Library at Berlin.]

3. Minna von Barnhelm,| oder| das Soldatenglück.| Ein Lustspiel in fünf Aufzügen,| von| Gotthold Ephraim Lessing.| Berlin und Leipzig, 1768, [8°, 134 pp. Based on 1767 *c*. Copy in the Royal Library at Berlin.]

4. Minna von Barnhelm, | oder | das Soldatenglück. | Ein Lustspiel | in fünf Aufzügen,| 1769. [Probably printed at Gotha or Koburg. 8°, pp. 4+188. Based on 1767 *a*. Copy in the University Library at Berlin.

The cast of characters is:—Mag. v. Tellh, Durchl, Erbprinz. Just, Herr Hof-& Jagdjunker von Thümmel. P. Werner, Herr geheimder Rath von Thümmel. Graf v. Bruchsall, Herr v. Schulenburg. Der Wirth, Herr von Loscani. Riccaut de la Marliniere, Durchl. Prinz Christian. Ein Feldjäger, Herr von Werden. Zwey Bediente, Herr v. Brandenstein und Herr von Heldritt. Kellner, Herr von Könitz. Minna von Barnhelm, Fräulein v. Thümmel. Eine Dame in Trauer, Fräulein Sophia von Kanne. Franciska, Fräulein Caroline von Kanne.]

5. Minna von Barnhelm | oder | Das Soldatenglück, | Ein Lustspiel | in fünf Aufzügen| von | dem Herrn Lessing. | Aufgeführt in dem Kaiserl. Königl. privilegierten Theater | in Wien | 1775. [8°, 120 pp. Based on 1767 *a*. Copy in the University Library at Berlin.]

6. Lustspiele |von| Gotthold Ephraim Lessing. | Zweiter Theil. | Der Freygeist. | Der Schatz. | Minna von Barnhelm, oder das Soldatenglück. | Mit Röm. Kayserl. Allergnädigsten Privilegio. | Reutlingen. | Bey Johann Georg Fleischhauer, 1775. [8°, pp. 207–360. Based on 1767 *a*. Copy in the University Library at Heidelberg, also in mine.]

7. Minna von Barnhelm | oder | das Soldatenglück. | Ein Lustspiel in fünf Aufzügen.| von | Gotthold Ephraim Lesssing, | 1776. [8°, pp. 161–296. Based on 1767 *a*. Imperfect copy (pp. 163–174 missing) in the Ducal Library at Wolfenbüttel; perfect copy in my collection.]

8 *a*. [First title-page:] Sammlung | der besten deutschen | prosaischen Schriftsteller | und | Dichter. | Ein und sechzigster Theil. | Lessings Lustspiele. | Mit allerhöchstgnädigst Keyserlichem Privilegio. | Carlsruhe, | bey Christian Gottlieb Schmieder. | 1777. [Second title-page:] Lustspiele | von | Gotthold Ephraim Lessing.| Zweyter Theil.| Der Freygeist.| Der Schatz. | Minna von Barnhelm, oder das Soldatenglück. | Damon. | Die alte Jungfer.| Mit allerhöchstgnädigst Kaiserl. Privilegio.| Carlsruhe,| bey Christian Gottlieb Schmieder,| 1777. [8°. pp. 217–380. Based on 1770. Copy in my collection.]

8 *b*. Lustspiele | von | Gotthold[3] Ephraim Lessing. | Zweyter Theil. | Der Freygeist.| Der Schatz. | Minna von Barnhelm, oder das Soldatenglück. | Damon. | Die alte Jungfer. | Mit allerhöchst-gnädigst Kayserlichem Privilegio. | Carlsruhe | bey Christian Gottlieb Schmieder, | 1777. [8°. pp. 217–380. Based on 8 *a*. Copy in the University Library at Berlin, also in mine.]

2 See, also, Danzel und Guhrauer: *G. E. Lessing*, ii., 113, and Gruner: *Leben M. A. von Thümmels*, 86.

3 Some copies (for example, that at Strassburg) have 'Gotthard.'

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On another occasion I hope to present some points of interest as regards the variant readings of the manuscript and the authorized editions.

GEORGE HEMPL.

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OLD ENGLISH PROSE WRITERS.

Biblical Quotations in Old English Prose Writers. Edited with the Vulgate and other Latin Originals, Introduction on Old English Biblical Versions, Index of Biblical Passages, and Index of Principal Words, by ALBERT S. COOK, Hon. M. S. (Yale), Ph. D. (Jena), L.H.D. (Rutgers), Professor of the English Language and Literature in Yale University, President of the Modern Language Association of America. London: Macmillan & Co., New York: The Macmillan Co., 1898.

THE value of this contribution to our knowledge of Old English Biblical translations, very inadequately represented in the modest title, "Biblical Quotations in Old English Prose Writers," can only be estimated when we consider the meagerness of the manuscript remains of Old English Biblical translation. The common explanation refers our poverty in manuscripts to the ravages of the Danes, and the neglect and contempt of the Normans; but that any prevalent translation, or even sporadic translations of individual or local interest, except such as are ascribed to Bæda, were made is left to pure conjecture. All that we have, seem to limit direct translation to the necessities of church service--the Psalter, Paternoster, Canticles, and Lectionary. The references to Old English learning in the *Pastoral Care* and Ælfric's *Homilies* discourage the belief in the existence of translations beyond those which have been preserved.

Skeat can say, from a critical comparison of the manuscripts of the Gospels in the preface to his edition of Luke:

"We are irresistably led to conclude that perhaps not very many copies have perished, they may never have been very numerous, and there is at present not the faintest trace of any other version."

These results differ from what he expected. Bright, in his introduction to St. Luke, in reference to Bæda's translation, says:

"There is no ground for supposing that any book of the new testament was again translated into the language of the people until the only extant version of the gospels was prepared in the last quarter of the tenth Century."

In this unsettled state of our knowledge we can appreciate the recovery of lost or neglected manuscripts, or unnoticed translations.

Attention was turned but a few years ago, and then only incidentally, to the existence of translation in Biblical quotations. In Forshall and Madden's review of Biblical translations, in their preface to Wyckliffe's works, 1850, Biblical quotations in Old English writers are included in the remains of translation; and Wichmann made use of quotations from the Psalms in the *Pastoral Care* in his review, in the *Anglia*, of Alfred's translation: but that Old English Biblical translations might be recovered from Old English writers, as the original scriptures are recoverable from quotations in Patristic literature, has received its first distinct practical recognition in this collection of Dr. Cook's. It has the value of a "*find*." How far it may throw light upon the question of the existence of an Old English *textus receptus* remains for future study, to which this collection may incite scholars.

We have in Dr. Cook's work the first instalment of express and formal quotations or extracts and references to Biblical summaries and condensed Biblical passages in all of Alfred's and most of Ælfric's prose: the *Pastoral Care*, the *Laws*, *Orosius*, the *Ecclesiastical History*, and Ælfric's *Homilies*. Ælfric's *Lives of the Saints*, Ælfric's *Sigwulfi Interrogationes*, the *Benedictine Rule*, the *Blickling Homilies*, and other prose, are left to future examination. Although the collection is limited to quotations in O.E. prose, passages in O. E. poetry which pass from paraphrase to direct translation, are introduced in the Conspectus. These are very few.

The results are surprising; all the books of the Bible are represented, except Ruth, Nehemiah, Esther, Obadiah, and Nahum, in the O. T., and Philemon, second and third John, and Jude, in the N.T. In Alfred's writings, the *Pastoral Care* furnishes the largest number, the *Ecclesiastical History* a very few, owing to the fragmentary and selective character of

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Alfred's translation, *Orosius* supplies only references, although in these references we have Biblical diction. To these we may expect a large addition when the other prose is examined.

From a collation of this collection of the quotations in the P.C. with another independently made, confirmed by a careful review, we may justly conclude that Dr. Cook's collection is exhaustive and accurate. The same judgment may be applied, from partial, but careful, examination to the entire work. O.E. texts, recognized as the best by all scholars, are used; and the collection is made serviceable by accurate references to text and passage. An index of Biblical passages, and an index of principal words provide for the thorough and easy use of the collection as a chrestomathy and as material in semasiology.

With the O.E. translation in the quotations is added and printed, at the foot of the page, the Latin originals of Alfred's writings with the variants of the Latin versions, and the Vulgate for Ælfric's *Homilies*. The relations of Ælfric's *Homilies* to their Latin originals, according to Dr. Cook, "have been too little investigated to admit of a present determination of the amount of this variation." The value of the collection, especially in its use as a chrestomathy and in semasiology is so far dependent upon the determination of the original, that the quotations from Ælfric, though very rich, will be less serviceable than those from Alfred's writings. Max Förster's study in the orignals of the *Homilies*, in the *Anglia*, opens the investigation which may lead to a satisfactory determination. Much may be expected from Bishop Wordsworth's work upon the Vulgate, soon to be placed at the service of scholars.

The Latin originals and texts show the same careful treatment given to the O.E. texts. Dr. Cook has incorporated the variants and references to versions other than the Vulgate. He has provided a text which should receive the approval of the Biblical critic.

In estimating the value of the quotations as translations, it must be noted that most of the O.E. quotations are quotations of quotations. They give the translation of the original at second hand. The translation, moreover, is with a freedom which runs into exposition. Ælfric's translation is exceedingly variable in the use of the same quotations in different passages. From this practice, it would seem that no *textus receptus* governed the O.E. translator, except the tradition of an oral translation which must have arisen in the course of Bible instruction. This does not lessen the value of the collection in its use as a Chrestomathy, for which it offers a mass of material of wide range and great variety.

Dr. Cook calls attention to the use of the collection in the neglected department of O.E. semasiology, for which the quotations possess a value over much O.E. Biblical literature, in the certainty we enjoy as to dates and authorship. As known quantities they will have great weight in the settlement of questions relating to the place of much that is at present undetermined. The quotations, supplemented by a collection of citations of Biblical and ethical diction, will go far in showing the creation, development, and range of the O.E. religious and ethical dialect.

Dr. Cook has given completeness to the work and shown the place in the history of Biblical translation filled by the quotations, in an admirable conspectus of O.E. Biblical literature, which may justly claim to be the first critical review of the entire field, bringing together what we have scattered in Wanley, and Wülker's *Grundriss*, and in numerous monographs. It serves a use beyond that of an introduction to the quotations, and deserves to be published in a seperate edition. It embraces an historical and critical review of the Biblical poetry and prose from the seventh century, in paraphrase, gloss, and translation. The bibliography is very full. The controverted questions are carefully presented, traditions of authorship are traced to their origin and foundation. Their introduction into histories of O.E. literature, in which they have been repeated by respectable authors, without verification is now made inexcusable. A notable instance is shown in the account of Guthlac's version of the Psalms.

The reference of the poetical division of the *Paris Psalter* to Aldhelm, Dr. Cook rejects on the basis of Miss Helen Bartlett's study; he gives it a place, on very good grounds, in the

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middle of the tenth century, between the *Menologium* and the Benedictine *Officium*.

Dr. Cook is unwilling wholly to surrender the Alfredian authorship of the prose division of the Psalter. He gives Bruce's view that it was the work of an ignorant priest, soon, if at all, after the date of Alfred; and Wülfing's view that it was the work of Alfred, on the basis of a statement of William of Malmesbury. Whilst acknowledging that there is no resemblance between the *Paris Psalter* and Alfred's undoubted works, he finds in two passages, in two usages peculiar to Alfred a slender foundation. "It will require," says Dr. Cook,

"a more comprehensive and detailed examination to decide whether Alfred is really to be credited with the translation of all the prose Psalms extant." "There is nothing in Bruce's arguments which necessarily militates against the theory of Alfredian authorship, since it is notorious that the king was assisted by clerical collaborators in much of his scholarly activity."

The Northumbrian glosses receive in the Conspectus, as might be expected from Dr. Cook's special studies, a very full treatment in a most interesting account.

No where else will the scholar find so full and complete a statement of Ælfric's identity, in which as to the date of the *Homilies* (889–890) an error, no doubt typographical, occurs.

No question of importance in the history of O.E. Biblical literature is left untouched; upon each is given a statement more full and complete than can be found elsewhere. It brings the achievements of O.E. scholarship down to the present, and so provides for the "Advancement of O.E. Learning."

It is in this connection that we have the most important service of the collection of Biblical Quotations in the light thrown by them upon the method and extent of Biblical instruction in the O.E. Church. These questions are left in obscurity in Lingard, Soames, and other writers.

A cursory examination of the quotations, which are of the tenth century, seem to support the view that the Bible was not first given to the Angles and Saxons in direct translation. The conditions which led to the first Teutonic version of Ulfilas from the original Greek had passed away at the time of the conversion of the Saxons. The Latin versions had acquired the sacredness and authority to a high degree they have since enjoycd in the Roman communion. The Anglo-Saxon clergy would be disposed to acquire a knowledge of the scriptures first in the study of the Latin version. In the popular instruction, use would naturally be made of the existing institution of minstrelsy in poetical paraphrase, and the oral exposition of the preacher. In this way a scriptural diction and phrase would arise. The necessitles of the church service would call for the translation of those parts of the scripture which belong to the people in the liturgy, the Psalter, Canticles, the Paternoster, as Bæda's injunction to Egbert would seem to support. The neglect and ignoranceof Latin among the clergy of the ninth century would give rise to the glosses. Not until the tenth century, in the closing period of O.E. literature, have we known efforts at direct translation into the vernacular, and these find their moving cause in the lectionary of the church service. The quotations seem to show, in the freedom and independence in which they are made, that down into the tenth century, no vernacular translation beyond traditional oral usage had become recognized in any one version.

Dr. Cook's work opens a rich mine of material, and in the fine scholarship in which it is edited, is a most valuable contribution to O.E. studies.

CHARLES EDWARD HART.
Rutgers College.

ENGLISH POETRY.

Milton's Paradise Lost; Its Structure and Meaning, by JOHN A. HINES, Professor of English in Pennsylvania College. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1898.

PROFESSOR HINES informs us that the views embodied in this work came upon him as a genuine surprise, and we may be pretty sure that there is much about them that will be surprising to the reader. He assures us that despite all the study bestowed upon it, *Paradise Lost* "is even now but poorly understood;" and certainly, if his interpretations be correct, he has put the case very mildly—he might have said "is not understood by anybody."

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The present reviewer—in common, he supposes, with most ordinary persons—has always thought that the narrative in Genesis, and the ancient tradition of the fall of the angels, furnished the poet with his subject; but he now learns that this is all wrong: "not the first book but the last of the sacred volume contains the framework of the poem." It is, we now learn, an expansion of the seven trumpets of the Apocalypse, and we are carefully notified at what parts of the poem the respective soundings occur.

From this apocalyptic beginning one naturally expècts strange things and marvellous unfoldings. Should we attempt any detailed examination of this commentator's mode of forcing strange interpretations upon seemingly simple statements, we should run the risk of tiring our reader's patience; so we will let one example suffice to show the method. The matter in hand is the erection of Pandemonium; the immediate theses are that Satan is Apollyon, therefore Apollo, and that Pandemonium is Papal Rome. He works thus:-Milton compares the fallen angels (I, 613) to blasted oaks and pines. "The oracle of Apollo at Cumae is established in the neighborhood of a dense forest of pines and oaks (*Aen.* vi, 180). It is plain, therefore, that Milton had Cumae and Apollo in his mind. Now follow carefully. We are presently told of a burning hill (670), of a plain (700) where, under the direction of Mammon, (who we are told is Jupiter, though Milton identifies him with Hephaistos or Mulciber), a palace is erected, which is Papal Rome. Here are the commentator's words:—"The scene widens from Cumae" [oak and pines] "first south to Vesuvius" [burning hill] "then north into the Campania" [plain] "until in the erection of the infernal Capitol it reaches Rome." All roads lead to Rome, a proverb says, but surely this is one of the oddest.

Of the multitude of inept and irrelevant notes we shall cite but a single one. Milton (II, 880) says that the infernal gates, to let Satan pass, fly open

"With impetuous recoil and jarring sound."

On which the Professor has this luminous note:—

"*Recoil.* After long detention in the 'iron furnace' of Egypt, the children of Israel were thrust out, (*Exod.* xi, i). The recoil of Hell-gates is like the sudden urgency of the Egyptians after their sullen resistance."

The present reviewer will cheerfully present his copy of the book to any one, Professor Hines included, who will explain the meaning or relevancy of this note.

WM. HAND BROWNE.
Johns Hopkins University.

CORRESPONDENCE.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL.

TO THE EDITORS OF MOD. LANG. NOTES,

SIRS:—May I avail myself of your columns for addressing a request to all your readers interested especially in English philology? For some months past I have been engaged upon a bibliography of the study, getting titles and subjects entered upon catalogue-cards. The Cornell collection of books and periodicals is fairly good; certainly for recent years. But we are not blessed with everything. I should be extremely obliged, therefore, for information upon:—

a. Early literature, edd. etc., not recorded, for Oldest English, in Wülker's *Grundriss.*

b. Periodicals containing articles of value. Here I should like title in full, editor(s), publisher, date when the periodical was begun, etc. Thus, is the *Museum*, *Maanblad voor Philologie*, etc., edd. Blok, Speijer, Sijmons. Groningen; Wolters (begun 1893), to be had in this country? Or, *Tidskrift, nordisk, för Filologi?*.

By "philology" I understand not merely linguistics, but authors, literature, *Kultur*, etc., coming down certainly to the Tudor period. Chaucer, however, I am unable to attack exhaustively.

While my pen is in, let me indite a few strictures upon the "sloppy" manner in which Petri has prepared the *Uebersicht*, etc. (1894) as Supplement-heft to the *Anglia* 1896-7. To begin, the editor might simplify and clasify his references, to the great comfort of his readers, by using abbreviations. Why such ponderous entries as, p. 15, bottom, Sievers (E), Zur

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Geschichte . . . *Beiträge z. Gesch. d. d. Spr. u. Litt.*? Would not the use of *P. B. Bei.* be equally clear and infinitely more concise? And why, in one entry, insert the number of the *Heft*, but omit it from another entry? Anyhow, why cite by *Heft* at all, instead of by page? Page 43, bottom, sub *Chettle*, Brandl's review of Ackermann is referred to *Litteraturbl.* v. 3, which is usually cited *Literaturbl. f. germ. u. rom. Philol.*; Zupitza's review is referred to *Archiv*, etc. ('94), meaning year 1894 (!), whereas usually the references are to volume (in this instance xcii, 99). Page 39, *Historia Brittonum*, Mommsen's article is referred to *Neues Archiv* 19,2, but Zimmer's to xix, 3. Lastly, all the references to reviews in the *Anzeiger für d. Altertum* are referred to the *Zeitschrift*, though the two have different pagination and volume-numbering.

In brief, Petri and his successors ought to be exhorted to print at the beginning of each issue of the *Uebersicht* a strictly alphabetical list of abbreviations, and to use genuine abbreviations and not mere mutilations of title. To work with safety, this alphabetical list should, in fact, be prepared first *of all*.

J. M. HART.

Cornell University.

GERMAN ORTHOGRAPHY AND PHONOLOGY.

TO THE EDITORS OF MOD. LANG. NOTES,

SIRS:—You will allow me a word of explanation in reference to Professor Blau's review of my *German Orthography and Phonology* in the June number of MOD. LANG. NOTES. He quotes from my book:—

"and if Berlin remains the capital of the Empire, it must ultimately have an importance and influence similar to that long exerted by the speech of London and Paris,"

and adds:—

"Of course, Mr. Hempl has a right to express some doubt as to whether Berlin is likely to remain the capital of the Empire, and it is not on that ground that I take exception to the above passage, although I cannot suppress a sad smile when I meet with such a suggestion in this place. 'Es thut mir weh, dass ich dich in *der* Gesellschaft seh.'"

I know that one cannot write on pronunciation and expect to escape contradiction, but I did not suppose that my innocent statement as to Berlin would be misunderstood and arouse feeling. As a philologist, I had no right to prophesy as to future German history. Personally I may say, however, that I hope and trust that Berlin with long remain the capital of Germany. In fact, I should also like to see that Germany include the whole German-speaking territory.

Detailed criticisms, such as Prof. Blau makes, are very welcome to me, though most of the points that he refers to will be found fully treated in the Word-List; it would have overburdened the text to there incorporate many details. The majority of Prof. Blau's criticisms pertain to the question of what is most usual. Being himself one of those who very kindly report to me their own usage and to whose faithful and unselfish collaboration the book owes so much, Prof. Blau should not have forgotten that my statements as to usage are not based upon the personal observation of any one individual, but upon that of representatives of all parts of Germany. For example, I personally agree with Prof. Blau in having long *u* and *ü* in *wusch*, *wuchs*, *wüchsig*, etc., and, like him, never use the short vowels. But I found that this older usage (it is a case of § 141 *b*, not, as Prof. Blau suggests, of § 137, N. 3) is now rare outside of parts of Middle Germany; and, as I was giving an account of general usage and not of that of my parents' native Saxony, I could not report otherwise than I did. For Prof. Blau's explanation of the secondary stress of *Elek`tricität*, etc., as due to the chief stress of *elek'trisch*, etc., I am thankful; it is certainly the correct explanation.

GEORGE HEMPL.

University of Michigan.

BRIEF MENTION.

Prof. T. A. Jenkins, of Vanderbilt University, has prepared and printed a series of forty-five lessons in Bevier's *French Grammar*, for the use of second-year students. Sample copies may be had by addressing (with stamp) Miss F. Jenkins, Gwynedd, Pa., and a limited number are available at a price to cover cost of printing.

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VOL. XIII. DECEMBER, 1898. No. 8.

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES.

Baltimore, December, 1898.

FROISSART'S PASTOURELLES.

THE poetical works of Jean Froissart, the chronicler, are contained in the MSS. 830 and 831 du fonds français de la Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, MSS. which formerly bore the numbers 7214 and 7215.

Among the poems to which these manuscripts are entirely consecrated are twenty which bear the name of *Pastourelles*.

MS. 830 contains nineteen of these poems with the superscription: "Ci apres sensieuent pastourelles," and at the end: "Explicit pastourelles." MS. 831 contains fourteen, of which thirteen correspond to those of MS. 830, one being found in 831 alone, thus completing the number of twenty. The superscription in 831 is: "Chi sensieuent grant fuison de pastourielles."

Bartsch, in the Anhang to his *Altfr. Romanzen u. Pastourellen*, Leipzig, 1870, printed eight of these poems "um die weitere Entwicklung dieser beliebten Gattung (der Pastourelle) im 14. Jahrhundert anschaulich zu machen." Scheler, in his complete edition of Froissart's poems[1], which so worthily concludes Baron Kervyn de Lettenhove's great edition of the historical writings, reproduces these poems under the same heading: *Pastourelles*.[2] Now, the purpose of this paper is to show that these so-called *Pastourelles* are, according to their form, nothing more or less than Chants Royaux: a fact which the writer believes to have been hitherto overlooked.

If one regarded the contents alone, one might be content with the traditional designation; yet even here I find an additional proof of my contention. It will suffice for the indication of the character of these poems to quote a passage from Scheler's Introduction:[3]

"La pastourelle de Froissart sort tout à fait du caractère ordinaire de ce genre poëtique; les bergers et les bergères en sont encore les principaux personnages, et la formule sacramentelle 'l'autrier' et 'l'autre jour' n'y est nullement négligée, mais il ne s'agit plus de chevaliers courtisant des pastoures ou de rustres bergers dupés ou dupant. Le sujet s'est annobli; tantôt nous sommes transportés au milieu des ébats ou des petites querelles innocentes de la gent champêtre; tantôt c'est un évènement politique, une alliance nobiliaire, un grand personnage livrés à l'appréciation grotesque ou aux impressions vives et naïves des tousettes et touseaux."

"Le sujet s'est annobli;" this summarizes the argument to be derived from the contents. The subject treated by the Chant Royal is always, in accordance with the stately rhythm of the form, a lofty one.

As to the form of these "Pastourelles," Scheler merely says:[4]

"Quant à la facture, nous remarquons que toutes se composent de cinq strophes et d'un envoi de 5 vers; la longueur des strophes varie entre 11 (2 pièces), 12 (5), 14 (7) et 16 (6) vers."

Bartsch does not investigate the form.

The Chant Royal, as written by later poets, of whom Clement Marot is taken by modern writers on versification (for example, De Banville) as the model, consists of five eleven-lined stanzas in decasyllabic metre with refrain, and envoi of five lines closing likewise with refrain. The rhyme-order is ababccddedE; envoi ddedE.

This, however, was the final development of the form. Like the Ballade, of which it is a variety, it passed through different phases of transformation before becoming thus fixed. Thus Eustache Deschamps in his *Art de Dictier*, 1392,[5] seems to understand under the name Chant Royal (Chançon Royal) a poem in five ballade-strophes.[6] Henri de Croy (=Molinet) in his *L'Art et Science de rhéthorique pour faire rigmes et ballades*, 1493,[7] mentions it *en passant*, but with sufficient clearness:

1 Brussels, 1870, 1871.

2 Vol. ii, pp. 306–352.

3 Vol. i, p. lii.

4 Vol. ii, p. 464.

5 *Œuvres complètes*, publ. pour la Société des anciens textes français par Gaston Raynaud, Paris, 1878–94, vol. vii, p. 278.

6 He speaks of it in passing, *à propos* of the envoi: "Item, en la dicte balade a envoy. Et ne les souloit faire anciennement fors es chançons royaulx, qui estoient de 5 couples, chascune couple de x., xi., ou xii. vers; et de tant se puevent bien faire et non pas de plus, par droicte regle." He goes on to speak of the *envoy* of five lines, which must begin with the traditional word *Prince*.

7 Reprinted by Silvestre, 1830.

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"Champt Royal se recorde aux Puys où se donnent couronnes et chapaulx à ceux qui mieux le sçavent le faire; et se faict à refrain, comme Ballades, mais y a cinq couplets et envoy."

How vague and various were the opinions regarding the Chant Royal of the early theorists on versification will be evident from a perusal of Langlois, *De artibus rhetoricæ rhythmicæ*, Parisiis, 1890, who gives accounts of all such *artes* from Deschamps to the Renaissance.

Prior to and contemporaneously with Froissart, poems were written which show the Chant Royal in a still flexible form; thus in the works of Adam de la Halle may be found several which correspond to the above definitions in so far as they are written in five ballade-strophes. I will refer to three reproduced by Nicole de Margival in *Le Dit de la Panthère d'Amours*, 1328,[8] in which the stanzas contain from seven to nine verses of from four to ten syllables. Examples by Deschamps show the ten-lined and eight-lined strophe, with *envoi* of four or six verses.

Now Froissart himself has left us six *Chansons Roiaus* which appear in Scheler.[9] Froissart's own Chants Royaux are, it is interesting to note, not more exact examples of this form as compared with Marot's models than his so-called Pastourelles. They are, it is true, written in decasyllabic metre, but they lack the refrain, a distinctive feature of the regular Chant Royal, and one of them contains ten lines in each of its strophes instead of eleven; while the *envoi* varies between three and five verses.

I proceed now to a closer examination of the form of Froissart's Pastourelles:

Each poem has five stanzas and closes with a five-lined *envoi*.

The *envois* (except of vi, viii and xiv, which have "Belles") begin with the traditional word "Princes."

The measure throughout is the *vers octosyllabe*. The rhymes are as follows:

1.	ababccddedE:	*Pastourelles*	ii, iv.
2.	ababbccddedE:	"	i, iii, vi, xiv, xx.
3.	ababbccddeefeF:	"	v, viii, xv, xvi, xvii, xviii, xix.
4.	ababbccddeeffgfG:	"	vii, ix, x, xi, xii, xiii.

Each *envoi* is, formally, a repetition of the last five verses of the strophe of the poem to which it belongs; thus ddedE, eefeF, ffgfG. Now, the rhyme-order of the first division (*Past.* ii, iv) is exactly that of the perfect Chant Royal as written by Marot and as followed by Froissart himself, in five out of six of his own Chants Royaux.

It needs but a glance at the other divisions to see that they are very simple expansions of the first. The expansion is graduated in the above order. Thus 2. has one additional b-rhyme inserted after the first quatrain; 3. expands the e-rhyme into a couplet, and adds two verses on a sixth rhyme: f. with a third e-rhyme between them to preserve the character of the strophe; 4. enlarges ddeefeF into ddeeffgfG. These modifications are all along the lines of the original rhyme-arrangement and admirably preserve the character and effect of the Chant Royal strophe. A striking proof that Froissart felt these longer strophes in the same way as the original eleven-lined stanza, I find in the fact that the *envoi* is always written as if for the eleven-lined strophe; namely, with five verses. And a fact of prime importance in connection with the poems under discussion is that in Marot's own works is included a Chant Royal in thirteen-lined stanzas, with *envoi* of six verses.[10]

It follows that the only substantial point of difference between the Chant Royal and Froissart's Pastourelle is the choice of the octosyllabic instead of the decasyllabic metre. I may be allowed the conjecture that this choice was influenced by the nature of the contents; the Pastourelle is traditionally a light and graceful poem to which the stately epic line is less adapted naturally. On the other hand, without increasing the list of examples, both Deschamps and Adam de la Halle have

8 Ed. Todd, Société des anciens textes français, Paris, 1883, pp. 40, 93, 96.

9 Vol. ii, pp. 352–365.

10 *Œuvres Compl.tes de Clément Marot.* Paris, Rapilly, 1824, Vol. iii, p. 492 ff.

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utilized this metre for their (as compared with the final development of the form) less rigorous Chants Royaux. And this deviation, if it still be regarded as one, is certainly not as serious as those which Froissart shows in the poems by himself designated Chants Royaux; namely, the omission of the refrain, the use (in one instance) of the ten-lined ballade strophe, and the variation in the number of verses contained in the *envoi*.

The writer believes that he has conclusively shown that, while from the nature of their contents, the designation of Pastourelle for these poems may, perhaps, be justified, they are, according to form, true Chants Royaux.

F. J. A. Davidson.

Stanford University.

A CHAUCERIAN EXPRESSION.

The oath between Palamon and Arcite in Chaucer's *Knight's Tale* is as follows (A 1133–1135):

> That never, for *to dyen in the peyne*,
> Til that the deeth departe shal us tweyne,
> Neither of us in love to hindren other.

Tyrwhitt remarks that, in Froissart V. i. c 206, "Edward III declares that he will not return 'jusques a tant qu'il auroit fin de guerre, ou paix à sa suffisaunce, ou à sa grand honneur: *ou il mourroit en la peine*.'" The same commentator referred to the *Romaunt of the Rose*, (3326–3328):

> Me were lever *dye in the peyne*,
> Than love to me-ward shulde arette
> Falsheed, or tresoun on me sette.

Also in *Anelida and Arcite* (286–288) a similar expression occurs:

> For God so wisly on my soule rewe,
> As verily ye *sleen me with the peyne*;

and, when Theseus has heard Palamon's confession, he says (A 1746–1747):

> "It nedeth noght *to pyne you with the corde*
> Ye shul be deed, by mighty Mars the rede!"

It has occurred to me that all these passages may refer to the *peine forte et dure*, also called *la grant penaunce*, a cruel method used for making contumacious prisoners plead in court. The mention of a charge of treason in the *Romaunt* assists this hypothesis. Many prisoners charged of treason died of the torture inflicted on them, rather than plead and run risk of conviction and consequent confiscation of the property that would descend to their heirs if the prisoners remained unconvicted. I have found, however, no reference to a "cord" in the infliction of this particular penalty. That the passages refer to torture to extort confession is obvious or possible, unless in the case from Froissart. It is an interesting figure if Anelida means that Arcite torments her to death in order to make her plead her love; although the phrase may have passed from metaphor into idiom, and lost its original color.

The best account of *la peine forte et dure* is found in an article by Prof. Thayer in the *Harvard Law Review*, vol. v, p. 269. Two quotations from published documents will furnish sufficient illustration for present purposes:

To a certain knight who refuses either to plead or to accept his jurors, the Justice says: "Domine Hugo, si vos consentire velitis in eis (the jurors), Deo mediante, ipsi operabuntur pro vobis si vos consentire volueritis in eis. Et si vos velitis legem communem refutare, vos portabitis poenam inde ordinatam, scilicet, 'uno die manducabitis, et alio die bibebitis; et die quo bibitis non manducabitis, et e contra; et manducabitis de pane ordeaceo et non salo, et aqua, etc.,' multa exponens sibi unde non esset bonum morari per ibi sed melius valeret consentire in eis."—*Year Book Edw. I*, 30–31, p. 531.

"Un Jon fut attache et baille a un dizeyn a garder a turn de vicomte, ne fut pas a cele oure endite; cely Johan quant il fut issi baille en garde le dizeyn e sen alast; le doze jurors a cel oure quiderent qil ne seyt pas mester de ly enditer, e pur ceo que a lour enditement quiderent qil ut este pris e en garde de vicomte, par quei eux ne luy enditunt poynt. Cesti Jon fut pris apres e mene devant Justices, et fut aresne de plusors felonyes, et il se fit mut e ne voleyt respundre; par quei il agarde a la graunt penance (translated on opposite page: peine forte et dure)." *Ibidem*, p. 503. For discription of pressing see Fleta.

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GOETHES HOMUNKULUS.[1]

(Schluss.)

Diese Wiederverkörperlichung ist eine auf künstlichem Wege hervorgebrachte. Das daraus entstehende künstliche Dasein der

1 Note. In the first part of this article, Mod. Lang. Notes, xiii, col. 442, l. 48, read *Melodien* for *Methoden*; col. 443, ll. 3 f., read *Systole* for *Symbole*; *ibid.* ll. 30 f., read *Hereinspielen* for *Hexenspiel*.

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Helena und der Ihrigen hat zum Gegensatz das natürliche Dasein, wie es einst die historische Helena in Sparta und in Troja besessen hatte. Das künstliche Dasein ist jedoch kein Gegensatz zum wirklichen Dasein. Wirklichkeit kommt auch dem künstlichen Dasein im vollsten Masse zu—in dieser Thatsache stimmen natürliches und künstliches Dasein durchaus überein. Von dieser künstlichen Art ihres Daseins haben die Wiederverkörperten ein deutliches Bewusstsein. Der Chor weiss sehr gut, dass er schon in der Unterwelt war; Helena wird höhnisch von Mephistopheles darauf hingewiesen und kommt sich in Erinnerung daran jetzt als Idol vor. Sie führt ein künstliches, aber kein natürliches Dasein. Wie Helena und die Mädchen im Vollgefühle des neuen Lebens den ihnen drohenden Tod von der Hand des Menelas schauen, redet sie Mephistopheles als "Gespenster" an, um auf die Künstlichkeit ihres Daseins in der Körperwelt hinzuweisen. Für ihn sind aber nicht nur sie Gespenster; alle Menschen sind es, nur sind die Natürlicherzeugten es in geringerem Grade. Die "geeinte Zweinatur" ist infolge der natürlichen Zeugung eine festgefügte, während sie bei den künstlich Wiederverkörperten eine leicht lösbare ist, so leicht, dass schon der eigene Wille diese Lösung bewirkt, wie das bei Helena und den Mädchen auch in der That eintritt, aber in der Mannigfaltigkeit der Art, wie sie dem Reichtum des schöpferischen Genius Goethes entspricht—sachlich ist es jedoch überall dasselbe. Ein "Leichnam" kann nicht erscheinen. Sobald das Schattenbild sich trennt und die belebende Kraft den Stoff verlässt, bleibt dieser formlos zurück und verbindet sich mit dem sonstigen toten Stoff. Der Dichter ist auch hier so streng folgerichtig, dass er die anders geartete Natur des Euphorion auch durch diesen Unterschied kennzeichnet—sein Leichnam wird gesehen. Stammt er doch durch natürliche Zeugung nur einerseits von einer künstlich wiederbelebten Mutter, aber andrerseits von dem natürlich gebornen Vater, er kann und muss daher auch natürlich sterben. So kann also Gerber auch in der That den von ihm verlangten "dead body" sehen. Im übrigen wird er sich freilich dabei beruhigen müssen, dass der konsequente Dichter ausdrücklich vor unseren Augen das Körperliche verschwinden lässt. Nur bei der Panthalis erspart er sich und uns die Wiederholung des sichtbaren Prozesses der Auflösung, an der wir aber doch wahrlich gerade in diesem Falle nicht zu zweifeln haben. Es kommt doch auch sonst vor, dass der Dichter jemanden mit der Absicht sich entfernen lässt, um den Tod zu suchen, und er zeigt uns seinen Körper nicht—warum sollen wir hier denn auf der Leichenbeschauung bestehen?

Leugnet man diesen Zusammenhang des Homunkulus mit den wiederbelebten Gestalten des Helenadramas, so muss man sowohl den Homunkulus als eine willkürliche, ausserhalb des dramatischen Ganges stehende, dichterische Laune ansehen, als auch darauf verzichten, das Erscheinen der Helena aus dem Zusammenhange des Dramas zu verstehen. Es bleibt dann die grosse Lücke zwischen der klassischen Walpurgisnacht und dem Helenadrama unausgefüllt, während Goethe, der es doch schliesslich am besten wissen musste, bekanntlich behauptet hat, die grosse Lücke sei ausgefüllt. Meine Auffassung ist nichts weiter als ein Nachweis, wie diese Lücke thatsächlich beseitigt worden ist. Der Einwand Gerbers, dass alle Leser vor mir diesen Gedanken nicht gehabt haben, ist als Grund gegen seine Richtigkeit doch wahrlich nicht ernst zu nehmen. Es ist eben leider bisher üblich gewesen, infolge der grundfalschen Methode, bei den Gestalten des sogenannten zweiten Teiles zuerst nach der ausserhalb des Dramas liegenden symbolischen oder allegorischen Bedeutung zu forschen. So bald die Überzeugung von der selbständigen Realität dieser Gestalten die Frage nach ihrer Stellung in der dramatischen Entwicklung in den Vordergrund stellt, möchte allerdings die von mir vertretene Auffassung nicht so weit zu suchen gewesen sein. Hat doch schon die Welt in unsäglich viel bedeutungsvolleren und sie näher berührenden Fragen warten müssen, bis jemand kam, der die Dinge mit einem, nicht durch die bisherige Art des Sehens voreingenommenen Auge betrachtete. Von denen, die *Faust* zu erforschen bemüht sind, berechtigt der eine mit seiner Betrachtungsweise den Direktor des Vorspieles auf dem Theater zu seiner Aufforderung an den Dichter: "Gebt ihr ein Stück, so gebt es gleich in Stücken"—er

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weiss zu gut, dass es doch zerpflückt werden wird. Ein anderer steht aber auf der Seite des Dichters, der "das Einzelne zur allgemeinen Weihe" ruft, "wo es in herrlichen Akkorden schlägt." Eine Untersuchung aber, deren Ziel die Erkenntnis dieser Akkorde ist, verfolgt die ästhetische Methode.

Diesem Hauptpunkt gegenüber treten die sonstigen Einwände Gerbers zurück. Sie beziehen sich in der That auf mehr Äusserliches, und ich würde sie hier ganz bei Seite lassen, wenn in ihnen nicht seltsame Missverständnisse zu Tage träten. Gerber behauptet als Punkt 1 seiner Einwendungen, meine Behauptung sei, die Akte ii and iii bildeten:

"such a close, separate unity within the whole of the drama, that a personage of Homunculus' importance must needs appear in both acts,"

und zitiert dafür *Goethe-Jahrbuch*, S. 130. Wer dort nachliest, findet zu seinem Erstaunen, dass dort steht:

"dass zwischen den beiden Akten der allerinnigste Zusammenhang besteht, so dass sie als etwas enge Zusammengehöriges, als besondere Einheit betrachtet werden müssen, wird nun aber durch die Rolle bewiesen, die Mephistopheles in ihnen spielt."

Dies wird im einzelnen nachgewiesen und aus diesem so nachgewiesenen Zusammenhang ergeben sich die Fragen (S. 131 f.): Was wird aus Homunkulus? Wo kommt Helena her? Nach meiner Auffassung kann Homunkulus als Homunkulus im Helenadrama gar nicht mehr erscheinen, wohl aber wirkt die Lebenskraft, deren Einführung zur Belebung des toten Stoffes der Dichter notwendig braucht und die er zum Zwecke des dramatischen Auftretens mit einer vorläufigen Verkörperung hat ausstatten müssen, in Helena und allen Ihrigen fort—aber Homunkulus, als solcher, existiert von dem Augenblicke nicht mehr, in dem er die Flasche zerbricht. Ferner: die unter No. 2 aufgeführte angeblich von mir herrührende Behauptung steht auf der zitierten S. 132 überhaupt nicht und mit diesen Worten auch nirgends bei mir, wenn sie auch dem Inhalte nach meiner Auffassung entspricht. Homunkulus hätte allerdings "no serious purpose in the drama," wenn er nicht, wie ich es ausdrücken würde, die Gesammtentwicklung des dramatischen Ganges förderte, wenn er nicht wesentlich in sie eingriffe. Für die "appearance of the actual Helena and her women" ist er jedoch nur einer der drei notwendigen Bestandteile. Er hätte existieren und wirken können und Helena wäre doch nicht aufgetreten, wenn die beiden anderen Bestandteile sich nicht gleichfalls willig dargeboten hätten. Und so hat Gerber mit Punkt 3 recht, der diese drei Bestandteile aufzählt. Der Punkt 4:

"the reader will not believe in the appearance of the actual Helena and her women, unless the poet show him how they obtain life and matter,"

mit Hinweis auf *Goethe-Jahrbuch*, S. 138 f., stellt die Sache wieder in ein falsches Licht. Es kommt für die Erweckung dieses Glaubens nicht auf das Wiedererscheinen der Helena an, sondern auf die eigentümliche Art ihres Daseins. Gewinnt dieses Zauberdasein nicht erst dadurch die Wahrscheinlichkeit einer Wirklichkeit, wenn der Dichter es uns vor Augen entstehen lässt? Wenn der Dichter einen Geist erscheinen lässt, wie Shakespeare Hamlets Vater oder Banquo, oder Goethe selbst den Erdgeist, so ist es nicht nötig, dass er uns die Wahrscheinlichkeit dieses Geistes erweist: das Erscheinen von Geistern steht als Thatsache so fest im Glauben der Menschen, besonders in manchen Epochen, dass der Dichter nichts nachzuweisen braucht. Er lässt den Geist kommen und wir glauben ohne weiteres an ihn. Hier handelt es sich aber nicht um das Erscheinen von Geistern, wie in der klassischen *Walpurgisnacht*, sondern um eine materielle, körperliche Wiederbelebung, um eine Erscheinung in Fleisch und Blut, die ausserhalb des Wunderglanzes dieser Nacht ihr wahrhaft körperliches Dasein beibehält. Diese die volle Kraft der Wirklichkeit tragende Verkörperung muss uns glaublich gemacht werden; dass ein Mensch mit dem Geiste eines Weibes einen Sohn gezeugt habe, ist unfassbar. Dass Faust, der mit Helena einen Sohn zeugen soll, sich bei seiner Vermählung mit Helena nicht mit einem Geist, sondern mit einem echten, wirklichen menschlichen Wesen vermählt hat—das ist es, was uns glaubhaft gemacht werden muss. Gerber erfasst diesen Unterschied nicht, weil er Helena nur als Geist betrachtet, was falsch ist. So muss ihm

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auch die daran sich schliessende Reflexion unklar bleiben. Punkt 5 ist richtig gefasst: der neugeschaffene Ausfluss des Weltgeistes mit seiner belebenden Kraft braucht, gerade weil der ganze Verlauf ein künstlicher, nicht ein natürlicher ist, mit dem von ihm belebten Stoffe nicht zuerst die niedrigsten Lebensformen auszufüllen, wie es im natürlichen Verlaufe der Dinge notwendig wäre. Trifft er auf einen der Unterwelt eben entsteigenden Schatten, der seinerseits belebten Stoff sucht, um zur Wiederbelebung zu gelangen, so kann er hier sofort seine Thätigkeit beginnen. Die mir in Punkt 6 zugeschriebene Behauptung,

"it is an *easy* task for the reader's imagination to comprehend that it is the purpose of Homunkulus to furnish life and matter [richtig—'life,' und in Verbindung mit den von ihm belebten Elementen auch—'matter'] for Helena and her women, and Goethe had no chance to make this more plain than he has done,"

steht in solcher absoluten Fassung nirgends bei mir, also auch nicht auf den zitierten Seiten 142–144. Es ist ein grosser Unterschied, ob das so schlechthin ausgesprochen wird, oder ob dem Leser, wie es bei uns geschieht, die vom Dichter gegebenen Andeutungen und Hinweisungen zusammen gefasst, in ihrem Zusammenhang dargethan und erklärt werden und daran sich die Frage schliesst, ob auf Grund dieser so zusammen betrachteten Voraussetzungen nicht "die Brücke von Homunkulus zu Helena wirklich geschlagen ist" oder gesagt wird, der Dichter sei im Rechte, zu erwarten, dass seine Leser und Hörer

"die geringe Kraftleistung von Phantasie, um die Brücke zu schlagen, wo Ausgangs- und Zielpunkte gegeben und die Richtfäden herüber und hinüber gezogen sind, selbst aufzuwenden vermögen."

Aber freilich, diese Zusammenhänge müssen erst vom Leser und Hörer erkannt, und zu diesem Zwecke vom Kritiker dargelegt werden. Ist doch unser Leser- und Hörerpublikum seit Jahrzehnten dazu erzogen worden nachzusprechen, ein Zusammenhang sei in der Faustdichtung überhaupt nicht da—da wird es freilich schwer sein, die Erkenntnis dieser Aufgabe zu verlangen, die übrigens nur nach Gerbers Angabe "an *easy* task" von mir genannt worden sein soll. Bei mir kommt diese Bezeichnung nicht vor. Die Einwände Gerbers, die sich durch ihre unzutreffenden Behauptungen nicht vorteilhaft auszeichnen, sind hiernach weit davon entfernt, Widerlegungen darzubieten. Es war daher allzu schnell, dass der Berichterstatter über *Deutsche Litteratur in Amerika* im *Euphorion* (Band v, Heft 2, S. 358) schreibt, Gerber habe "die sechs Punkte widerlegt." Es hätte dem thatsächlichen Bestande mehr entsprochen, wenn er geschrieben hätte, Gerber habe diese Punkte "zu widerlegen versucht." Wie leicht die Erkenntnis gewesen wäre, dass es sich bei Gerber nur um einen Versuch, nicht um erreichtes Ziel handelt, hätte dem Berichterstatter unter anderem der Umstand zeigen können, wie Gerber im besonderen die enge Zusammengehörigkeit von Akt ii und Akt iii bestreitet:

"In the first place, there is Eckermann's testimony, that the Classical Walpurgis-Night and the Helena-Drama are 'independent little worlds that concern each other little,' 'für sich bestehende kleine Weltenkreise die . . . . einander wenig angehen.'"

Der Ausdruck "Eckermann's testimony" muss den unbefangenen Leser zur Annahme bringen, Eckermann lege Zeugnis ab für einen Ausspruch Goethes. Es sind aber Eckermann's eigene Worte und gerade die wichtigsten sind obendrein ausgelassen und durch Punkte ersetzt, die die Meinung erwecken müssen, hier sei ein Zwischensatz, der mit der Hauptfrage nichts zu thun habe. Er hat aber sehr viel damit zu thun, denn es heisst unter Hinzufügung der auch vorher weggelassenen, aber für das Verständnis der ganzen Stelle sehr wichtigen anderen Subjekte:

"denn im Grunde sind doch der Auerbachsche Keller, die Hexenküche, der Blocksberg, der Reichstag, die Maskerade, das Papiergeld, das Laboratorium, die klassische Walpurgisnacht, die Helena lauter für sich bestehende kleine Weltenkreise, die, *in sich abgeschlossen, wohl auf einander wirken*, aber doch einander wenig angehen."

Es ist somit hier ausgesprochen, dass in der Faustdichtung eine Reihe von Handlungen auftreten, deren jede für sich ein abgeschlossenes Ganzes bildet. Dies ist der Charakter der Gesamtdichtung und bezeichnet nicht nur das Verhältnis von Akt ii und iii. Damit aber gewinnt die Darlegung eine durchaus andre

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Bedeutung und die Herausgreifung zweier einzelner Handlungen, als ob blos zwischen ihnen ein loser äusserer Zusammenhang bestehe, ist unstatthaft. Es zeigt sich auch hier wieder, wie Gerber den Blick auf das Ganze bei Seite setzt, um eine Einzelheit für sich betrachten zu können. Es ist aber zweitens hier ausgesprochen, dass diese in sich abgeschlossenen Handlungen "wohl auf einander wirken, aber doch einander wenig angehen." Der Einzelverlauf der Einzelhandlung hat mit dem Einzelverlauf der anderen wenig zu thun, aber die eine Gesamthandlung wirkt als solche auf die folgende, die ohne die vorhergehende nicht denkbar wäre. Hätte nun Gerber mein Buch *Goethes Faustdichtung* beachtet, so hätte er gefunden, dass ich gerade die in sich abgeschlossenen, im Einzelverlauf sich wenig berührenden Handlungen ganz ausdrücklich als solche in ihrer Bedeutung für den Gesamtbau der Dichtung überhaupt nachgewiesen habe. Er hätte aber auch gefunden, dass der Dichter, um von einer Haupthandlung zu der folgenden, auf einem ganz anderen Gebiete sich bewegenden, überzuführen, sich eines durch die ganze Dichtung gleichmässig beibehaltenen technischen Hilfsmittels bedient. Er schickt der Handlung stets eine Vorhandlung voraus, die die Aufgabe hat, in die in der Haupthandlung erscheinende Lebenssphäre einzuführen und sie vorzubereiten. Je eigenartiger diese Haupthandlung ist, um so ausführlicher und eingehender wird die vorbereitende Handlung ausgesponnen. Nun ist aber keine Haupthandlung eigenartiger und setzt mehr Vorbereitungen voraus als das Helenadrama. Die Vorhandlung ist daher hier die ausführlichste—sie umfasst die gesamten Mittel zur Wiederbelebung der Helena, also die Schaffung des Homunkulus und die klassische Walpurgisnacht. Eine genaue Darstellung dieser dem ganzen Drama eigentümlichen Technik giebt das Buch *Goethe's Faustdichtung* sowie die Übersicht auf S. 13 in meiner *Fausterläuterung;* diese künstlerische Technik selbst findet ihre Darlegung auf S. 51 dieser Schrift. Ihr Verständnis ist für die Einsicht in die Reihenfolge der Erlebnisse von entschiedener Bedeutung. Das, was Eckermann nur andeutend und nicht mit eingehendem Verständnis des Sachverhaltes schildert, ist jedoch nur seine Antwort auf Goethes Darlegung, wie er den vierten Akt zu gestalten denke. Goethe geht dabei nicht auf das Einzelne ein, sondern legt nur den Grundcharakter dar, wie er sich ja einzelner Erklärungen absichtlich enthalten hat. Er sagt nach Eckermanns Bericht:

"Dieser Akt bekommt wieder einen ganz eigenen Charakter, so dass er, wie eine für sich bestehende kleine Welt, das übrige nicht berührt und nur durch einen leisen Bezug zu dem Vorhergehenden und Folgenden sich dem Ganzen anschliesst."

Eckermanns Antwort ist nur ein Echo dieser Worte und giebt mit ihrer Umschreibung nicht eine Spur von Neuem. Es hätte also das Wort Goethes angeführt werden müssen, das, soweit hier Goethes Worte überhaupt als authentisch betrachtet werden dürfen, allein Anspruch auf Authentizität machen kann. Wie sehr aber gerade diese Darlegung mit meiner Auffassung stimmt, zeigt ein Vergleich mit dem von mir für die Gesamtdichtung aufgestellten Grundgedanken in der Technik des künstlerischen Aufbaues. Bei diesem ist jedoch einzusetzen, wenn man ein Einzelglied des Ganzen so verstehen will, wie nach des Dichters Überzeugung in der That jedes Einzelglied zu dem einheitlichen Wirken des Ganzen des Faustwerkes beitragen muss.

Wer Gerbers Abhandlung eingehend liest, wird gern anerkennen, dass sie aus ernster Arbeit hervorgegangen ist und in ihrer Art mit redlichem Bestreben nach der Lösung des Problemes ringt, das sie sich stellt. Aber er geht von der Voraussetzung aus, es wäre möglich zum Verständnis einer Einzelgestalt der Dichtung zu gelangen, ohne ihre Stellung im Zusammenhange der Dichtung zu prüfen. Diese Verschiedenheit seiner Auffassung von der meinigen macht nun seine Einwände und meine Gegendarlegungen nicht zu einer Streitfrage zwischen Gerber und mir, sondern es handelt sich um einen methodischen Unterschied bei der Untersuchung eines Kunstwerkes. Es muss daher zum Schlusse mit aller Entschiedenheit betont werden, dass es nicht auf Abweichungen in Einzelfragen ankommt, sondern auf eine entscheidende methodologische Frage: Soll ein Kunstwerk dazu dienen, um in seinen Einzelheiten zu symbolischer und allegorischer Ausdeutung verwendet zu werden, oder soll, zum mindesten in

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erster Linie, realistisches Verständnis des Kunstwerkes erstrebt werden, so dass jede Einzelheit auf ihre Stellung im Zusammenhange geprüft wird? Ergiebt sich dann die Neigung, symbolische und allegorische Deutungen auch noch zu versuchen, die sich freilich nie von dem Ergebnis der realistischen Erkenntnis entfernen dürften, nun, so mag man diesen Sprung ins Dunkel wagen. Ich glaube jedoch nicht, dass, ist erst das realistische Verständnis gewonnen, solche Neigung noch vorhanden sein wird—ich meinerseits empfinde nicht das geringste Bedürfnis dazu.[2]

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MALDON AND BRUNNANBURH.

Maldon and Brunnanburh: Two Old English Songs of Battle. Ed. by CHARLES LANGLEY CROW, Ph. D. Boston: Ginn and Company, 1897. 8vo, xxxvii, 47 pp.

Zur Entwicklung der Historischen Dichtung bei den Angelsachsen, von DANIEL ABEGG. (*Quellen u. Forschungen*, 73 Heft.) Strassburg: Karl J. Trübner, 1894. 8vo, xii, 126 pp.

The Crawford Collection of Early Charters and Documents, now in the Bodleian Library. Ed. by A. S. NAPIER and W. H. STEVENSON. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1895. 4to, xi, 167 pp.

ASIDE from the history of the MSS. and sources in the Introduction, the new edition of *Maldon* and *Brunnanburh* seems to me to have no advantages over that in Bright's *Anglo-Saxon Reader*. And while the Text, Notes, and Vocabulary are quite reliable, the Introduction is not just what we might look for. The author has, apparently, not availed himself of the latest and best literature on his subject. At all events the best recent monographs on *Maldon* and *Brunnanburh* are neither referred to in the Introduction and the Notes, nor given in the bibliographical list (pp. xxxii–xxxvii). The two most important are the monograph by Abegg (cf. *The Nation* for Jan. 1897), and *Judith: Studies in Metre, Language and Style, etc.*, by T. Gregory Foster (*Quellen u. Forschungen* 71, 1892). Foster has made a careful study of *Maldon* and *Brunnanburh*, both in language and metre, by way of comparison with *Judith* and other O.E. poems. Several interesting points connected with the history of *Maldon* are also discussed at length by Napier and Stevenson in the 'Notes' to their *Early Charters and Documents*.[1]

I have noticed the following instances in Crow's edition in which correction is necessary or desirable. According to the arrangement of the Introduction and text, *Maldon* should have been considered under (a) p. xi, and *Brunnanburh* under (b) p. xii.

On p. xx the discussion of alliteration is not at all clear to me. The author seems to have understood the terms, 'double,' 'tripple,' 'quadruple' alliteration quite differently from Sievers' definition of them. Sievers always speaks, if I mistake not, of double and tripple alliteration in the *Halbzeile*, and not with reference to the entire line (cf. Paul's *Grundr.* ii, 1, p. 872 *et seq.*). According to Crow's idea there is no such thing as 'single' alliteration.

Attention might have been called (p. xx) to the alliteration of the palatals *c. g.* with the gutturals: cf. *Câfne mid his cynne, pæt wæs Cêolan sunu* (M. 76). And I see no valid reason for not alliterating *Ceorl: Clypode* (*M.*256); it is also probable that *c'* alliterates with *c* in *Clufon Cêllod bord, Cêne hi weredon* (*M.* 383).

g': g occurs in *pær ongêan gramum gearowe stôdon* (*M.* 100), *Him se gŷsel ongan geornlîce fylstan* (*M.* 265), and *geongne æt gûðe. Gylpan ne porfte* (*Br.* 44).

The *gê* (*M.* 32) is not, as Abegg thinks, in the alliteration, but this line is to be classed with others like *M.* 29, which have two alliterative syllables in the second half-line and only one in the first.

I am also inclined to believe that the poet of *Maldon* intended alliteration in the following instances (contrary to the general rule):

2 NOTE. Professor Gerber writes:

"However correct Professor Valentin's method of considering a work of art may be,—and I do not differ from him as widely as he imagines,—his interpretation of Homunculus appears to me no more probable than it did before. I expect to reply as soon as I have had an opportunity to consult the publications to which he refers." ED.

1 Cf. also, Rieger: *Alt- und ags. Verskunst. Zs. f. deutsche Phil.*, vii; Heinzel: *Über den Stil der altermanischen Poesie. Quell. u. Forsch.* 10 Heft.

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sc: st (l. 19), *sc: s* (l. 59), *st: s* (l. 271). On the latter line Abegg says (p. 9, note):

"Die Ansicht Riegers (S. 16), Kluges (*P. B. B.* ix, 446), Luicks (Paul's *Grdr.* ii, 995), dass dieser Vers keinen Stabreim hat, halte ich für unberechtigt."

In *M.* 224 I much prefer with Zernial to alliterate *ægðer: and;* for, although this alliteration is irregular, it is no more so than *Mæg: mtn*, and it preserves the rhythm of the line much better.

The following rimes may be noted in addition to those given by Crow (pp. xxi–xxii): Sectional, masc., *wæl fȳl on eorðan* 126; b End. *rinc: (woic)ing:-rinc* (138–140); *Godwig: wige* (192–3); *ofermōde: ðēode* (89–90). Assonance, *rædde: tǣhte* (M. 18.).[2]

Inasmuch as the suffixal rimes in *Maldon* are so numerous and varied, it would have been advisable, it seems to me, to draw attention to and possibly to give a full list of them. This has been done by Abegg (pp. 13–14).

On p. xxxiv, the reference under 'Prosody' should be, *Beiträge*, vol. ix, instead of vol. x.

It seems rather unfortunate that the editor attempted to indicate the alliterative letters in the text. The italics disfigure the page and are wholly unnecessary even for the beginner. My experience has been that students quickly and easily learn to distinguish the alliterative syllables with a little explanation from the teacher. It is advisable also from a pedagogical stand-point to dispense with all efforts at reducing the learning of alliteration to a mechanical process. But the greatest objection to Crow's attempt at italicizing the alliterative syllables is its incompleteness. The following unitalicized alliterations have been noted: *Eac* (?) *M.* 11, *Wodon M.* 96, *wyrcan M.* 102, *wærð M.* 116, *Wōd M.* 130, the entire line *M.* 232, *bæd M.* 257, *bærst M.* 284, the entire line *M.* 299, *heora Br.* 47 *wæpengewrixles* (the second *w*?) *Br.* 51.

By including the other historical poems like *The Death of Eadgar*, the *Death of Eadward the Confessor*, etc., in his edition, Crow would have greatly added to the value and interest of the book.

The object of Abegg's monograph is best stated by the author himself,

2 These instances are taken from Abegg.

"Es ist der Zweck dieser Arbeit, zunächst die erhaltenen ae. Geschichtsdichtungen nach Form und Inhalt eingehend zu betrachten, dabei nach Kriterien zu forschen, an denen Prosaumschreibungen alter Gedichte zu erkennen sind, und dann diese Kriterien auf die ags. Ann. und Heinrich von Huntingdons Historia Anglorum anzuwenden."

The work is divided into two parts:

"I. Die in poetischer Form erhaltenen Geschichtsdichtungen; II. Prosaauflösungen historischer Gedichte in den ags. Annalen und der Historia Anglorum des Heinrich von Huntingdon."

Chap. i (pp. 3–26) considers the poem, *Byrhtnoth's Death in the Battle of Maldon*, with respect to Contents, Comparison of Sources and Other Accounts, Choice of Subject-Matter, Conception, Composition, Versification, Language and Style, etc. In Chap. ii. the author treats the historical poems of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle under two different heads: (1) Gelehrte Annalistendichtungen, including (a) *Aethelstan's Victory at Brunnanburh*, (b) *The Freeing of the Five Boroughs* by Eadmund, (c) *The Crowning of King Eadgar at Bath* and *Eadgar's Death*, (d) *The Death of Eadward the Confessor*; (2) Gedichte Volkstümlicher Art, embracing (a) *The Glorification of the Fortunate Reign of King Eadgar*, (b) *The Death of King Eadgar*, (c) *Lament over the Misfortunes of the Church under Eadward the Martyr*, (d) *The Capture of Canterbury and Imprisonment of Archbishop Alfeah*, (e) *The Capture and Death of Alfred Aethling*, (f) *The Marriage of Margaret with Malcolm of Scotland*, (g) *The Wedding Festival of Earl Ralph of Norfolc.*

Part ii, embracing chapters iii–iv (pp. 79–111), is devoted to the consideration of the *Anglo-Saxon Annals*, and the *Historia Anglorum* of Henry of Huntingdon.

The author then gives (pp. 111–113) a summary of the results obtained by his researches, and this is followed by a long appendix (pp. 114–126) on the Capture and Death of Alfred Aethling.

In the chapters on *Maldon* and *Brunnanburh*, Abegg considers in detail the various sources of the poems as well as the other known accounts of and references to the two battles. The poem *Maldon* gives the most complete account of the battle of Maldon,

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but there are also brief descriptions in the several MSS. of the Chronicle, and references to the events of the battle in Florence of Worcester and Henry of Huntingdon. An interesting description of the battle of Maldon, and the life and death of its hero, is also found in the *Historia Elienis* (cf. Abegg p. 6, Crow p. xii). Many of the data of this story are doubtless without foundation, but the characterization of Byrhtnoth agrees on the whole with that of the poem. Abegg is of the opinion that the poem was not composed for the especial glorification of the valour of Byrhtnoth, but to inspire the English to a renewed and vigorous struggle against the Danes (cf. p. 8). He also agrees with Freeman in holding that the chief events of the battle and the names of the leaders (as given in the poem) are entirely trustworthy.

In the composition the poet follows the older heroic poetry. Byrhtnoth is the central figure of the poem, just as Beowulf is of the epic. He is the circumspect general and courageous soldier. As *Eorl* he is loyal to his king and solicitous for the welfare of his followers; and he dies as a Christian hero, beseeching God for the salvation of his soul (cf. p. 8).

As to the *Battle of Brunanburh*, Abegg cites the following accounts and references independent of that in the poem: (1) A Latin poem preserved in the MS. Cotton. Nerv. A. ii, a Saxon MS. almost or quite contemporary with the event itself. It seems to be a fragment with a very corrupt text,and reports that Sictric and Constantine, the king of the Scots, were conquered by king Aethelstan. (2) The Chronicles of the Picts, which date from the last quarter of the ninth century. (3) The Ulster Chronicle speaks of the battle as horrible and dreadful. (4) More specific details regarding the Irish Contingent are found in the Chronicle or Annals of Clonmacnoise. (5) A short account of the battle is given in the Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters under the date 938. (6) The *Egils-saga* is not an actual source for the description of the battle, as it did not orginate before about 1230.

Besides these more or less authentic accounts of the Battle of Brunnanburh, there are several reports from Chroniclers of the eleventh and twelfth centuries commenting upon the importance of the battle. Those given by Abegg are: (1) The Chronicon of the Ealdorman Aethelweard (circ. 1000) which says that the people at that time continued to speak of the great war, but it makes only meagre references to the battle of Brunnanburh itself; the author calls the battlefield 'Brunadune'; (2) the *Gesta Regum Anglorum et Dacorum* (formerly attributed to Simeon of Durham), which give more definite references; (3) Simeon of Durham who in his *History of the Church of Durham* gives a report similar to the preceding; (4) Florence of Worcester who follows the poem quite closely in his description; (5) Henry of Huntingdon who also follows the poem and translates the entire poetic description into Latin; (6) Eadmer in his *Vita* of St. Odo; (7) the *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum* by William of Malmesbury; (8) Joannes Fordun who inserted the report of William of Malmesbury in part in his description of the battle of Brunnanburh (*Chronicæ gentis Scotorum*, lib. iv, cap. xxii).

Abegg concludes (p. 34) from his examination of these various sources and reports that the Old English poet does not follow a legend or saga in his description, but historical facts. He confines himself throughout to historical evidence, and rarely allows himself poetic freedom. Both *Brunnanburh* and *Maldon* present in this respect a striking contrast to the older heroic poetry, but the former also differs from the latter as well as from the older poetry in the matter of composition. In *Brunnanburh* no individual scenes are portrayed. The description of the battle presents only those general features which would apply to all bloody battles of the time. Individual heroes are not praised and elevated above the great crowd of participants. Aethelstan and Eadmund are broadly characterized as the brave leaders of the English people; Constantine and Anlaf are designated as hated foes.

Abegg makes a careful metrical and stylistic examination of the two poems, and concludes for Maldon that it is nearly related to the older heroic epos in the matter of composition. The versification, however, violates

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many laws which hold for the golden age of Old English epic poetry. But, with one possible exception, the purity of the alliteration has been preserved. A larger proportion of the so-called *Gekreuzte Alliteration* is also found in this poem than in the older epos.

As to the subject of rime in *Maldon*, the author thinks it impossible to determine to what extent the large number of sectional and end, and especially suffix rimes, was intended by the poet and appreciated by the public. Sectional and end rimes are strewn throughout the poem regardless of any fixed principle.

In the matter of style, Abegg agrees with Vilmar (*Deutsche Altertümer im Heliand*, p. 3) in placing *Maldon* side by side with the *Beowulf* and the O.E. religious epic.

The versification of *Brunnanburh* belongs, according to Abegg, to the 'Blütezeit' of O.E. poetry. In contrast with *Maldon* the majority of the *epitheta*, tropes, and kennings of *Brunnanburh* are to be found in the older poetry. So, also, almost all the syntactical and rhetorical peculiarities of the O.E. epic occur in the later poem.

"Überblicken wir das ganze Verfahren des Dichters (of *Brunnanburh*), so ergibt sich als Resultat, dass er vom alten, lebendigen, mündlich vorgetragenen Heldensang nur Metrik und Sprachkunst bewahrt hat. Dazu kommt, dass manche Anzeichen direkt auf einen gelehrten Dichter schliessen lassen. Während im *Byrhtnoth* für die Dänen meist volkstümliche Bezeichnungen gebraucht sind, unterscheidet das Annalengedicht Schotten und Nordleute, wie auf englischer Seite Westsachsen und Mercier. Anlaf und Constantine werden mit Namen genannt; Chronikmässig wird die Zahl der im Kampfe gefallenen feindlichen Edlen angegeben. Zum Schluss beruft sich der Dichter ausdrücklich auf Bücher und weise Leute als Zeugen für die siegreiche Einwanderung der Angeln und Sachsen.

Wir dürfen daher mit gutem Grunde annehmen, dass ein Annalist das Gedicht verfasste und es von vorne herein für seine Annalen bestimmte (p. 39)."

Napier and Stevenson's *Early Charters* do not have to do directly with *Maldon* or *Brunnanburh*, but the authors have in their Notes given much new light on the history of certain of the heroes of *Maldon*. And while the discussions of the Notes alone are of immediate interest for this paper, it will not be out of place to give a sort of outline of the contents of the book and to indicate its importance for the study of English philology.

The nineteen "Charters and Documents" which constitute the text of the book are in part now first given to the public, and all of them appear for the first time in a thoroughly reliable reprint. As to the value of this publication, the authors say, preface (p. viii):

"The importance of the documents printed in the following pages is evinced by the fact that eight of them are inedited and unknown (they appeared, however, in Birch's *Cartularium Saxonicum*, printed from the text of 'Early Charters and Documents' before the book was published). These inedited texts are of singular interest. They include an early copy of an apparently genuine charter of King Aeðelheard of Wessex, a monarch who has been hitherto represented by one charter; an original charter of King Aeðelstan, an important addition to the very brief list of original charters of this great king; an almost contemporary copy of a letter of St. Dunstan in Old English; an original charter of King Aeðelred the Unready; the will of a bishop of Crediton; and the rules made for the canons of Crediton by the bishop of Exeter in the early years of the twelfth century. The collection is hardly less important in regard to documents of which printed texts exist, since it comprises the originals of the following: a charter of King Eadwig, printed by Kemble and Birch from an eighteenth century transcript; the famous forged charter of Edgar to Westminster, hitherto printed from corrupt copies in chartularies; the will of Leofwine Wulfstan's son, reprinted by Kemble and Thorpe from Madox's text, the original having disappeared; King Aeðelred's charter of St. Alban's, printed without the O.E. boundaries, by Kemble from a thirteenth century copy."

The Notes with their scholary historical and philological discussions are full of interest, and are as important as the text itself. Their copiousness may be indicated by saying that they embrace one hundred and seventeen pages of the total number, one hundred and sixty-seven, of the book. The editors have, as they say in the Perface, given themselves latitude in the Notes. We find there the history and translation of the individual charters and documents, the history and description of the several MSS., line for line discussions of the geographical and historical references, and a careful examination of numerous Old English

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words from every point of view. Many new definitions of old words have been established, and not a few entirely new words have been added to the vocabulary of Old English.

Especial references to the historical personages connected with the battle of Maldon are found in Charters v (dated May 9, 957, and entitled *King Eadwig to Archbishop Oda*), vii (dated 980 to 988 and being a letter of Archbishop Dunstan to King Aeðelred 'concerning certain estates belonging to the diocese of Cornwall'), viii (date 998: 'grant of land at Southam, etc., by King Aeðelred' to Ealdorman Leofwine'), and ix (date Apr. 15, 998: 'will of Leofwine, Wulfstan's son, in favour of Westminster Abbey'). That is to say, the several leaders at *Maldon* whose names are mentioned in these documents are discussed at length in the Notes. Among others we find *Aðelstan dux* (pp. 82–84), *Byrhtnoð dux* (85–88), *Aelfric dux* (120–121, and 123).

Of *Byrhtnoð dux* the editors say:

"This is, no doubt, the hero of *Maldon*. He signs from 956 to 990. Freeman (*Norman Conquest* i, 635) thinks that he is the *minister* of 967, an error for 972–3. He is clearly the *dux* who signs from 956 . . . . Nothing is known of his family, except that his father was named Byrhthelm (*Song of Maldon*, line 92). It is possible that he was related to Byrhtsige, son of Aetheling Beornoð (Chron. A) or Berhtnoð (Chron. B, C, D), who fell in 905 fighting with the Aeðeling Aeðelweard against King Edward . . . . Brihtnoð of Maldon married Aelflæd, the youngest daughter of Aelfgar, who mentions her (not by name) in his will (C S. iii, 215), in which Brihtnoð is clearly regarded as her husband. . . . . That Aeðelflæd, the sister-in-law of Byrhtnoð, was Aeðelflæd æt Domerhame is proved by her will, wherein she bequeaths land at Domerham. She is also the *una matrona* to whom King Edgar grants land at Chelsworth, co. Suffolk, in 962, as she bequeathed this estate to Aelflæd and Brihtnoð. The will of Aelflæd records that Rettendon [co. Essex] was her 'morning-gift,' so it is evident that Brihtnoð had possessions in Essex at the time of his marriage (*circa* 950). In Aelflæd's will, which was drawn up after Brihtnoð's death (991), a kinsman of his named Aeðelmær is mentioned. . . . Out of all this (that is, discussion of Aeðelmær's ancestry) nothing emerges clearly except the great probability that Brihtnoð's kinsman Aeðelmær was the son of the chronicler Aeðelweard, an undoubted scion of the royal house of Wessex. . . . . Brihtnoð's sister's son, Wulfmær, fell at Maldon (*Song of Maldon*, line 113). Another relative of Brihtnoð's who distinguished himself in the battle, was the Mercian Aelfwine, son of Aelfric, and grandson of Ealdorman Ealhelm (lines 209 to 224). This is, no doubt, the Ealdorman Ealhelm who subscribes from 940 to 951. It may be noted that the Battle of Maldon, which was fought in 991 according to the chronicle, occurred on August 11, for the *Obitus Byrhtnoði Comitis* is given upon this day (iii. 2d Aug.) in an eleventh century calendar (Cott. Lib. D. xxviii)."

The lengthly note on *Aelfric dux* does not succeed in entirely clearing up the mystery of that Aelfric's identity, who is mentioned in *Maldon*, l. 209, but the conclusion arrived at seems to confirm the surmise of Crow (Notes, p. 22) that "the Aelfric was possibly the one mentioned by Freeman. *O.E. Hist.*, p. 230."

The editors think that the "chief interest" of the comparatively short "Will of Leofwine Wulfstan's son" (Chart. ix) has not yet been pointed out:

"It is the will of Leofwine, son of Wulfstan, an Essex land-owner, and it is dated nearly seven years later than the battle of Maldon. Now one of the heroes of this battle, the man who guarded the bridge, and who seemingly struck the first blow, was Wulfstan, the son of Ceola (cf. *Maldon* l. 74 *et seq.*). The last line (that is, 83, *þā hwile þe hi wæpna wealdan mōston*) seems to imply that the 'bitter bridgewards' fell fighting at their posts. In lines 152 sqq. Wulfmær the young, Wulfstan's ungrown son, distinguishes himself at Brihtnoð's side. It is highly probable that the testator was the son of the Wulfmær, because Brihtnoð's force must have consisted principally of the local levies, and the testator's possessions were close to Maldon. It was probably this local connection of Wulfstan's that caused Brihtnoð to select him to guard the bridge."

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GERMAN LITERATURE.

Inedita des Heinrich Kaufringer. Herausgegeben von H. Schmidt-Wartenberg. Germanic Studies, edited by the Department of Germanic Languages and Literatures, iii. The University of Chicago Press, 1897. 8vo, pp. xv, 56.

The third number of the Germanic Studies issued by the University of Chicago is one of exceptional interest, both to the critical student of German literature, and to the lover of folk-

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lore; to the former, because it raises new problems with regard to Heinrich Kaufringer; to the latter, because it furnishes a version of the marriage of the devil which antedates the best known Italian and German forms of the story from one hundred to one hundred and fifty years. We shall first give a short synopsis of the book, and then take up the two main points of interest just mentioned.

Professor Schmidt-Wartenberg begins his Introduction with an accurate description of the Berlin manuscript from which he has taken the poems. The codex was written by a Bavarian in 1472, and contains among two hundred and twenty-two poems of Heinrich Teichner, one by Conrad Vollstatter, and ten by Heinrich Kaufringer. Further on the editor calls due attention to the close connection existing between Teichner and Kaufringer, a circumstance which had escaped the notice of Karl Euling, who in 1888 published seventeen poems from a Munich manuscript under the title of 'Heinrich Kaufringers Gedichte.'[1] Professor Schmidt-Wartenberg next discusses the bearing of the Berlin poems on those of the Munich codex, and although he does not admit the validity of all of Euling's arguments, he considers Kaufringer's authorship of all the poems established. In the second part of the Introduction the most important versions of the story of the marriage of the devil are surveyed, and a few remarks are made concerning the variants and possible sources of the other poems. A characterization of the language and the person of the poet is dispensed with, because Euling has furnished the one and promised the other. Some stylistic comments, however, will appear in connection with an edition of the poems of Teichner in the same codex. The text purposes to be in all essentials a diplomatic reproduction of the original. The poems vary in length from eighty to two hundred and fifty-eight lines of four stresses each, exceptions being rare. All were undoubtedly composed by Kaufringer because all close with the line:

"Also sprach Hainrich Kaufringer,"

a conclusion which occurs only in the last two poems, xvi and xvii, of Euling's collection, and hence makes it necessary to re-examine the evidence for Kaufringer's authorship of the other fifteen. The subjects of the pieces are stated in the index of the manuscript and repeated as titles, in some cases with additions such as: "So merck; So hör vnd mercke; So merck vnd gutzz drauff," for the purpose of enlisting the particular attention of the hearer. The subjects and contents of the ten poems are in short as follows:

1. *Ain bösz alts ubels weib überfaygt den tüffel.* The assertion is proved by the story of the marriage of an old woman with the devil.

2. *Das man die wellt fliehen soll.* There is no escape from hell except by shunning the world which is wicked everywhere; Isaiah, John and St. Augustine testify to that. As at the close of a game of chess all the men are thrown into the same sack, high and low go to the same grave; only good works can save them from damnation.

3. *Von den vorsprechen.* A lamentation over the bad custom of hiring lawyers which had arisen in Bavaria and elsewhere, and a comical example of their cynic injustice told without a smile.

4. *Man soll vatter vnd mutter jnn eren hon.* An injunction of the commandment by means of a story which, as the editor explains, is a variant of a well-known fairy tale.

5. *Was nutz die gutten werck dem menschen pringen, die weil er jnn sunden leytt.* Good works alone cannot save men without repentance (compare no. 2!); they will give him, however, less pain in hell, riches and happiness on earth, and perhaps a life long enough to repent and be saved.

6. *Wa ain volck vngemainsam ist, das pringt grossen schaden.* The continual discord in the cities makes them succumb in time of war. This truth is emphasized by a story of thirty armed merchants who are overcome and plundered by only six robbers, in which the editor has rightly recognized a variant of the fable of the lion and the bulls.

7. *Die mann ettwan schilck vnd lecker hiess, die hayssent nun laüffig vnd gescheyde.* A lamentation over the regard in which rogues and parasites are held, and over the undeserved punishments of the innocent.

8. *Von den syben tod sünden vnd den siben*

[1] *Heinrich Kaufringers Gedichte.* Herausgegeben von Dr. Karl Euling. *Bibl. d. Litt. Vereins in Stuttgart*, 1888.

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gauben des hailigen gaists. To seven diseases of the body correspond seven plagues of the soul and as many remedies of the Holy Spirit; for example, to leprosy, envy and hatred, genuine worth; to paralysis, slothfulness, divine strength; to lupus, gluttony, divine insight, etc.

9. *Von vnmässigem adel zeyttliches leydens.* An almost frantic praise of suffering. Suffering even surpasses the cross, because God died on the cross in half a day, but suffered on earth for more than thirty years.

10. *Von den vier töchtern gotts vnd von vier geschlechten hie jn der wellte.* Men are divided (logically?) into the rich and powerful, those in sadness and suffering, those who break his commandments, and those who obey them. To each of these classes God has destined a daughter of his in marriage who is to lead them to salvation; to the first Mercy; to the second Patience; to the third Repentance; to the last the Fear of God.—Even as short a survey as this may have shown the stern and bitter moralistic tone, and the strongly and strictly religious tendencies of the Berlin poems. It will scarcely be necessary to add that love adventures are excluded.

Proceeding now to the Munich poems we observe at once that they lack the homogeneous character of those described. xvi and xvii belong both by their closing line "Also sprach Heinrich Kaufringer" and by their contents directly to the Berlin poems. iii, i and ii agree with them in spirit. vi and viii contain illicit love affairs, but praise chastity. xiv is not free from objectionable details. xi, xii and xiii deserve to be called coarse. iv and v, and even more so vii, ix, x and xv, show a decided laxness of moral principles. Over and over again it is asserted that almost all men are deceived by their wives, and since Samson, Solomon, David and Aristotle had all fared ill, the lowly ones had better not be angry with them. The mayor of Erfurt is commended for his wisdom in accepting commercial advantages in expiation of the violation of his honor. Special praise is bestowed on a woman who manages to use the services of a pious and unsuspecting monk in order to arrive at her unholy ends.

Is the holder of these surprisingly liberal views identical with the one who wrote the Berlin collection and xvi and xvii of the Munich poems? At least some of Euling's arguments that purpose to prove this identity appear untenable, or not cogent. Neither Professor Schmidt-Wartenberg nor the reviewer can accept the conclusions[2] built upon the double closing line of xiv and the "einheit und abgeschlossenheit der handschrift." Nor does the latter see in the phrases collected on pp. v and vi anything but evidence of a certain relationship of the poems i–xv among each other, for citations from the two unquestionable genuine poems xvi and xvii are wholly wanting. The argument taken from the "flickwerk von bestimmten lückenbüssern"[3] is but of small value, because these words and phrases are of frequent occurrence in some pieces and very rare in others, for example, in most of the Berlin poems. Solid ground is not reached until we come to the parallel expressions collected by Professor Schmidt-Wartenberg[4] which, as he says, might easily be multiplied, and to Euling's[5] more recent linguistic investigations. Both of these arguments, and more especially the latter, appear so strong that they alone would seem sufficient to establish Kaufringer's authorship of all the Munich poems against all doubts.

If then Kaufringer did write these poems, why did he fail to sign his name to i–xiii and xv, and how is it to be explained that he appears as a stern and sometimes fanatical moralist in some of his productions, and as a jovial and more than liberal-minded man in others? Euling[6] tries to dispose of the first difficulty by saying:

"Dass besonders die stücke erbaulichen inhalts xvi, xvii den namen des dichters tragen, während die lasciven gedichte ihn nicht nennen, ist natürlich,"

but this corresponds by no means to the facts. iii contains sentiments similar to those expressed in the Berlin poems 3, 6 and 7, only shorter and a trifle less bitter; the adultery which is mentioned is held up to scorn. i and ii are legends and differ from Prof. Schmidt-Wartenberg's poems only in the small extent

[2] *l. c.*, pp. iv f. [3] *l. c.*, p. vi. [4] Pp. vii, f.

[5] *Über Sprache und Versknnst Heinrich Kaufringers* von Dr. phil. Karl Euling. Programm, Lingen, 1892.

[6] *Heinrich Kaufringers Gedichte*, pp. 235 f.

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of their moral and religious reflections, 2% and 7½% as against an aggregate of 33% in 1, 3, 4 and 6. vi, to be sure, relates a rape, but without objectionable details, and both the lady who is the principal character of the story, and the comments of the author are pure. viii introduces a man who is dissatisfied with his wife because she is rather stingy, and sets out to find a really harmonious and happy couple. Twice he believes to have found one, yet in one case the wife had been unfaithful in the past, and, therefore, had to take a draught from her lover's skull every night, and in the other the husband had to put up with the company of a sturdy peasant, concealed in a cellar, to protect himself from public scandal. The man is glad to return to his wife, and the poet commends faithful wives that have no greater fault than stinginess. Objectionable details do not occur. Hence there are five pieces not signed which are everything but 'lasciv.' On the other hand xiv, which, as Euling[7] holds, was signed by Kaufringer and not by a copyist, describes a rape and the sacrifice of a maiden's honor with a breadth of detail such as is found nowhere else. Since, therefore, lasciviousness or respectability of contents cannot have been the reason why two or three of the Munich poems were signed and the others were not, we must look for a better explanation. As it happens, Euling himself and Prof. Schmidt-Wartenberg have prepared the way for it. Euling[8] found that xvi and xvii, that is, the poems signed and after them iii, i and ii, poems we have classed next to them, too, are less perfect metrically than the other pieces of the Munich collection, and hence belong to an earlier period of the poet's life. Professor Schmidt-Wartenberg, on the other hand, has observed that the stereotype closing line: "Also sprach Hainrich Kaufringer" was written in imitation of Teichner. May we, therefore, not surmise that Kaufringer signed his poems while he was under Teichner's immediate influence, and left them unsigned at other times of his career, even when he might have been justly proud of them?

We have still to dwell a moment on the difference in the moral attitude of the poet which we have noticed above. With nothing but the Munich collection before him, Friedrich Vogt[9] could say with an appearance of justice, that Kaufringer "zeitweilig auch eine fromme Miene aufsetzt." After the publication of the Berlin poems this will no longer do. For however much Kaufringer may have been influenced in his comments by the tone and trend of his sources, these comments express not only an honest, but sometimes even a passionate personal conviction. He does not seem to have been a man who could write in one strain to-day and in a directly opposite manner to-morrow, but it is much more probable that his greatly varying productions belong to different times of his life. We, therefore, must suppose that, as in the case of a classical writer, there was one period in his days when he was a stern moralist without any apparent sense of humor, who found fault with almost everything in the world, and hence embraced the heavenly things with so much the greater ardor, and, after a time of transition to which some of the poems seem to belong, another period when he allowed himself to be carried along by the current of his time, when he was genial and jovial, when he liked a good joke, and even occasionally a coarse one, when he took special pleasure in singing of the adventures of love more respectably than a good many others, but not discreetly enough to escape the eraser and the scissors of a zealous expurgator of the age of the Reformation.[10]

The last object of our attention was to be the poem containing the story of the marriage of the devil. It comprises two hundred and four lines, and its outline is as follows.

'Some one asked me what was the worst thing in this world, and I replied I knew of nothing as bad as wicked old women. If one of them takes a young husband he must be submissive to her or die an early death. Indeed, a wicked old woman drives away the evil one and gives him no peace, which I am going to prove presently. Once upon a time there was a wealthy old woman who was wicked beyond measure. A young man married her, but soon pined away and died on account of her contrariness. The devil felt sorry about

7 *Heinrich Kaufringers Gedichte*, p. iv. The genuineness of both closing lines is asserted, but not proved.

8 Programm, p. 11, below; p. 12, ll. 3-7.

9 Paul, *Grundriss der Germanischen Philologie* ii, 1, p. 360.

10 Euling, *Heinrich Kaufringers Gedichte*, p. ii.

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this and assuming the shape of a young man married the old woman in order to avenge her former husband. Hardly, however, did she realize that he intended to worry her when she scolded and maltreated him so severely that he ran away from her. Out in the field he met a traveling student, told him who he was and what he had suffered from his wife, and suggested a compact. He would possess the king's daughter in the city and the student should come and cast him out and divide profits with him. They mutually pledged themselves to this agreement, but the devil had the secret intention of staying with the maiden. The princess became possessed, and the student who had staked his life that he could cure her, got into jeopardy of his life because the devil would not keep his promise. Finally an idea occurred to him. He went out of the princess' room and ordered the people who stood outside to rush up to the door with great noise. No sooner had he returned to the maiden, than the castle commenced to resound with the cries of the people. Quite frightened, the devil asked for the reason of this uproar, whereupon the student solemnly declared that his wife had come, and was rejoicing at having found him, and that she was going to lead him back to her home. The devil did not abide the arrival of his wife, but went to the infernal regions, hoping not to be disturbed. Hence I truly say: etc.'

Professor Schmidt-Wartenberg devotes almost half of his Introduction to a discussion of this poem and its variants. He rightly recognizes its connection with Machiavelli's Belfagor, utilizes Dunlop-Wilson, Landau, Regnier and other recent literature on the subject, and adds valuable information of his own. While he regrets that lack of further material prevents him from going still more deeply into the question, a stay at various great libraries and aid from others, has enabled the writer of these lines to acquaint himself with some thirty literary forms of the story exclusive of mere translations and reprints, and over fifty variants in modern folk-lore. A full treatment of all the various phases of this most interesting tale must be reserved for a more suitable opportunity; a few of the main points may be mentioned here.

The ultimate source of Kaufringer's and Machiavelli's tale has been found in India where, however, the trait of the marriage between the woman and the demon does not yet exist. The Indian tale appears without the marriage in Oriental literature, and with it in Germany and Italy. The versions of France and England, with but one exception, are derived from Italy. The variants of Eastern Europe and adjoining parts point more frequently to Oriental than to Italian and German origin, and present some new developments.

The Latin manuscript's in which Dunlop-Wilson and Arlìa have tried to find the source, or one of the sources, of the story of Belfagor, did not bear a close scrutiny. The old manuscript of St. Martin de Tours which, as Dunlop asserted and Wilson reiterated,[11] contained the story of Machiavelli and Brevio with 'merely a difference of names' seems to have never existed at all. As Professor Schmidt-Wartenberg indicates, Dunlop-Wilson's statement appears to have been taken from a notice of the poet Lainez. This notice, however, speaks of a Latin manuscript containing the marriage of the devil in five or six lines. Now, five or six lines could never have given the story of Machiavelli and Brevio which is fully fifty times as long, 'with merely a difference of names.' The supposed manuscript, therefore, was certainly nothing else than an old print of *Alterum Laurentii Abstemii Hecatomythium* bound in vellum. The ninty-fifth fable of this collection is eight lines long and entitled 'De daemone uxorem recusante.' Though this fable represents a not very happy evolution of the tale, and cannot have been a source of Machiavelli or Brevio, it offers the earliest testimony for the existence, on Italian soil, of the idea of a marriage of the devil. After this Latin manuscript has been disposed of, we come to Arlìa's *Codex Laurentianus Antin.* 130 (B. ii, 217).[12] A careful perusal shows that none of its chapters contains any incident related to the story of Belfagor. The use of relics in casting out evil spirits, which is found in both, cannot prove interdependence because it was of too frequent occurrence in

11 *History of Prose Fiction*, by John Colin Dunlop. A new edition by Henry Wilson. London, 1888. Vol. ii, pp. 186 ff. There are also a number of other errors in this paragraph of the otherwise quite meritorious work. In the citation of Jellinek's book, "Acad." should be omitted before "Leipzig"; the citation from the Talmud is 17b instead of 12; Machiavelli did not die 18 but 22 years before 1549; this story was not mutilated by Straparola; there do not occur three full moons in the Bohemian tale, but only one.

12 *Propugnatore* xix, 2 p. 97. Arlìa's citation "Antin. Laurenz. A. ii, 217" is incorrect.

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those days. Also Holen's Latin version has had no influence on Belfagor.

As to whether Machiavelli, or Brevio, or Doni is the author of the famous story, a question which has never been entirely settled during the past three hundred and fifty years,[13] there are reasons never advanced yet, that prove Machiavelli's authorship beyond the shadow of a doubt. Whether Machiavelli in his turn drew on popular tradition only, or whether he had occasion to make use of the old French version of the *Lamentationes Matheoli* or some other written work, remains to be determined. Straparola's novel[14] which has generally been classed as a mutilated reproduction of Machiavelli's or Brevio's *Belfagor*, differs very materially from them inasmuch as it combines the marriage of the devil with another story which, likewise of Indian origin, has furnished the fundamental idea of Molière's *Le médecin malgré lui*. Sansovino's *novel*, on the other hand, is nothing but a reprint of Brevio's *Belfagor*, with a few insignificant additions or omissions, and one apparently accidental change of a word. In Germany Kaufringer's poem was followed by quite a number of Latin and German versions, among which we mention with Professor Schmidt-Wartenberg a master-song, a farce, and a carnival-play by Hans Sachs. Though none of these has been directly derived from Kaufringer, they all but one agree with him in two traits never found in Italy: the devil marries an old woman instead of a young lady, and he demands of the man who is to cast him out his share of the profits.

Wezel's Belphegor has hardly anything but the name in common with any other Belphegor or Belfagor. His hero does not go to Pluto or Lucifer, but sails to America, and fights for the liberty of the colonies in the Revolutionary war. The Belphegor of classical German literature, finally, has remained unwritten because Mephistopheles, warned by the sad experiences of his cousin, did not venture to listen to the advances of lovely Martha Schwerdlein.

The great importance of Kaufringer's poem rests in the first place upon the fact that it antedates all other European versions, except the old French, by probably no less than one hundred and fifty years. For while Kaufringer seems to belong to the last part of the fourteenth century, Brevio's novel was printed in 1545, Machiavelli's in 1549 (written before 1527), Straparola's in 1550 and Doni's in 1551. Hans Sachs composed his pieces in 1556 and 1557, and Sansovino published his reprint in 1561. In the second place, Kaufringer's poem together with Holen's version and a Sicilian folk-tale of to-day, are the only versions in which the devil breaks his word right away, and refuses to leave the very first possessed person. Even if Kaufringer knew the Old French version, it cannot have been his only source.

We refrain from extending our comments to other poems of Kaufringer. Until Euling[15] publishes the variants he promised to furnish ten years ago in order to remedy a shortcoming of his edition, students of comparative folk-lore may consult with profit Bebel's *Facetiae* and Crane's edition of *Jacques de Vitry*.

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13 Most recent writers consider Machiavelli's authorship probable, but none has proved it.

14 Le xiii *Piacevoli Notti del Sig. G. F. Straparola.* li, 4.

15 *Heinrich Kaufringers Gedichte*, p. ix.

FRENCH LITERATURE.

Manuel de l'Histoire de la Littérature Française, par FERDINAND BRUNETIÈRE. Paris: Ch. Delagrave, 1898. 8vo, pp. 531.

IN this his latest work, Mr. Brunetière enters upon an entirely new field of study, or at least upon a new method of treatment of a study that he has made his own; namely, the application of the theory of evolution to the history of literature. We may speak of two distinct periods in Mr. Brunetière's career as a critic. In the first he established certain principles, or "idées fondamentales," by means of which he formed his judgments and which account for the severity, bitterness, antagonism, and his claim to exercise an authority in literary matters, so conspicuous in his writings from 1875-1890. It is during this first period that he was groping in the dark, vainly seeking to formulate a theory which would embody his principles. His erudition had until now aided

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him in forming his tastes, his tastes formed general ideas, these general ideas discovered and created, through historical facts, relations, currents or chains, thus organizing historical matter in pictures of *ensembles*, and establishing literary history in its true or probable succession. At this stage of his career, 1890, Mr. Brunetière perceived the adaptability of the theory of evolution to his ideas, and at once incorporated it into his theories. In the works prior to the present volume, in which he applies the theory of evolution, he confines himself to one species of literature, such as criticism, lyrism, and the drama. In the present volume he embraces the whole field of French literature, from its origin to 1875. In this respect this book is a new departure. However, this work is to be but an outline of a greater and more detailed history.

Instead of the usual divisions by centuries and species, such as poetry and prose, the drama and the novel, he replaces these divisions by literary epochs. The reason for this is a natural result of his application of the theory of evolution.

"Why should we date literary epochs by centuries, or even by the advent of a prince, when neither the epochs of physics or chemistry are treated thus? We must treat literature as we would the growth of a species in the animal or vegetable kingdoms, in order to give a continuity of movement and life."

A second object of the book is to treat the influence of works on works. We wish to do differently from our predecessors—this is the origin and principle causing changes of taste as well as literary revolutions.

A third object is to pay special attention to transition periods, for they explain and prepare the other periods, periods of activity. This will account for the fact that many obscure authors are treated at greater length in this history than is usually done. Mr. Brunetière has made a selection of authors, who, according to his judgment, are important in the development of literary history.

The book is exceedingly interesting, instructive, and valuable to the students of literature, less so to the general reader.

There are two distinct methods pursued in this history. The first half of the page, printed in large clear type, treats the history of French literature on a broad, general, philosophical and critical plan, regardless of dates, names or events, only treating developments of principles and ideas. The discussion is comprehensible to and appreciable by a thorough student of French literature only, one who is familiar with the philosophy of French literary history. The ideas or principles evolved in the course of centuries in French literature he has grouped under five headings and in three books:

Le Moyen Age, 842–1498.
L'Age Classique, 1498–1801.
L'Age Moderne, 1801–1875.

The five subjects treated are:

1. Le Moyen Age.
2. La Formation de l'Idéal Classique, 1498–1610.
3. La Nationalisation de la Litérature, 1610–1722.
4. La Déformation de l'Idéal Classique, 1720–1801.
5. L'Age Moderne.

The lower part of the page, in small print, deals with events, dates, works, and authors. We find a copious bibliography under each subject; a nearly complete list of the works, best editions, with dates and principal sources of reference. This in itself is of the greatest value to the student. In the treatment we have no definite results or opinions placed before us, but directions how to work, what to examine, important questions to study, points of controversy, usually with references to information on these questions.

One will meet with disappointments in this history in the way of omissions. Authors that we should expect to find are not even mentioned; whereas, we find authors and works treated at length, that many students of French literature have not read, nor even heard of. We must remember, however, that only those works and authors are treated that are important in the development of literary ideas, or that have furthered the development of literary species.

Probably the most valuable part to the student is found in the references and sources of the early literature and in the chapter treating of: *La Nationalisation de la Litérature.*

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Few critics have ever shown such mastery, and such fine interpretation of the spirit of a field of literature as Mr. Brunetière has done in this volume.

The following is a short synopsis of the critical text of the book:

In the Middle Ages there seems to have been a common manner of thinking and feeling imposed by the triple authority of religion, the feudal system and scholasticism; these made themselves felt so strongly as to obliterate all distinctions of origin, race, and personality. This close blending of thought and feeling in Europe makes it impossible to detect the original source of any literary species.

The races of modern Europe are historical formations, of which the literatures are only one of the multiple factors. There were nations before races, and before there were nations in Europe, all Europe was one homogeneous, indivisible whole, and the literature is an expression of it. It is uniform, hence, impersonal. Nearly all *chansons* or *fabliaux* could have been written by the same author. There is no personality because the authors were not free to act, feel and think as they were later. They felt and thought in a body or group which accounts for the dearth of lyrism and every preoccupation of art. The literature is very general, deprived of individual and local signification, hence impersonal. A second characteristic is its immobility. A *chanson de geste* under Charlemagne is the same as under Saint Louis. Centuries even make no change in the conception or psychology of the work. There has been no exterior intervention or individual caprice to retard or further the development which was slow and natural, but interesting.

The epic at first is only history, but soon attributes to heroes virtues beyond human power; finally history becomes the pretext only for the writer's imagination. The chronicle soon replaces the epic, and verse gives way to prose, and we have history. Thus we have a differentiation of species; nearly contemporaneous with this is one of classes. The *fabliaux* prove the intellectual emancipation of the *vilain*. A class of society has formed, as it were, a literature after its own image. At the same time in the aristocratic class the individual manifests himself and lyrism is born; however, the state of mind and the customs do not yet permit personal literature. The clergy, in order to retain its power, also encourages a literature—*miracles* and *mystères* are the result. A differentiation of nationalities, binding itself to that of species and classes is now noticeable. The various forms of species take a different form with the various nationalities. The whole of Europe, at first a unity, is now broken up and takes on different garbs. The *esprit gaulois*, so noticeable in French literature, is fortunately counterbalanced by other influences, especially by scholasticism which gives it clearness, precision, and accuracy. A special trait of this new literature is the tendency to universality. Writers write to act and to propagate general ideas; this trait has made it so popular and authoritative. These first species are soon exhausted and new ones do not develop quickly. The language becomes heavy, complicated, obscure and spiritless. The chronicle has full sway, and the times are not favorable to light literature. Villon is a great poet, but he does not create a school, because rhetoricians exercise the chief influence. Philippe de Commynes and Villon have survived, but these talents are accidents in this time. All phases of literature have passed into a period of decadence; they have had all the qualities of childhood. When the spirit of the Renaissance began to manifest itself, there was nothing to destroy. It gave to French literature three new things: a model of art, an ambition to reproduce the great examples of antiquity and imitate the forms, and to accomplish this a new manner of observing nature and man. On this is built the classic ideal. Humanism transformed the very bases of education and intellectual culture, and is the primary cause of the formation of classicism in France.

The first trait of this new spirit is the development of individualism. Each one was desirous of being different from every one else, to surpass and excel and to have this acknowledged publicly, and this fact gave birth to criticism. A second influence is the idea of goodness, the divinity of nature, which is closely allied to that of individualism, for to

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obey nature is to assure the development of our personality. Rabelais in his *Pantagruel* teaches that nature is the instructress of virtues. He advocates liberty in all phases of development. He is inspired by the common ideas of his time, and his work may be called the *Bible of the Renaissance*. According to him the great enemy of man is custom, law, authority and constraint; these he attacked.

A further trait of the Renaissance spirit is the sentiment of art. Nature itself is not enough, the artist must add to it from his own individuality and the union of the two; that is, the subordination of the imitation of nature and the development of the individual to the realization of beauty, is the spirit shown in the Renaissance by the poets of the *Pléiade*. They strove to reform the language as artists, and if they have failed in this it was because they did not always feel the difference which separates one author from another, and because they lacked the spirit of discernment or criticism. This sentiment of the power of form or style, is an important element of classicism.

When it was generally realized what the philosophy of nature was, the Reformation was ripe. They both tend to the emancipation of the individual. The object of the Renaissance was to de-Christianize the world, to give it over to Paganism; whereas the Reformation desired to lead back Christianity to the severity of its primitive institution. They were enemies. In this the race element became manifest. To decide between humanism and moral preoccupations was the question, and from this conflict resulted the differentiation of the literatures of the North and South. Modern literatures begin now.

A first effect in French literature is the Latinization of culture; that is, the Greek language and literature fall back to the colleges and the erudite. Latin is substituted. From this there are two results—care for form and taste for general ideas or *la réduction à l'Universel*. Amyot is the great interpreter of this. Montaigne was directly influenced by him, and he has better than anyone known how to analyze the *ego*. He learns from the Latin authors experiences that he finds in himself, and thus his *ego* is his own as well as ours. He expresses himself by his universal being, others do it by a special trait; he observes psychologically. The spirit of the Reformation strove to discipline nature. It tried to keep away foreign influences and to give to the individual such virtues as he would not naturally strive for. This is the first indication of a nationalization of literature. The leading idea was to maintain the social and moral order. We must all work to build up one another and establish the basis of *une honnête amitié* and *un modèle d'honnête homme*. This becomes the leading idea of the next century and a-half. Thus is disengaged a national literature which is social, general, broadly moral and æsthetic. In order to realize completely its true character, French literature had to suppress the spirit of individualism, of indiscipline and license. The *Satires* of Regnier champion this. They may be said to be a protestation of the *esprit gaulois* against the absolute liberty of the individual.

The *Précieuses* have freed literature from the pedantry with which it is still affected under Ronsard and Montaigne, and made it *mondaine*. They purified and polished both literature and society and caused a revolution in language. But this is not all: they unraveled the reasons which have directed the choice of this new language. The reform of the language can only assure the reform of literary habits. They refined and sharpened the intelligence as well, for they studied the development of sentiments and passions, whence came a mass of shades unknown to the preceding generation. Their object was to be the interpreter of common or general ideas, not of particular opinions; hence their influence is lasting. This spirit has prepared the way and success of Corneille, whose object was to gain the suffrage of the *Précieuses*. He purified the theatre, making it accessible to women. He belongs to the *Précieuses* inasmuch as he realized their ideal of art.

A great factor in furthering the nationalization of literature was the founding of the French Academy by Richelieu, who desired to create a type of the modern state; to establish this, unity in politics as well as in art and letters was necessary. But the men of letters were not always minded as the Cardinal.

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Descarte's influence is said to be great. By his *Discours de la Méthode* he taught the writers to recognize and possess their powers. Nearly all writers after him were Cartesians in their doctrines and methods of application. However the work was not epoch-making. The influences of Spain and Italy were repelled by other influences, and the most important is that of *Jansénism*. Arnault's *Fréquente Communion*, 1643, had the effect of changing the simply agreeable questions and discussions of the day to more serious ones; yet it was too scholastic and theological. It remained for Pascal with his *Lettres provinciales* to found pure French prose, and to put in simple prose all that had been discussed for the last fifty years. From them dates, also, *la fixation des caractères de la littérature et de l'idéal classiques*.

Bossuet's style was greatly changed and his thought liberated by them. These letters paved the way for all the master-works to follow, and founded the naturalistic school as well. Molière, Racine, Boileau, and La Fontaine are under the influence of Pascal. Their principle of art consists essentially in the imitation of nature; but it was not the object or end of art. They believed in perfecting nature, and for this a perpetual care for form and style was necessary. This was new to the time and with this comes the real nationalization of literature. It is found under the reign of Louis XIV. The literature is a direct picture and outcome of the new life that grew up with the King. France becomes the ideal of Europe. The King's personality shone in every phase of development. The literature is human and natural and will endure because it is not written for one period, but all periods, inasmuch as it has elements that will apply to all times—universal, human, national and free from foreign influence. In each great writer there is something peculiarly French; as in Racine, depth, subtle analysis, moral observation, harmony of proportion; in Boileau force and precision of language; in La Fontaine Epicurean nonchalance and Gallic malice. In all of their writings is found a didactic and broad moral tendency.

With the decay of the empire literature also decays, being left in the hands of *débauchés*, *précieux* and *libertins*. Bossuet alone endeavors to check and restrain them and from 1680 to 1690 nearly all his best works are written; but *libertinage* rapidly grew into importance under the form of degenerate Cartesianism, and the great discussion arose of being a Christian and Cartesian at the same time. Malebranche humanizes what the Christian doctrine offers of the most harsh and contrary to reason: Bayle's criticism has the same object and Fontenelle popularizes the discussion by clothing his Cartesianism in the language of the *Précieux*. Perrault in his *Siècle de Louis le Grand* endeavors to prove the superiority of the modern world over the ancient, whence results the quarrel of the ancients and moderns. From this emancipation from the influence of the ancient world three consequences result:

1. The observation of real and contemporaneous things; 2. the foundation of the Academy of Sciences (1689); 3. the scorn or disdain of tradition, or the rage for novelty; the decadence or abasement of all noble or elevated species. French literature is in a state of exhaustion and there is no genius to reanimate it. Even the language changes its character, taking a lighter and more logical turn, partly due to Spanish influence. French prose turns to the narrative, natural on account of the interest shown in contemporaneous affairs; the language and thought thus becoming the close image of the French spirit, the spirit of sociability. Men write for others, to amuse and please and to be applauded, for in this lies their fortune and reputation. Such literature is of itself decadent, and with it the deformation of the classic ideal sets in. A new aristocracy is brought to light under Louis XV, *douteuse ou impure en sa source, ignorante à plaisir, cynique et débraillée dans ses mœurs, raffinée toutefois dans ses goûts*. Woman's influence is supreme, and only through her can the writer gain a position at Court. This spirit has advanced literature a step by emancipating sensibility from the narrow tutorship of the masters of the preceding age; it is found especially in the comedies of Marivaux, and in Voltaire's *Zaïre* and *Alzire* it even reaches pathos. This sensibility under its various forms of *marivaudage*, pathos and weeping

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does not produce any lasting works. *L'homme sensible* cannot be a profound observer nor a faithful imitator of nature, hence the psychological and moral observation of the preceding age is changed to a social observation and only manners are depicted. Nature is the same everywhere and so is man, whence the the idea of a universal man. To this idea Montesquieu tends in his *Esprit des lois*, the variety of laws being for the good of society. This social spirit is felt in all writers of the time and literature becomes more and more scientific, finally ending in that of the Encyclopædists. English influence naturally plays an important part, even as early as 1725. As long as French literature was dominated by the Classic ideal it preserved its independence; but now English thought and ideals replace it. Thus from the psychological and moral, French literature changes first to the social, then to to the scientific social and, finally, under English influence to the purely practical, and this is the encyclopædic spirit. The encyclopædists do not study man, but the relations of man, and necessarily lose sight of the diversity of nature which distinguishes men among themselves. They are experimenters and their literature lacks reality, substance and life, being philosophical and speculative only. The language becomes impoverished, the syntax narrowed and strained.

The Government and the Salons were opposed to them, the latter being especially harmful to literature, for so many mediocre talents were encouraged by them. They flattered and their flattery led men of of letters to the paradox; however, the Salons made scientific subjects popular.

About this time Rousseau's powerful influence made itself felt by opening the way to nature, closed for several centuries. Everyone is himself in the measure of freedom in which his sentiments are expressed and this freedom is nature. We are constrained by our habits and they change more or less; before they change they are nature herself; that is, nature is opposed to civilization. The object, then, of education is to free ourselves from the prejudices that prevent nature from developing according to herself, which is entirely opposed to the ancient doctrines. We are dependent upon nature and must obey her. By this doctrine the individual is emancipated again from the tyranny of society, and sensibility is substituted for the rights of intelligence; principles entirely opposed to those of humanism and Classicism.

The great questions of the day, such as the Jesuits, rights of publication, questions of religion, legal despotism, etc., give to Voltaire this universality and authority of influence which he had sought so long. The direct cause of this supremacy was a general peace, as the Court and Parliament did not take sides in these questions. When Louis XVI. mounted the throne there was perfect freedom for the Encyclopædists and Economists, which gave rise to the last effort of the Classic spirit against the Anglomania which was menacing French gallantry, customs and literature. At this time there prevailed a kind of mixed tendency, best expressed in Beaumarchais, Le Sage and Scarron, whose inspiration was Classical, but whose subject-matter was mixed. André Chénier shows the true genuine Classical spirit. He believed that true beauty and perfection lay in the master-works of the ancients, and that originality and invention lay not in servile imitation, but in clothing the thought in the ancient immortal forms. He revived Classicism but it could not live, for it had held sway for nearly two centuries, and the society of which it was the expression had passed away. Literature grows and progresses as any animal or vegetable species. The period of Classicism was over. The Neo-Classicists were wrong when they said that new thoughts can be built on antique verses. If an epoch ceases to think like a preceding epoch it can not build its work on that of this epoch. Thus, then, were the Neo-Classicists wrong in borrowing poems from generations whose ideas they no longer shared, and taking as models for writing, master-writers who were no longer master-thinkers.

Three men, however, broke entirely away from the past, Condorcet, Buffon, and Bernardin de Saint-Pierre. The first founded the religion of science, and transmitted to us all the error and truth contained in the encyclopædic doctrine in his *Esquisse d'une histoire des progrès de l'esprit humain*. Buffon's *Époques*

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de la nature founded a science of life. Bernerdin de Saint-Pierre is important on account of his language, a language of description. His excess of sentimentalism only serves as a preparation for Chateaubriand's *Génie*, with whom there is opened a literary epoch, the modern age.

The first effect of the disorganization of the Classic ideal was the emancipation of the individual, the *ego* becoming sovereign, the object of itself and its final cause. The *Confessions* were a direct precursor of Chateaubriand and Mme de Staël whose works are personal, psychological and lyrical as well, at the same time teaching moral perfection. He tries to prove that reason and philosophy always acquire new forces in the numberless misfortunes of humanity; therefore the possibility of restoring on the basis of Rousseau's morality everything the Revolution had put in ruins, and the beginning or promise of a new order of things. Science and philosophy for her are only means of moral perfection, whose object is the moral amelioration of humanity. This new sentimentalism and individualism are most vigorously opposed, because they are a most serious assault upon the philosophy of the eighteenth century. Bonald attacks Condorcet and Condillac; de Maistre, Bacon and Voltaire; Lamennais, Rousseau. These men, probably more than Chateaubriand and Mme de Staël, operate against the Encyclopædists, and have made possible the *méditations* and *odes* such as they are; they have created a religious poetry which elevated French poetry to heights probably never before reached.

The second sign of a new literature was the taste shown for foreign literatures, a natural result from the continuous European wars. The events of 1815 furthered this taste; Frenchmen returned from exile with new ideas and knowledge of foreign affairs and literatures. Especially from 1815–1825 is there a common manner of thinking and feeling from which literary cosmopolitanism is born; this cosmopolitanism differs from humanism which takes Greco-Latin culture as its basis, by appropriating the most national of national literatures, and by making of them a composition which is developed by contrasts with other literatures. The new spirit is furthered by Aug. Thierry, who unites the sentiment of the diversity of place and epoch which are inseparable and forms local coloring; by Ampère and Magnin who distinguish between literary and non-literary works, and free literature from its political tutorship. Romanticism is nothing more than the triumph in literature and art of individualism. Everything between 1825–1835 furthered this development of individualism and this best explains the causes of its greatness, of its decadence and the nature of the reaction it was to cause.

While Classicism makes impersonality one of the conditions of perfection, romanticism makes personality or the freedom of being one's self and nothing but one's self a primary condition of art. What interests the artist is the subject of his works, and in them we find our own emotions reflected; thus we become interested and the greatest lyric poets are the most personal. They naturally needed a broader vocabulary and a freer verse, which led to an individual choice of words, to a revolution of language. This personal character is manifested in all literary species, and a reaction is natural and necessary. The failure in 1843 of *Les Burgraves* and the success of *Lucrèce* is fatal to the drama. Although Scribe and Dumas wrote badly, yet they understood that people do not assemble in the theatre to listen to the author speak to them of himself, but will become interested in a general subject. Ceasing to be personal the drama ceases to be romantic. The novel shows an impersonal observation.

It was Balzac, however, who freed it from the conventions of romanticism, and raised it to a perfection which, perhaps, no one has reached nor excelled. He showed clearly that the true literary function of the novel is the abridged representation of common life, giving the novel a historic and documentary value, precise, particular, local, with a general and lasting psychological signification. All human passions play the same rôle as in human life. He observes the human being and his surroundings just as a naturalist does the animal or plant; no impressions, but reality. Science was inaugurating a movement entirely opposed to romanticism, one of objective observation entirely disengaged from

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all personal or individual element.

Auguste Comte is the founder of this new movement; but in his philosophy there is as much of Comte as there is of Victor Hugo in his works. Comte opposes the eclecticism of Cousin, which makes of the *ego* the judge of others. Our knowledge of others serves to correct the idea we have of ourselves; we are only the scene or place of our impressions. True psychology lies in history and society, not in us, but outside and round about us, because we can only feel and experience our impressions.

Another reaction against romanticism is socialism, such as is found in Pierre Leroux. To live it is essential to have humanity for an object, for a normal life is one which does not violate the bond which unites us to humanity; we must, therefore, live as though we were to live eternally in humanity.

History also abandoned the personal recital and endeavors to be an impartial recorder of the past. In criticism Sainte-Beuve reaches out a step farther by pointing out the reasons for the distinctions of species and the hierarchy of talents. He shows that there are families of *esprit*, and that there are *genres* and species in these *genres*, and ranks in these species, and that our impressions count for nothing in criticism. "Les considérants sont tout" and the value of these depends upon the laws that govern the human mind. This system has been fatal to romanticism. The finest verses of such poets as de Vigny and Gautier are entirely free from the romantic spirit. The principle now was to compose, sculpture, gild, hew, finish, file and polish a work like a marble statue; and Gautier succeeds in accomplishing this. No writer ever showed such disinterestedness in a work as is seen in *Emaux et Camées*. The writers mingle as little as possible of themselves with their impressions; to accomplish this the utmost care for form and choice of words is necessary. This principle introduces a generation of artists, replacing that of improvisors, and completely routs romanticism. Everything drifts to study and observation, and this is formed into a system by Taine and Renan, who are under the influence of Comte, only differing from him in the particular appropriation of the same general method to diverse subjects. A kind of intermediary between Taine and Renan is Littré, and these three give to naturalism a doctrinal cohesion, consistency, and solidity that romanticism always lacked.

A point that nearly all naturalists, Dumas, Flaubert, de Lisle, have in common is impersonality; that is, they themselves are not the subject of their observation; the man is subordinated to the artist. *Madame Bovary* and the *Poèmes antiques* have not invented provincial life nor the Gods of India; they already existed; but they have fixed the object of their imitation and described only that which they believed to see permanent in them. Reproduction of nature is the object, submission to the model is the means, and impersonality is the triumph. Thus does literature become thoroughly scientific.

A third characteristic of contemporaneous naturalism is impassibility; that is, the most complete disinterestedness of all that is not art nor science. The artist must not show an interest in nor give an opinion of his characters; a fact is a fact; proof and not judgment is the means. If the reader does not draw the moral from the book it is because he is either an imbecile, or because it is false in point of exactness. All this develops the theory of art for art's sake, which leads the writer to the sentiment of the great difficulties of the art of writing, to the respect for language, and to the religion of form, without which no one has left anything permanent in the French language. The platitude inherited from the *idéologues* and encyclopædists, the liberty so much abused and pushed even to incorrectness, the incoherence of metaphors, the entanglement of turns and phrases, vulgarity of manners, familiarity of bad tone; all this is not found in de Lisle, Taine and Flaubert. They have given to style a degree of precision, fullness and solidity; but they err in their belief that an assemblage of words, independent of what they express, has a beauty in itself. However, their talent for writing has made the fortune of their æsthetic doctrines. Victor Hugo even imitates de Lisle in his *Légende des siècles*, but remains a romanticist because we only have his impressions.

Michelet and George Sand likewise endeav-

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or to be impersonal, but they insist that art must not be separated from life, nor must the artist withdraw or isolate himself from the world. He must write for everybody. "Qu'est-ce que c'est que l'art sans les cœurs et les esprits où on le verse?" This the naturalists would not allow, and on account of this they found a great obstacle in propagating their doctrines. The dramatists especially have mixed the two principles, and after freeing themselves from the doctrine of art for art's sake, Feuillet, Augier and Dumas write *pièces à thèse* and moralize to their heart's content. But this art now falls into the hands of buffoons and the gross pleasure of the populace. The language becomes brutal, low, *banal*. However, these means were the best in their time and the most efficacious, finally turning to the profit of art.

In the first place the art of Dumas has triumphed over the dilettantism so prominent after 1870–1871; no one more eloquently than he denounced its dangerous and anti-social tendency.

He also protested vigorously against naturalism strangely degenerated from the idea that Taine and Flaubert had formed of it.

However, other influences have aided Dumas —Schopenhauer whose idealistic pessimism differs so profoundly from the vulgar pessimism of the base naturalists; George Eliot whose naturalism is, so to speak, a moral or sociology, differing from the artistic and impassible naturalism of Flaubert; Tolstoi and Ibsen, whose great inspiration is *pitié sociale*. All these foreign expressions and ideas have been united in Dumas and Sand, hence have triumphed over art for art's sake. Dumas believed that man was not made for art, but art for man, and this is generally recognized today.

Individualism of the romanticists, impersonality of the naturalists, has become social again in modern French literature, and it is to be hoped that it will hold to it, for if dilettantism has developed and excited the curiosity of the mind and sharpened penetration, and if naturalism has often been of great service, social literature can appropriate the conquests of the two; whereas, these cannot appropriate those of social literature, which likewise conforms to the tradition of four or five centuries of French genius. It expresses, in the language of the whole world, truths that interest and affect the whole world. The socialization of French literature has enabled French literature to resist foreign influences, and to retain only that which it could appropriate for the needs of its genius, and especially to exercise in the world the intellectual domination that it has exercised more often than any other people. And the object of this literature is to tend to the perfection of civil life or to the progress of civilization.

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FRENCH LITERATURE.

A. *French Practical Course*, by JULES MAGNENAT. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1897. 12mo, pp. xi+286.

B. *La Bibliothèque de mon Oncle*, par Rodolphe Töpffer. Edited by ROBERT L. TAYLOR. New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1898. 12mo, pp. xx+201.

C. *Histoire d'un Merle Blanc*, par Alfred de Musset. Edited by the Misses AGNÈS COINTAT and H. ISABELLE WILLIAMS. New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1898. iv+50 pp.

A. AMONG French grammars written in French and especially prepared for English speaking students, Prof. Magnenat's *French Practical Course* easily stands toward the top, if not indeed at the very head. The rules are carefully worded, and all the grammatical and syntactical peculiarities of French are thoroughly discussed, placing thereby this work on a par with other American grammars of the French language. A further advantage, in addition to this thoroughness, is that the statements are all made in French, being at first very simple, but becoming more difficult as the student progresses. A great desideratum in modern language teaching—conversational use of the tongue studied—is thus filled, without the unconditional employment of natural school methods, and also without taking time from the study of grammar and composition. Several French grammar writers have already made use of this method, but their works have

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generally been so inferior to the grammars written in English, that modern language instructors in our colleges have hesitated to recommend them. There are changes which might easily be suggested in Prof. Magnenat's grammar, and his work may, in the future, be superseded by a better one, carrying out the same idea; but the fact remains that, just now, his publication is one of the most, some persons may even say, is the most satisfactory of its kind.

The part dealing with French pronunciation is written in English, as it should be, and exercises are scattered through the work. It might be suggested that there are too few of these exercises, a ready remedy being, however, the preparation of an exercise book to accompany the main work.

There is, nevertheless, one fact that should be mentioned especially, though it is somewhat foreign to the actual discussion of the grammar. A key has been published; and for whose benefit? For teachers? He is a strange teacher who would be willing to introduce French conversation into his classes, and yet feel the need of a key. If the key is prepared for this class of instructors, then all that need be said is that it is benefiting persons who should rather be discouraged. Is this key intended perhaps for students? The standing of the author, and also of the publishers, makes this supposition almost an insult. For whom then is this key? No satisfactory answer can be forthcoming, and this key, a positive blot in the estimation of modern language teachers, should therefore be destroyed, and destroyed before it can harm the work it accompanies, and may its complete obliteration be a warning!

It would be impossible to discover all the mistakes after merely glancing over this grammar. The following may, however, be mentioned. The *er* of *fermer* (p. 3) and that of *hiver*, *enfer*, etc. (p. 3), should not be printed in fat type in both cases, since the *r* is pronounced in the latter examples. The statement at the bottom of p. 4 should be that "*o* in final *ose* is pronounced, etc." Final *r* (p. 12) is not silent in such polysyllabic words as *enfer*, *magister*, etc. On p. 14 (middle) change "doubtful" to "double" or "two-fold." An explanation should be given of what is meant by "masculine syllable" (p. 19, 12). It would seem better not to place the articles under the headings for adjectives (*passim*). A list should be made of all words which add *x* to *ou* in the plural (p. 30, 11). Why separate the exceptions to the regular formation of the feminine? *F* giving *ve* is mentioned on p. 30, while *x* becoming *se* is not given till p. 39. Before § 7 (p. 32) insert: *Quand il n'y a pas de nom*, as otherwise this paragraph would be included in § 5. The first line of p. 34, 3, is too indefinite. *Premier* and *second* should be mentioned as exceptions (p. 38, 3). The rule given on p. 39, 5, should be incorporated in that of p. 30, 15. Add hyphen between *et* and *un*, and *et* and *unième* (p. 46, 2), or else omit hyphens altogether. The feminine of *public*, etc. (p. 46, 8), should be stated as being phonetic. The partitive construction (p. 54, 16) should be more fully developed. Are not the rules of §§ 3 b and 4 (p. 58) identical? Write *plus-que-parfait* (pp. 59, 60) as on pp. 123 and 124. If a sentence "begins" with *quel*, how could the noun, etc., do anything else but precede the verb (p. 62, 3)? Does *celui* come from *ce* + *lui*, *celle* from *ce* + *elle*, *ceux* from *ce* + *eux*, *celles* from *ce* + *elles* (p. 95, 1)? It does not seem well to include the present subjunctive in the paradigm of the imperative (p. 96, 4). After *la 1re et la 2e pers.* (p. 96, 6) add *du pluriel.* May not the first person singular of the present subjunctive be also used in an imperative sense? Read *suivis* for *précédés* (p. 102, 6), and it may be better to add *quand le sujet est impersonnel* to this paragraph. Insert iii. before *pronom* (p. 109, 1). The plural expression *ce sont* needs, for the explanation of its use, more than two examples (p. 110, 7). The statement in § 10 (p. 116) might be worded differently, since very much the same difference in meaning exists between "who," etc., and "which," etc., as between *qui*, *que* and *lequel*, etc. It should be noted that *les soldats se sont battus* (p. 145, 2) has two meanings: "the soldiers fought each other" and simply, "the soldiers fought." It is not quite correct to say (p. 151, 13) that the *e* of the infinitive ending *ger* is retained before *a*, *o;* the wording of this paragraph had better be changed. The preterit of *venir* might be given in full, on

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p. 117, 10, since it is a difficult tense to learn; every teacher is familiar with the supposed forms *ventmes* and *ventes*. The same remark applies to *tenir* (p. 186, 3), and it may also be added that it is a pity verbs that are conjugated alike are not placed near each other. The difference between *il est né* and *il naquit* (p. 211, 9) should be explained.

The subject matter in this grammar is, perhaps, a little scattered, but there is an index by which reference can be made to the paragraphs which treat the same questions. The use of this index would be much facilitated if the numbers of the lessons headed each page of the grammar, and also if its general headings were still further subdivided. But its most serious fault is that there are some wrong references, as under *Nom; Nombre*, iii, 11, 12 (for iii, 10, 11), and also that the chapters in the grammar are sometimes duplicated, as iii, on p. 29 and on p. 31, so that, for example, iii, 1 refers to two separate paragraphs. An index of irregular verbs is absolutely needed. Short vocabularies are interspersed in the text itself, and a French-English vocabulary ends the work.

Several changes must, therefore, be made before this grammar can be called perfect, but the reviewer cannot close without renewed congratulations both to Professor Magnenat and to all modern language instructors who may think it wise to make use of French in their classes-congratulations fully deserved, since the former has brought out a work, by the aid of which the latter can introduce conversational exercises into the class-room without wasting valuable time on short and inane sentences, so distasteful to most teachers.

B. For a year or more a soul may be said to have been wandering on the shelves of our studies, awaiting its incarnation. When a charming soul finally occupies a comely body, the result is most satisfactory. A charming story of Töpffer's has just been made accessible to students through Mr. Taylor's skill, after having at first appeared, for some strange reason, without either introduction or notes. The editor of *La Bibliothèque de mon Oncle* is in sympathy with his author, and his introduction is just the sort of introduction wanted by college students, while his notes are carefully prepared. Töpffer has not written much, and Mr. Taylor has, therefore, been able to give, in the few pages at his command, a thoroughly good idea of the author's life and influence. A prominent American editor was only recently complaining of the injustice of allowing twenty, or so, pages for introductory remarks on a man who had written but three or four stories, and yet of not granting more space to the consideration of such voluminous writers as Hugo, Balzac, and Zola. This editor is doubtless right, though publishers may quote the parable of the vineyard, whose workers were given one penny whether they had toiled all day or been engaged for an hour only. Dissatisfaction was naturally expressed by the former. The more, however, one thinks of this matter, the more grows the thought that, perhaps, the publishers are not altogether wrong, and that a concise but readable introduction, which students will study, is better than one over which they may merely skim. The whole point is this: an introduction should whet the appetite, not satisfy it. A learner should be induced to look further into the life and writings of the author read. If the introduction accomplishes this object, it has really done more good than if it had given the student the idea that he knows, after reading it, all that is worth knowing about the writer.

Attention may be called to a few changes which, in some cases, *should*, in others, *might* be made in a new edition of this text. Read *mœurs* for *mœrs* and *déjà* for *déjá* in the passage cited on p. xvi. Mr. Taylor is rather hard on the age of Victor Hugo when he states (p. xvii) that it was "the age of the *bouffon* as well as the lachrymose." Lovers of the Romantic school may think him somewhat severe, and yet the editor, on the same page, speaks of this school as "our old friend." This is, however, worse and worse; "our old friend" sounds so patronizing; it suggests so vividly the patting on the shoulder of an old weeping buffoon. On p. xix, it is said that, in the sentence, *qui, perdant l'équilibre, était tombée en répandant par la chambre les pinceaux*, Töpffer varies the use of the present participle with and without *en*. It would seem rather that any careful French

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writer for the sake of euphony would avoid using *en* twice in this short sentence. This could hardly be called a characteristic of Töpffer. Read *quel* for *que* on p. 62, l. 4. Read *faute* for *faut* on p. 157, l. 16. Change the syllabification of *aider-ons* to *aide-rons* on p. 170, l. 12. Read *qu'elle* for *quelle* on p. 176, l. 7.

The following observations may be made on the notes, which with these few exceptions, do the editor credit. Does *verrue* (p. 13, l. 27) mean "mole?" Isn't it rather "wart?" Why translate *hanneton* (p. 14, l. 6)? *Ouvrage* means "task" rather than "fault;" if any idea of blame is contained in this sentence, the rendering "doing" would seem appropriate. Does the editor consider *ôta à moi* (p. 65, l. 13) a correct French expression? Why translate *un vase de capucines* (p. 70, l. 26)? Read *était* for *etait* (p. 73, l. 31). The note to p. 74, l. 5, would not be clear to a student. The note on *de* (p. 79, l. 3) is not complete, as the *de* in such a phrase as *aimé de lui* could not be explained by the statement that the action is not definitely limited, a correct enough explanation, perhaps, of such clauses as *connu de quelques érudits*. Read *espérerais* for *espèrerais* (p. 95, l. 18). Is it quite right to say (p. 99, l. 1) that Old French "decayed" after the fourteenth century, and that from this "decay" came Modern French? Phonetic changes show development rather than decay. Read *camarde* for *camarade* (p. 106, l. 3). Read *très* for *tres* (p. 111, l. 11). As many students who will read this text have not had Latin, it might be useful to translate all Latin passages, as on p. 112, l. 1, etc. The Arve (p. 112, l. 19), when it joins the Rhône, is south of Geneva, but the Salève is rather to the east of that city. Why translate in full the conversation on p. 129? In *d'aller droit mon chemin* (p. 154, l. 28), *droit* is felt now to be an adverb, accompanying therefore the verb *aller*, in which case there would be no metathesis for *d'aller mon droit chemin*.

It is pleasant to review a text edited by a teacher as careful as Mr. Taylor. The few mistakes that have slipped in by no means mar the appreciation felt for an American work ably prepared.

C. The introduction to the *Histoire d'un Merle Blanc*, very concise and covering little more than one page, is written by Miss Williams. It might have been made somewhat longer, in view of de Musset's position in French literature. At any rate, a few observations, bearing directly on the text which follows, would not have been amiss, especially as this story is more than the simple autobiography of a small bird. The fragmentary comments found in the notes might have been more useful in the introduction, where they would have formed a more complete whole. Miss Williams' few introductory remarks are bright enough to prove her quite able to successfully undertake a more ambitious introduction. There are, however, times when too little is better than too much.

The misprints in the text are few. On p. 13, l. 13, read *quelle* for *qu'elle;* p. 15, l. 28, *as* for *a;* p. 33, l. 12, *être* for *étre;* p. 39, l. 20, *trouvai* for *trovuai*. The division of words might be altered in four cases. The first two changes may be disputed, but *croy-ais* and *ennuy-eux* seem better than *cro-yais* (p. 17, l. 5) and *ennu-yeux* (p. 17, l. 5). The last two changes should, however, be made: *pu-blierai* and *pu-blic*, instead of *pub-lierai* (p. 28, l. 20) and *pub-lic* (p. 29, l. 22). The rules for the division of syllables are stricter in French than in English, and editors should be correspondingly more careful in following them.

The notes are all prepared with care, and are not superfluous, except perhaps in a few cases. Is the translation of the following passages really needed? *Quand vint le temps de ma première mue* (p. 2, l. 30); *qui vous donnent l'air d'un marguillier en train d'avaler une omelette* (p. 4, l. 8), which the editors merely translate literally; *une certaine nuit qu'il pleuvait à verse* (p. 6, l. 18), where the explanation of *que* is however *à propos; courir comme la flèche à un but marqué qui ne nous échappe jamais* (p. 6, l. 28); *mon isolement pour être glorieux ne m'en semblait pas moins pénible* (p. 33, l. 11), where *pour* and *en* had better be explained separately.

Care should be taken to make the translation correspond with the words actually quoted in the notes. *Avoir l'air* (p. 9, l. 18) does not mean "so as to seem;" *chanter à tue-tête* (p. 16, l. 12) means more than simply "at the top of my voice;" "he is inexperienced" is not

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the full rendering of *on dirait qu'il est né d'hier* (p. 18, l. 28), nor is "all at once" the complete meaning of *imprimée tout d'une venue* (p. 30, l. 17).

Ne laissait pas que de m'attrister (p. 17, l. 12) might also be explained, if an explanation of *mais ne laissez pas de faire* (p. 18, l. 22) is deemed necessary; in this note *etonner* should be *étonner*. *À cause de* would not be the modern rendering of *à cause que*, on p. 20, l. 12; *parce que* is the modern phrase in this particular case. Instead of translating the whole sentence containing the conditional *sauraient* (p. 26, l. 24), it would be better to mention and explain the fact that the conditional of *savoir* may have the same meaning as the conditional of *pouvoir*. Does *mécontent* (p. 33, l. 4) strictly mean "misunderstood"?

The above possible corrections aside, the notes show that the editors are in sympathy with the author of the story they have edited, and that they have done their work with care and good judgment.

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CORRESPONDENCE.

THE TREATMENT OF NATURE IN WISTASSE LE MOINE.

TO THE EDITORS OF MOD. LANG. NOTES,

SIRS:—The following verses taken from the *roman d'aventure* of *Wistasse le Moine* may be taken as additional proof that the audiences of the Middle Ages were not dull to the appreciation of out-door nature, even when elaborately and artistically introduced.

Wistasse, who is a sort of French Robin Hood, after stealing his horses, has been leading the Count of Boulogne a weary chase, and has succeeded in eluding him by resorting to various disguises: now appearing as a charcoal burner and again as a potter. After narrowly escaping capture, Wistasse taunts his foe as described in the following passage.[1]

En . j. nit d'escoufle est montés.
Wistasces li escervelés
Illuecques se fist loussignol.
Bien tenoit le conte por fol.

Quant voit le conte trespasser,
Wistasces commenche a criër:
"Ochi! ochi! ochi! ochi!"
Et li quens Renaus respondi:
"Je l'ocirai, par saint Richier!
Se je le puis as mains ballier."
"Fier! fier!" dist Wistasces li moigne.
"Par foi!" dist li quens de Bouloigne,
"Si ferai jou, je le ferai,
Ja en cel liu ne le tenrai."
Wistasces rest aseürés,
Si se rest .ij. mos escriés:
"Non l'ot! si ot! non l'ot! si ot!"
Quant li quens de Bouloigne l'ot,
"Certes si ot," che dist li quens;
"Tolu m'a tous mes chevals buens."
Wistasces s'escria: "Hui! hui!"
"Tu dis bien," dist li quens; "c'est hui
Que je l'ocirai a mes maius."
Dist li quens: "Il n'est mie fol
Ki croit conseil de loussignol.
Li loussignos m'a bien apris
A vengier de mes anemis,
Car li loussignos si m'escrie
Que je le fiere et que l'ochie."
Dont s'esmut li quens de Bouloigne
Por sievir Wistasce le moigne.

The English rendering might be:

Up into a kite's nest Wistasse has mounted. There the fickle Wistasse made himself into a nightingale. Full well he held the Count for a fool.

When he sees the Count pass by, Wistasse begins to cry out:

"Kill! Kill! Kill! Kill!"

And Count Renaut replies:

"I will kill him, by Saint Richier! If I can get him into my hands."

"Strike! Strike!" said Wistasse the monk. "By my faith!" said the Count of Boulogne, "I will strike him, I will strike him, but not in this place now shall I find him."

Wistasse feels safe again and cries out two words:

"He missed him! he had him! he missed him! he had him!"

When the Count of Boulogne hears this, "Certainly he had him," said the Count; "he has taken all my good horses."

Wistasse cried out; "To-day! to-day!" "Thou sayest right," said the Count; it will be to-day that I will kill him with my hands."

Said the Count: "He is no fool who follows the advice of a nightingale. The nightingale has well taught me how to take vengeance on my enemy; for the nightingale calls out to me that I shall strike him and kill him."

Then the Count of Boulogne moved on to follow after Wistasse the monk.

[1] See verses 1140-1172 of Wendelin Förster's *Wistasse le Moine*, Halle, 1891.

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The old-time inhabitants of "douce France" seem to have been keenly alive to the beauties of the spring-time, of the flowing rivers and the green meadows. Even in the satirical *Roman de Renart* we find these charming lines:

> Ou mois de mai qu'este commence
> Que cil arbre cueillent semence
> Que cler chantent parmi le gaut
> L'oriol et le papegaut.[1]

In the passage quoted from *Wistasse le Moine*, however, there is something more than the mere mention of a nightingale's song. There is not a little psychological interest. The author has wrought the Count of Boulogne into such a susceptible mood that he interprets the simple notes of the nightingale as rendered by this joking Wistasse, in accordance with his own revengeful train of thought. More fanciful than what we are accustomed to find in mediæval poetry, this device here does much to increase the humor of the situation. We have all been in a frame of mind when the sounds about us have a special significance. It would be interesting to hear of parallel passages in mediæval literature where resort is had to a dialogue between a man and an animal after the fashion of this conversation between the Count of Boulogne and Wistasse the monk, impersonating the nightingale.

W. W. COMFORT.

Haverford College.

L'ALLIANCE FRANÇAISE.

TO THE EDITORS OF MOD. LANG. NOTES,

SIRS:—The two sessions of the *Alliance Française* at Paris during the months of July and August were marked by larger attendance and more advanced courses than any previous session. The United States was fairly well represented, and teachers of French from all parts of Europe took advantage of the privileges offered. During the July session the Germanic group outnumbered either the Anglo-American, the Slav, or the International, but the August session found the Anglo-American the strongest.

The *Alliance* had stately quarters for its lectures at the *École Coloniale* in the *Avenue de l'Observatoire*, where, in the center of student Paris, the members had every opportunity and encouragement for their work.

As might have been expected, the courses were far from being of equal value, but a certain freedom of election was allowed even to the candidates for a diploma, and this liberty enabled all participants to concentrate their efforts on the subjects they considered most suited to their individual needs.

Among the lecturers were men of ability and scholarly reputation. The director, M. Ferdinand Brunot, proved himself an efficient administrator, and gave a set of lectures on Historical French Grammar. His ability as a teacher is in no way inferior to his power as a writer.

A brilliant course of lectures was given by M. René Doumic, the eminent critic. He treated the Literature of the Nineteenth Century in a way that delighted his audience, while his clear insight and careful analysis put system into the chaotic abundance of the materials. Always clear and logical, always enthusiastic, even when most severe in his criticism, M. Doumic by his style and manner made himself a universal favorite.

The course in Phonetics was one of the most important. The Abbé Rousselot and M. Zund-Burguet, eminent authorities on this subject, gave instruction of great value to those attending the course. The Abbé Rousselot gave the general lectures, after which the practical and experimental work was directed by M. Zund-Burguet, a separate class being formed for each group of nationalities.

There were offered each month ten different courses, embracing the subjects best suited to the needs of teachers of French in foreign lands. The summer sessions of the *Alliance* have now attained the rank of a university summer school, and the policy of meeting the wants of the greatest number will doubtless draw each year more and more teachers of French to hear its lecturers. At the annual banquet, the Director announced the intention of offering next year a larger variety of courses, and of permitting more freedom of election. This will tend to give to the *Alliance* still more of the character of a university summer school, and will meet more fully the desire of American teachers of French.

EDGAR E. BRANDON.

Miami University.

[1] Verses 1-4 of Branche xvii in Henri Martin's edition.

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OUR COMMON LANGUAGE.

TO THE EDITORS OF MOD. LANG. NOTES,

SIRS:—"Apart from the usual Americanisms familiar to English readers, there are some novel and amusing expressions in the text. A few which deal with details of costume may be quoted. Thus we hear of 'young women in shirt-waists and sailor hats, and young men in flannel outing suits,' and of 'baskets of freshly laundered clothes,' and of 'a pretty waist of pale silk.' After all, these phrases may be quite native to California, or even to Los Angeles, and have nothing in common with America at large." The *Athenæum*, Sept. 10, 1898.

I send you the above with the hope that some American, versed in the English language, may be willing to translate these "novel and amusing expressions" into the speech which the descendants of Shakespere's compatriots have substituted for that of their ancestors.

But if we do not use their language, they do not think our thoughts; as the following specimen of conjectural semantic from the *Athenæum* of Sept. third may exemplify:

"Dr. . . . . is described as 'Instructor in Rhetoric.' Whether this is equivalent to 'tutor' at Oxford or Cambridge, or whether it is a Western title for 'professor' we do not know; but it is possible that, as quack doctors and barbers style themselves 'professors' throughout the West, it may have been determined to substitute 'instructor' for the abused and depreciated title."

ANDREW INGRAHAM.

The Swain Free School.

BROWNE'S REVIEW OF HIMES'S MILTON.

TO THE EDITORS OF MOD. LANG. NOTES,

SIRS:—It becomes an author, I suppose, when the reviewers are at work upon his books to hold his peace, take the sour with the sweet, and try to learn something from all. But when a direct challenge to explain himself is flung at him he cannot well refuse to take it up. For this reason I notice Prof. Browne's question, though my book itself would answer it for any but a very careless reader.

Before coming to the question, however, I wish to correct some mistakes and misstatements of the reviewer. The one thing that he undertakes to tell us about Milton, namely, that the poet identifies Mammon with Mulciber, is an error. For evidence I appeal to Milton himself and to "his original," Spenser, and not to the commentators. The two spirits are no more identical than the philanthropic millionaire is identical with the architect who constructed the university building in which Professor Browne teaches.

Because the Apocalypse has been a treasure-house for cranks, the critic proceeds on the assumption that any one who finds any truth in that part of Scripture belongs to that fraternity. Milton, however, did not disparage that book, but spoke of it with admiration as "the majestic image of a high and stately tragedy." The reviewer continues to believe "that the narrative in Genesis and the ancient tradition of the fall of the angels furnished the poet with his subject." Why "tradition"? Does not Professor Browne know that this "tradition" is itself drawn from the discredited book? If the "tradition," occupying with its consequences about as much space in the poem as the narrative in Genesis, has been taken from the Apocalypse, why should it be deemed incredible that the outline or germ of the whole poem may be discovered in the same writing? What dictate of good sense forbids accepting the idea of finding here a scheme which subordinates to itself both the story of Genesis and the "tradition"? By the courtesy of the editors I am permitted, if it should seem desirable, to present this matter in a future issue of the NOTES.

When the professor begins to quote, I recognize some of my words but none of my ideas. Things are joined that were never intended to be. The reviewer seems to imagine that in presenting the opinions of another a centaur is just as good as a horse and a man. I thought it fairly sane when I said that given Mammon, the spirit of Wealth, and Mulciber, the spirit of Art, and their helpers, the product was Pandemonium, a capitol fashioned after the Roman Pantheon. I thought as much when I declared on abundant evidence that the scenery in the first book of *Paradise Lost* is an imitation of what in Classic times belonged to the west coast of Italy; likewise, when I drew independently from scores of passages all through the poem that Satan was identified with the classical Apollo; likewise, when I

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inferred from other facts that the government established in Pandemonium over Hell was intentionally identified by the Protestant poet with the sway over the world by imperial and papal Rome.

Though aware of the futility of explaining where the questioner does not wish to understand, I add a few words to my note on *Par. Lost* ii, 880, which Professor Browne quotes:—

"*Recoil.* After long detention in the 'iron furnace' of Egypt the children of Israel were thrust out (*Exod.* xi. 1). The recoil of Hell-gates is like the sudden urgency of the Egyptians after their sullen resistance."

Hell is spoken of as "a furnace of fire" (*Matt.* xiii. 42); Egypt as an "iron furnace" (*Deut.* iv. 20). Other notes show that in this particular part of the poem Egypt furnishes a number of the features of Milton's Hell. The poem itself contains plainer references that no one will dispute. The justification for this Milton seems to have derived from *Rev.* xi. 8. The recoil of Hell-gates from the lock allegorically expresses the temper of the Egyptians upon which depended the escape of the Israelites from the iron furnace of their oppression. These hints will be sufficient to those who can interpret allegory.

JOHN A. HIMES.

Pennsylvania College.

A STATUE OF THE YOUTHFUL GOETHE AT STRASSBURG.

TO THE EDITORS OF MOD. LANG. NOTES,

SIRS:—The approaching celebration of Goethe's one hundred and fiftieth birthday has given rise to a plan which, conceived by members of the faculty of Strassburg University, should obtain the support and coöperation of all the friends of German literature. It was in Strassburg that Goethe first became fully himself. Here the greatness of mediæval art first dawned upon him. Here the love for Friederike brought out for the first time his lyric genius. Here he planned "Götz von Berlichingen" and "Faust." It is eminently fitting, then, that in Strassburg his memory should be honored by a statue representing him in the first glow and joyfulness of youth.

A large number of distinguished scholars, under the lead of the Grand Duke of Weimar, have taken the matter in hand, and it is hoped that by August 28, 1899, a sum will have been brought together sufficient to insure a worthy execution of this worthy plan. American admirers of Goethe who wish to take part in it are asked to send their contributions either to Prof. J. P. Hatfield, Evanston, Ill., or to Prof. Horatio S. White, Ithaca, N. Y., or to the undersigned.

KUNO FRANCKE.

Harvard University.

BRIEF MENTION.

The next annual meeting of the Modern Language Association of America will be held at the University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va., December 27, 28, 29, 1898. The Central Division of the Association will meet at the same time at the University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Neb. The first session of the meeting at the University of Virginia will be held on Tuesday December 27, at 8 o'clock p. m., to hear President Fortier's address on "Social and historical forces in French Literature." Among the papers which will be read are "*La Vie de Ste. Catharine d'Alexandrie* as contained in the Paris MS. *La Clayette*." By H. A. Todd.—"Luis de León, the Spanish poet, humanist, and mystic." By J. D. M. Ford.—"Lemercier and the Three Unities." By John R. Ellinger, Jr.—"The influence of the return of Spring on the earliest French lyric poetry." By W. S. Symington, Jr.—"The origin and meaning of 'Germani' (Tac. *Germ.* 2)." By A. Gudeman.—"German American ballads." By M. D. Learned.—"The sources of Opitz's *Buch von der deutschen Poeterei*." By T. S. Baker.—"Some tendencies in English contemporary poetry. By C. Weygandt.—"From Franklin to Lowell, a century of New England pronunciation." By C. H. Grandgent.—"Transverse alliteration in Teutonic poetry." By O. F. Emerson.—"The origin of the Runic Alphabet, and the explanation of the peculiar order of the runes." By G. Hempl.—"The International Correspondence." By E. H. Magill.—"Adversative-conjunctive relations." By R. H. Wilson.

An important feature of the meeting will be the final report of the Committee of Twelve, appointed to consider the position of the Modern Languages (German and French) in Secondary Education.

It is expected that all persons attending the meeting will be invited to visit Monticello, the home of Thomas Jefferson, on Wednesday afternoon, December 28.

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